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TRAVELS

OF

ANACHARSIS THE YOUNGER

IN

GREECE,

DURING THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ÆRA.

BY THE ABBÉ BARTHELEMI,

KEEPER OF THE MEDALS IN THE CABINET OF THE KING OF FRANCE, AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS AND BELLES LETTRES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN FOUR VOLUMES,

AND A FIFTH,

CONTAINING

MAPS, PLANS, VIEWS, AND COINS,

Illustrative of the Geography and Antiquities of Ancient Greece.

VOL. II.

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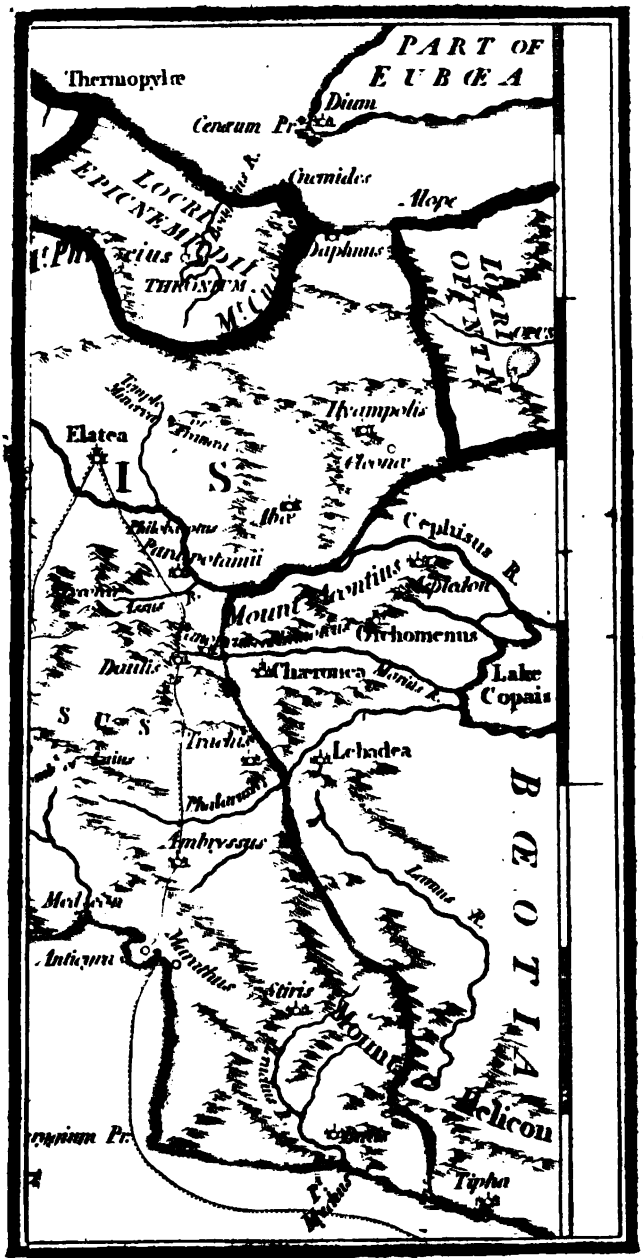

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TRAVELS

IN

GREECE.

CHAP. XXII.

Journey to Phocis *.—The Pythian Games.—The Temple and Oracle of Delphi.*

I SHALL frequently ſpeak of the feſtivals of Greece; I ſhall often return to thoſe auguſt ſolemnities which unite the various nations of this happy country. As they all have many ſtriking features of reſemblance to each other, I may poſſibly be reproached with retracing the ſame pictures. But what are the narratives of the writers who recount to us the wars of nations, but an uniform ſucceſſion of ſcenes of blood and ſlaughter? and what pleaſure can we derive from deſcriptions that exhibit men only in the convulſions of fury or deſpair? Is it not a more uſeful and more pleaſing taſk to follow them in the hour of peace and liberty; in thoſe combats which exhibit and expand their mental powers and their perſonal graces; in thoſe feſtivals in which taſte diſplays all its reſources, and pleaſure all its charms?

Thoſe moments of happineſs, ſo happily contrived to ſuſpend national animoſities [c], and invite individuals to forget

* See the map of Phocis.

[c] Iſocr. in Paneg. t. i. p. 139.

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their ſorrows; thoſe moments ſo delicious in anticipation from the hope of ſeeing them renewed, and ſo delicious from the impreſſion that perpetuates them in the mind when they are paſt and gone; thoſe rapturous moments I have more than once enjoyed: and, I freely confeſs, have ſhed tears of delight, at the ſight of thouſands of my fellow-creatures, united by the ſame intereſt, abandoning themſelves in concert to the moſt lively joy, and giving free courſe to thoſe affecting emotions, which form the ſublimeſt ſpectacle to a ſoul endowed with ſenſibility. Such is the ſcene preſented by the Pythian games, celebrated every four years, at Delphi in Phocis.

We ſet out from Athens towards the end of the month Elaphebolion, in the third year of the 104th Olympiad *. We repaired to the iſthmus of Corinth, and there embarking at Pagæ, entered the gulf of Criſſa, the very day the feſtival commenced †.

Preceded and followed by a great number of light veſſels, we made the harbour of Cirrha, a ſmall town ſituated at the foot of Mount Cirphis. Between this mount and Parnaſſus runs a long valley, in which chariot and horſe races are held. The Pliſtus flows through it amidſt charming meadows [d], which were then decorated with all the various colours of the ſpring. After viſiting the Hippodromus [e], we took one of the paths leading to Delphi ‡.

The city preſented itſelf to our view in the form of an amphitheatre, on the declivity of the mountain [f]. Already we diſcovered the temple of Apollo, and that prodigious quantity of ſtatues which are ſcattered, in every various direction, through the edifices that embelliſh the town. The gold, with which moſt of them are covered, reflecting the rays of the

* The beginning of the year 361 before Chriſt.

† Theſe games were celebrated in the third year of each Olympiad, towards the firſt days of the month Munychion, which in the year I have choſen began on the 14th of April Corſin. Diſſ. Agoniſt. in Pyth. Id. Faſt. Attic. t. iii. p. 287. Dodwell, de Cycl. p. 719.

[d] Pind. Pyth. od 10 v 23. Argum. Pyth p. 163. Pauſan. lib. 10. p. 817.

[e] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 37. p. 893.

‡ See the plan of Delphi and its environs.

[f] Strab. lib. 9. p. 418.

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riſing ſun, ſhone with a refulgence that was viſible at a great diſtance [g]. At the ſame time were ſeen, ſlowly advancing in the plain and over the hills, proceſſions compoſed of boys and girls, which ſeemed to diſpute with each other the palm of magnificence and beauty. From the mountain heights, and from the ſea coaſts, an immenſe multitude were all hurrying towards Delphi; and the ſerenity of the day, joined to the mildneſs of the air in this climate, added new charms to the pleaſing impreſſions made on our ſenſes from every quarter.

Parnaſſus is a chain of mountains ſtretching towards the north, and on the ſouthern ſide terminating in two points, under which ſtands the city of Delphi, which is only ſixteen ſtadia in circumference [h] *. It is not defended by walls, but by precipices, which inviron it on three ſides [i]. It is placed under the protection of Apollo; and, with the worſhip of this god, is united that of ſome other deities, who are termed the aſſociates of his throne. Theſe are Latona, Diana, and Minerva-Providens: their temples are at the entrance of the city.

We ſtopped for a moment at that of Minerva, and ſaw, in the inſide, a golden buckler preſented by Crœſus, king of Lydia; and without, a large brazen ſtatue, conſecrated by the citizens of Marſeilles, in Gaul, in commemoration of advantages gained by them over the Carthaginians [k]. After paſſing near the gymnaſium, we found ourſelves on the brink of the Caſtalian fountain, the ſacred waters of which are uſed to purify both the miniſters of the altars, and the votaries who come to conſult the oracle [l]. From thence we aſcended to a temple, ſituated in the upper part of the town [m], which is ſurrounded by a vaſt encloſure, filled with precious offerings made to the divinity.

---

[g] Juſtin. lib. 24. cap. 7.
[h] Strab. lib. 9. p. 418.
* A little more than a mile and three quarters.
[i] Juſtin. lib. 24. cap. 6.
[k] Pauſan. lib. 10. p. 817.
[l] Euripid. in Ion. v. 94. Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 2. p. 107.
[m] Pauſan. lib. 10. p. 818.

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Nations and kings who receive favourable anſwers, gain victories, or are delivered from impending misfortunes, think it incumbent on them to erect, at this place, monuments of their gratitude. Individuals, crowned at the public games of Greece, and all perſons who have been eminently uſeful to their country, or rendered it illuſtrious by their genius or abilities, have monuments erected here to their honour. Here the traveller finds himſelf ſurrounded by a people of heroes, and reminded of the moſt remarkable events of hiſtory. Here the art of ſculpture ſhines with greater ſplendour than in any other part of Greece.

As we were about to begin our examination of this immenſe collection of ſacred riches, a Delphian, named Cleon, offered his ſervice to us as a guide. He was one of thoſe interpreters of the temple, whoſe only occupation is to ſatisfy the eager curioſity of ſtrangers [n]. But as Cleon, by continually expatiating on the moſt unimportant details, exhauſted more than once his ſtock of knowledge and our patience, I ſhall abridge his recital, and frequently expunge the marvellous with which he delighted to embelliſh his narrations.

The firſt object we ſaw on entering the encloſure [o] was a ſuperb brazen bull. This bull, ſaid Cleon, was ſent by the inhabitants of Coreyra, and is the work of Theopropus of Ægina. The nine ſtatues you next ſee were preſented by the Tegeatæ, after they had vanquiſhed the Lacedæmonians; among them you diſcover Apollo, Victory, and the ancient heroes of Tegea. Thoſe oppoſite to them were given by the Lacedæmonians, after Lyſander had defeated the Athenian fleet near Epheſus. The ſeven firſt repreſent Caſtor and Pollux, Jupiter, Apollo, Diana, and Lyſander, who is receiving a crown from the hand of Neptune; the eighth is for Abas, who was ſoothſayer in the army of Lyſander; and the ninth for Hermon, pilot of the galley commanded by the general. Lyſander having ſome time after gained a ſecond naval vic-

[n] Plut. de Pyth. Orac. t. ii. p. 395. Lucian. in Philopſeud. § 4. t. iii. p. 32. Id. in Calumn. p. 132.

[o] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 9. p. 818.

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tory over the Athenians, at Ægos Potamos, the Lacedæmonians immediately ſent to Delphi the ſtatues of the paincipal officers of their army, and of the chiefs of the allied troops. They are twenty-eight in number; you ſee them behind thoſe of which I have juſt ſpoken [p].

That horſe in braſs is a preſent of the Argives. The inſcription on the pedeſtal informs you, that the ſtatues which ſurround it are the produce of the tenth part of the ſpoils taſten from the Perſians, by the Athenians, in the plains of Marathon. They are thirteen in number, and all by the hand of Phidias. Obſerve with what ſublimity he has exhibited to us Apollo, Minerva, Theſeus, Codrus, and thoſe ancient Athenians who merited the honour of giving their names to the tribes of Athens. Miltiades, who gained the battle, ſhines conſpicuous amidſt theſe gods and heroes [q].

The nations that make theſe offerings, frequently add to the images of their generals thoſe of their kings, and individuals who have gained to themſelves immortal glory. You have another example of this in that group of twenty-five or thirty ſtatues, conſecrated by the Argives at different periods and for different victories. This is the ſtatue of Danaus, the moſt powerful of the kings of Argos; this of Hypermneſtra his daughter; the other, of his ſon-in-law Lynceus. Here are the principal chiefs who followed Adraſtus, king of Argos, in the firſt Theban war; there the leaders who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſecond: here you ſee Diomedes, Sthenelus, and Amphiaraus in his car, with his kinſman Baton, who is holding the reins [r].

It is impoſſible to proceed a ſingle ſtep, without being ſtopped by maſter-pieces of art. Thoſe horſes in braſs, thoſe dejected captives, are the work of Ageladas of Argos, and a preſent from the people of Tarentum in Italy. This figure repreſents Triopas, the founder of the Cnidians in Caria; thoſe ſtatues of Latona, Apollo, and Diana, ſhooting their

[p] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 9. p. 818. Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 443.
[q] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 10. p. 821.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 822.

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arrows againſt Tityus, are an offering of the ſame people.

This portico, in which ſo many beaks of ſhips and brazen bucklers are ſuſpended, was built by the Athenians [s]. There is the rock on which an ancient ſibyl, named Herophila, is ſaid to have pronounced her oracles [t]. That ſtatue with a breaſt-plate and coat of mail was ſent by the people of Andros, and repreſents their founder Andreus. The Phocians have conſecrated this Apollo, as well as this Minerva, and that Diana; the people of Pharſalos in Theſſaly, that equeſtrian ſtatue of Achilles; the Macedonians, this Apollo who is holding a hind; the Cyreneans, that car in which Jupiter appears with all the majeſty of the ſovereign of the gods [u]: and laſtly, the conquerors at Salamis, that ſtatue twelve cubits high *, holding an ornament of a ſhip, which you ſee near the gilded ſtatue of Alexander the Firſt, king of Macedon [x].

Among this prodigious number of monuments have been erected ſeveral ſmall edifices, to which nations and individuals have tranſmitted conſiderable ſums, either as offerings to the god, or by way of depoſiting them in a place of ſafety. When they are only intended as a depoſit, care is taken to inſcribe the name of the perſons to whom the treaſure belongs, that they may have recourſe to it in caſe of need [y].

We viſited the treaſuries of the Athenians, the Thebans, the Cnidians, the Syracuſans, &c. [z] and were convinced that report had not exaggerated when it was affirmed that we ſhould find more gold and ſilver at Delphi than is contained probably in all the reſt of Greece.

In the treaſury of the Sicyonians, among other ſingularities, we ſaw a golden book preſented by a woman named Ariſtomache, who had won the prize of poetry at the Iſthmian games [a]. They ſhowed us in that of the Siphnians a great

[s] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 11. p. 825.
[t] Id. cap. 12. p. 825.
[u] Id. cap. 13. p. 829.
* 17 French feet (or 18 Engliſh).
[x] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 121.
[y] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 349.
[z] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 11. p. 823.
[a] Plut. Sympoſ. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 675.

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quantity of gold, the produce of the mines they worked formerly in their iſland [b]; and in that of the inhabitants of Acanthus ſome iron obeliſks, preſented by Rhodope the courtezan [c]. Is it poſſible, exclaimed I, that ſuch an offering could have been acceptable to Apollo? Stranger, ſaid a Greek, whom I did not know, to me, Were the hands that raiſed theſe trophies more pure? You have juſt read on the gate of the aſylum in which we now are: THE INHABITANTS OF ACANTHUS VANQUISHERS OF THE ATHENIANS [d]; and elſewhere, THE ATHENIANS VANQUISHERS OF THE CORINTHIANS; THE PHOCIANS OF THE THESSALIANS; THE ORNEATÆ OF THE SICYONIANS, &c. Theſe inſcriptions were written with the blood of a million of Greeks. The god is ſurrounded only with monuments of our folly and madneſs [e]; and you are aſtoniſhed that his prieſts ſhould accept the offering of a courtezan!

The richeſt of all the treaſuries is the Corinthian. In that is preſerved the greater part of the offerings made by different princes to the temple of Apollo. We there found the ſumptuous preſents of Gyges king of Lydia, among which the moſt remarkable are ſix large crateræ of gold *, of the weight of thirty talents [f] †.

The liberality of this prince, ſaid Cleon to us, was entirely eclipſed by the munificence of Crœſus, one of his ſucceſſors, who, on conſulting the oracle, was ſo well ſatisfied with the anſwer he received, that he ſent to Delphi, 1ſt, one hundred and ſeventeen ſemi-plinths ‡ of gold, a palm thick; moſt of them ſix palms in length, and three broad, each weighing two talents, except four, which weighed only a talent and a half. You will ſee them in the temple. By the manner in which

[b] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 11. p. 823.
[c] Plut. de Pyth. Orac. t. ii. p. 400.
[d] Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 433.
[e] Plut. de Pyth. ut ſupra.
* The crateræ were large vaſes in the ſhape of cups, in which the ancients mixed their wine and water.
[f] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 14.
† See, as well reſpecting this article as the following, the table of Attic weights, and the note which is at the end of the volume.
‡ By plinth is generally underſtood an architectural ornament, conſiſting of a member, in the form of a ſmall ſquare tablet.

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they were disposed, they served as a base for a lion of the same metal, which fell down at the time the temple was burnt, which happened a few years after. You have it before your eyes. It then weighed ten talents; but, since it has been damaged by the fire, it now weighs no more than six and a half [g].

2dly, Two large crateræ, the one of gold, weighing eight talents and forty-two minæ; the other of silver, containing six hundred amphoræ. You have seen the first in the treasury of the Clazomenians; the second you will see in the vestibule of the temple [h].

3dly, Four silver vases in the shape of barrels, and of a very considerable size [i]. You see all the four in this place [k].

4thly, Two large ewers, one of gold, the other of silver [l].

5thly, A golden statue, representing, it is said, the woman who made the bread of this prince. This statue is three cubits high, and weighs eight talents [m].

6thly, To these offerings Crœsus added a number of silver ingots, the necklaces and girdles of his wife, and other not less valuable presents.

Cleon next showed us a golden cratera sent by the city of Rome, in Italy, to Delphi [n]; and afterwards the necklace of Helen [o]. We enumerated likewise, in the temple, and in the different treasuries, three hundred and sixty phials or cups of gold, each weighing two minæ [p] *.

All these treasures, together with those I have not mentioned, amount to a prodigious sum, of which some idea may be formed from the following fact. Some time after our journey to Delphi, the Phocians seized on the temple, and the gold and silver which they melted into bullion, were estimated at upwards of ten thousand talents [q] †.

---

[g] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 50. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 452.
[h] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 51.
[i] Plut. in Syll. t. i. p. 459.
[k] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 51.
[l] Id. ibid.
[m] Id. ibid. Plut. de Pyth. Orac. t. ii. p. 401.
[n] Liv. lib. 5. cap. 28. Plut. in Camill. t. i. p. 133.
[o] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 458.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 452.
* 2 pounds 3 ounces.
[q] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 453.
† More than fifty-four millions of livres (or above two millions two hundred and fifty thousand pounds Sterling).

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On coming out of the Corinthian treaſury, we continued to run over the monuments of the ſacred precinct. Here, ſaid Cleon, is a group that merits your attention. Obſerve with what rage Apollo and Hercules are diſputing for a tripod; and with what earneſtneſs Latona and Diana endeavour to reſtrain the former, and Minerva the latter [r]. Theſe five ſtatues, executed by three artiſts of Corinth, were conſecrated in this place by the Phocians [s]. This tripod, ornamented with gold, and ſupported by a brazen dragon, was offered by the Greeks after the battle of Platæa [t]. The Tarentines of Italy, after ſome advantages gained over their enemies, ſent theſe equeſtrian, and thoſe other pedeſtrian ſtatues. They repreſent the principal chieftans of the victors and the vanquiſhed [u]. The brazen wolf which you ſee near the principal altar [x], is the gift of the inhabitants of Delphi; and that palm-tree, and this Minerva, of the ſame metal, the offering of the Athenians. The Minerva formerly was gilt, as well as the fruit of the palm-tree; but, about the time of the expedition into Sicily, ſome ravens gave a preſage of the defeat of the Athenians by plucking off the fruit from the tree, and piercing the buckler of the goddeſs [y].

As we ſeemed to entertain ſome doubt reſpecting this fact, to corroborate it, Cleon added: Why, was not this column, which ſtood near the ſtatue of Hiero, king of Syracuſe, thrown down the very day of the death of that prince? Did not the eyes fall out from the ſtatue of that Spartan, a few days before he periſhed at the battle of Leuctra [z]? and, about the ſame time, did not the two golden ſtars which Lyſander had dedicated in honour of Caſtor and Pollux diſappear [a]?

Theſe examples had ſuch an effect upon us, that, to avoid being overwhelmed with others, we reſolved to leave Cleon in peaceable poſſeſſion of his fables. Mark well, continued

[r] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 13. p. 830.
[s] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 27.
[t] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 13. p. 830.
[u] Pauſan. ibid.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 14. p. 832.
[y] Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 531. Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 15. p. 834.
[z] Plut. de Pyth. Orac. t. ii. p. 397.
[a] Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. cap. 34. t. iii. p. 29.

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he, the marble that covers the ground on which you tread. This is the central point of the whole earth [b]; the point that is equidiſtant from the places where the ſun riſes, and thoſe where he ſets. It is ſaid that, to diſcover this, Jupiter diſpatched two eagles from thoſe two extremities of the world, which met together preciſely at this ſpot [c].

Cleon did not ſpare us a ſingle inſcription; but principally directed our attention to the oracles pronounced by the prieſteſs, which are ſtudiouſly expoſed to the eyes of the public [d]; taking care to lay particular ſtreſs on ſuch as had been juſtified by the event.

Among the offerings of the kings of Lydia, I forgot to ſpeak of a large ſilver cratera, ſent by Alyattes, the baſe of which ſtill excites the admiration of the Greeks [e], perhaps from its proving the recency of the arts in Greece. This baſe is of iron, in the form of a tower, and wider at the bottom than at top; it is of perforated work, and ſeveral animals at play are ſeen through the foliage with which it is ornamented. The different parts of it are not joined by nails; it is one of the firſt works in which ſolder was uſed. It is attributed to Glaucus of Chios, who lived near two centuries ago, and firſt diſcovered the ſecret of ſoldering iron.

Our attention was attracted by an infinity of other monuments. We had ſeen the ſtatue of Gorgias the rhetorician [f], and the innumerable ſtatues of the victors in the different games of Greece. But if the eye be ſtruck with the magnificence of ſuch a quantity of offerings collected together at Delphi, it is not leſs aſtoniſhed at the excellence of their workmanſhip [g]; for almoſt all of them have been conſecrated

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[b] Æſchyl. in Choeph. v. 1036. Eurip. in Oreſt. v. 330.; in Phœniſſ. v. 244.; in Ion. v. 223. Plat. de Rep. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 427.

[c] Pauſan. lib. 10. p. 835. Pindar. Pyth. 4. v. 6. Schol. ibid. Strab. lib. 9. p. 419. Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 409.

[d] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 428. Vand. de Orac. p. 138. et 175.

[e] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 25. Pauſan. lib. 10. p. 834. Plut de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 436. Heſegand. ap. Athen. lib. 5. p. 211.

[f] Hermip. ap. Athen. lib. 11. cap. 15. p. 505. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 32. t. i. p. 310. Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 18. p. 842. Valer. Max. lib. 8. cap. 15. in Extern.

[g] Strab. lib. 9. p. 419.

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in the laſt or preſent century, and were in general executed by the ableſt ſculptors who have appeared in both ages.

From the ſacred precinct we entered the temple which was built about an hundred and fifty years ago [h] *, the ancient one having been deſtroyed by fire. It was rebuilt by order of the Amphictyons †, and the architect, Spintharus of Corinth, undertook to finiſh it for the ſum of three hundred talents ‡. Three fourths of that ſum were raiſed by a tax on the different cities of Greece, and the other fourth by the inhabitants of Delphi, who, in order to furniſh their contingent, made a collection of pious donations even in the remoteſt countries. An Athenian family added likewiſe, at its own expence, ſeveral embelliſhments not in the original plan [i].

The edifice is built of a very beautiful ſtone, but the frontiſpiece is of Parian marble. On the pediment, two Athenian ſculptors have repreſented Diana, Latona, Apollo, the Muſes, Bacchus, and other divinities [k]. From the capitals of the columns are ſuſpended ſeveral kinds of gilded armour, and eſpecially bucklers offered by the Athenians in memory of the battle of Marathon [l].

The veſtibule is decorated with paintings which repreſent the battle of the giants and the gods, the combat between Hercules and the hydra, and that of Bellerophon with the chimæra [m]. We ſee there likewiſe a number of altars [n], a buſt of Homer [o], ſome veſſels of luſtral water [p], and other large veſſels for mixing the wine and water made uſe of in libations [q]. On the wall are inſcribed ſeveral ſhort ſentences, ſome of which are attributed to the ſeven Grecian ſages. They contain moral maxims, and have the appearance of ad-

[h] Mem. de l' Acad. des Bell. Let. t. iii. p. 150.

* Towards the year 513 before J. C.

† Theſe were deputies from different cities, who aſſembled every year at Delphi, and had the inſpection of the temple. I ſhall ſpeak of them hereafter.

‡ 1,600,000 livres (66,666l. 13s. 4d.); but the talent being of greater value at that time than afterwards, ſomething may be added to this eſtimation.

[i] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 180.; lib. 5. cap. 62. Pauſan. lib. 10. p. 811.

[k] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 19. p. 842.

[l] Id. ibid. Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 446.

[m] Eurip. in Ion. v. 190.

[n] Id. ibid. v. 118.

[o] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 19. p. 857.

[p] Heliod. Æthiop.

[q] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 51.

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monitions given by the gods to all who come to worſhip them [r]. The divinity himſelf ſeems to ſay, KNOW THYSELF. TOO MUCH OF NOTHING. MISFORTUNE CLOSELY PURSUES THEE.

A word of two letters, placed over the gate, has given occaſion to various explanations; but the moſt ſkilful interpreters diſcover in it a profound meaning. Its real ſignification is, THOU ART; a confeſſion of the nothingneſs of man, and a homage worthy of the divinity, to whom alone appertains exiſtence [s].

In the ſame place we read, on a tablet ſuſpended on the wall, theſe words, inſcribed in large characters: LET NO ONE APPROACH THESE PLACES, BUT WITH PURE HANDS [t].

I ſhall not ſtop to deſcribe the interior riches of the temple; they may be judged of from thoſe of the outſide. I ſhall only obſerve, that we there ſee a coloſſal ſtatue of Apollo, in braſs, conſecrated by the Amphictyons [u]; and that, amid the ſtatues of the gods, the ſeat in which Pindar ſang the hymns he had compoſed in honour of Apollo is preſerved, and ſhown to thoſe who viſit the temple [x]. Such circumſtances I particularly notice, to ſhow how highly genius is honoured by the Greeks.

Within the ſanctuary is a ſtatue of Apollo, in gold [y], and that ancient oracle, the anſwers of which have ſo often decided on the fate of empires. The diſcovery of this was made by accident. Some goats ſtraying among the rocks of mount Parnaſſus, and approaching a fiſſure in the earth that emitted unwholeſome exhalations, are ſaid to have been ſuddenly affected with extraordinary and convulſive motions [z]. The ſhepherds and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, flocking to ſee this prodigy, breathed the ſame vapour, experienced the ſame effects, and, in their delirium, pronounced broken

[r] Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 124. et 129. Id. in Charm. p. 164. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 796. Pauſ. lib. 10. p. 857. Plin. lib. 7. cap. 32. p. 393.

[s] Plut. de EI. t. ii. p. 384.

[t] Lucian. de Sacrif. § 13. t. i. p. 536. Id. in Hermot. § 11. t. i. p. 750.

[u] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 433.

[x] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 24. p. 858.

[y] Id. ibid.

[z] Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 433. Pauſan. ib. cap. 5. p. 809. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 427.

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and unconnected phraſes. Theſe words were inſtantly taken for predictions, and the vapour of the cavern was ſuppoſed to be a divine breath which unveiled the ſecrets of futurity [a] *.

Several miniſters are employed in the temple. The firſt who preſents himſelf to the eyes of ſtrangers, is a young man, frequently educated from his earlieſt years cloſe to the very altar, and always obliged to live in the moſt ſcrupulous continence. It is his office to attend to the cleanlineſs, as well as decoration, of the holy places [b]. As ſoon as day appears, he repairs, followed by perſons who work under his orders, to a little ſacred wood, to gather branches of laurel, and form them into crowns, which he affixes to the gates and walls, and hangs round the altars and the tripod whence the Pythia pronounces her oracles; he draws water from the fountain Caſtalia to fill the vaſes in the veſtibule, and to ſprinkle within the temple; he next takes his bow and quiver to chaſe away the birds that perch upon the roof of the edifice, or on the ſtatues that are within the ſacred precinct.

The functions of the prophets are of a more exalted kind; they ſtation themſelves near the Pythia [c], collect, arrange, and interpret her anſwers, ſometimes committing them to other miniſters, who put them into verſe [d].

Thoſe who are called ſacred perſons participate in the functions of the prophets, and are five in number. This prieſthood is perpetual in their family, which pretends to deduce its origin from Deucalion [e]. Women of an advanced age are employed to take care that the ſacred fire is never extinguiſhed [f], which they are obliged to keep alive with the wood of the fir-tree [g]. A number of ſacrificers, augurs, ſoothſayers, and ſubordinate officers, add majeſty and ſolemnity to the worſhip of the god, and ſcarcely ſuffice to gratify the eager

[a] Plin. lib. 2. cap. 93. p. 116.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[b] Eurip. in Ion. v. 95. &c.
[c] Van Dale de Orac. p. 104. Mem. de l' Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 185.
[d] Plut. de Pyth. Orac. t. ii. p. 407. Strab. lib. 9. p. 419.
[e] Plut. Quæſt. Græc. t. ii. p. 292.; et de Orac. Def. p. 438.
[f] Æſchyl. in Choeph. v. 1037. Plut. in Num. t. i. p. 66.
[g] Plut. de EI. t. ii. p. 385.

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curioſity of ſtrangers who reſort to Delphi from all parts of the world.

Beſides the ſacrifices offered as thankſgivings, in expiation of faults, or to implore the protection of the divinity, there are others, which muſt precede the anſwer of the oracle, and are themſelves preceded by various ceremonies.

While we were liſtening to this detail, we ſaw, at the foot of the hill, and in what is called the ſacred road, a great number of carriages, filled with men, women, and children [h], who, as ſoon as they alighted, formed their ranks, and advanced towards the temple, ſinging hymns. They had come from Peloponneſus to offer to the god the homage of the different ſtates that inhabit that country. The Theoria, or proceſſion of the Athenians, ſoon after followed them, and was ſucceeded by deputations from ſeveral other cities, among which we diſtinguiſhed that of the iſle of Chios, compoſed of one hundred boys [i].

In my account of the voyage I made to Delos, I ſhall ſpeak more at length of theſe deputations, of their magnificence, the admiration they excite, and the luſtre they add to the feſtivals which they are ſent to celebrate. Thoſe who now came to Delphi, ranged themſelves around the temple, preſented their offerings, and ſang hymns, accompanied with dances, in honour of Apollo. The chorus of the Athenians was particularly diſtinguiſhed by the harmony of their voices, and their ſuperior knowledge and ſkill [k].

Every inſtant diſcloſed new and intereſting ſcenes. But how is it poſſible to deſcribe them; or repreſent thoſe various motions, thoſe concerts, thoſe ſhouts, thoſe auguſt ceremonies, that tumultuous joy, and thoſe rapidly changing ſpectacles; which, by their contraſts, gave to each other new charms! We were hurried along to the theatre [l], where ſeveral competitors in poetry and muſic were to diſpute the prize. The Amphictyons preſided at theſe competitions; for they, at va-

[h] Plut. Quæſt. Græc. t. ii. p. 304.
[i] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 27.
[k] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 765.
[l] Plut. Sympoſ. lib. 2. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 638. Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 31. p. 877.

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rious times, have inſtituted the different games celebrated at Delphi [m]. They ſuperintend them, preſerve order, and decree the laurel to the victor [n].

Several poets entered the liſts. The ſubject of the prize is a hymn to Apollo [o], which the author himſelf ſings, accompanied with his cithara. Harmony of voice, and the art of ſuſtaining it by melodious ſounds, have ſuch influence on the opinion of the judges and hearers, that, for want of theſe two advantages, Heſiod was formerly excluded from the competition; whilſt other authors, by uniting them in an eminent degree, have obtained the prize, though they appeared with works not of their own compoſition [p]. The poems we heard poſſeſſed great beauties, and that which received the crown was ſo violently applauded, that the heralds were under the neceſſity of commanding ſilence. We then ſaw the players on the flute advance.

The ſubject uſually propoſed is the combat of Apollo with the ſerpent Python, and it is an indiſpenſible requiſite in the compoſition, that the five leading circumſtances of the conflict may be diſtinguiſhed [q]. The firſt part is but a prelude; the action commences in the ſecond; and becomes animated and terminates in the third: in the fourth are heard the ſhouts of victory; and in the fifth, the hiſſings of the monſter before he expires [r]. No ſooner had the Amphictyons adjudged the prize, than they repaired to the ſtadium, where the foot races were ready to begin. A crown was propoſed for thoſe who ſhould run the preſcribed diſtance ſooneſt; another for thoſe who ſhould run it twice; and a third for thoſe who ſhould run it twelve times without ſtopping [s]. Theſe are called the ſingle, the double, and the long courſe. To theſe different exerciſes ſucceeded the race for children [t], that of

[m] Pauſan. ibid cap. 7. p. 813. Strab. lib. 9. p. 421.
[n] Pind. Pyth. 4. v. 118. Schol. ibid.
[o] Strab. lib. 9. p. 421.
[p] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 7. p. 813.
[q] Strab. lib. 9. p. 421. Argum. in Pyth. Pind. p. 163. Heſych. in Ἀγών.
[r] Strab. ibid. Poll. lib. 4. cap. 10. § 84.
[s] Mem. de l' Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 308. t. ix. p. 386.
[t] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 7. p. 814.

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men armed, wreſtling, boxing [u], and ſeveral of thoſe combats which I ſhall more particularly deſcribe when I come to ſpeak of the Olympic games.

Formerly the victors were rewarded with a ſum of money [x]: but ſince it has been determined to confer higher honours on them, they are preſented only with a crown of laurel.

We ſupped with the Theori, or deputies of the Athenians. Some of them propoſed to conſult the oracle, and the next day they were to receive anſwers to their queſtions. For the oracle can be approached only on certain days of the year, and the pythia aſcends the tripod but once in a month [y]. We determined likewiſe to interrogate it in our turn, from a ſimple motive of curioſity, and without the ſmalleſt confidence in the anſwers we might receive.

During the whole night, the youth of Delphi, diſperſed about the ſtreets, ſang verſes in honour of the perſons who had been crowned [z]. The people made the air ring with long and tumultuous applauſes, and all nature ſeemed to participate in the triumph of the victors. The numberleſs echoes in the environs of Parnaſſus, ſuddenly awakened by the ſound of trumpets, reſounded their notes through the caverns and the valleys [a], and repeated to each other and bore afar the clamorous expreſſions of the public joy.

The following day we repaired to the temple, gave in our queſtions in writing [b], and waited till our turn of approaching the pythia was decided by lot [c]. No ſooner had we received the proper notice, than we ſaw her paſs through the temple [d], accompanied by ſome prophets, bards, and ſacred perſons, who entered with her into the ſanctuary. Melancholy and dejected, ſhe ſeemed to go with reluctance, like a victim dragged to the altar. She chewed laurel [e], and, as ſhe paſſed, threw into the ſacred fire ſome leaves of it mixed

[u] Pind. Nem. od. 6. v. 60. Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 4. p. 159.
[x] Pauſan. ibid.
[y] Plut. Quæſt. Græc. t. ii. p. 292.
[z] Pind. Nem. od. 6. v. 66. Schol. ib.
[a] Juſtin. lib. 24. cap. 6.
[b] Ariſtoph. Schol. in Plut. v. 39. Van Dale de Orac. p. 116.
[c] Eurip. in Ion. v. 419. Æſchyl. in Eum. v. 32.
[d] Id. ibid. v. 42.
[e] Lucian. in Bis Accuſ. § 1. t. ii. p. 792.

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with barley-meal [f]: she wore a wreath of it on her head, and her brow was bound with a fillet [g].

Formerly there was only one pythia at Delphi; but since the oracle has become more frequented, three have been appointed [h]; and since a Thessalian violated one of the priestesses, it was decreed that they should be more than fifty years of age [i]. They officiate by turns, and are chosen from among the lowest classes of the inhabitants of Delphi [k]. In general they are poor girls destitute of education and experience, of unexceptionable morals, and a very limited understanding [l]. They must be simply dressed, avoid the use of perfumes [m], and pass their lives in the practice of religious exercises.

A number of strangers were assembled to consult the oracle. The temple was surrounded by victims, bleeding beneath the sacred knife, and mingling their cries with the voices of the singers. The impatient desire of prying into futurity was marked on every countenance, with all that hope and fear inseparable from suspense.

One of the priests undertook to prepare us. After being thoroughly purified with the consecrated water, we offered a bull and a she-goat. To indicate that this sacrifice is acceptable to the gods, it is necessary that the bull should readily eat the flour presented to him, and that the limbs of the goat should palpitate for some moments after cold water is thrown on them [n]. No reason was given us for these ceremonies; but the more inexplicable they are, the more do they inspire veneration. The event having proved the purity of our intentions, we returned into the temple, with our heads crowned with laurel and bearing in our hands a branch encircled with

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[f] Plut. de Pyth. Orac. t. ii. p. 397. Id. de Ei. p. 385.
[g] Lucan. Pharsal. lib. 5. p. 143 et 170.
[h] Plut. de Orac. Def. p. 414.
[i] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 428.
[k] Eurip. in Ion. v. 92.
[l] Plut. de Pyth. Orac. t. ii. p. 405.
[m] Id. ibid. p. 397.
[n] Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 435. et 437.

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a narrow fillet of white wool [o]. With this ſymbol the ſuppliants approach the altars.

We were next conducted into a chapel, where, at particular times, which, it is ſaid, can neither be foreſeen nor regulated by the prieſts, an extremely agreeable odour is perceived [p]. Care is always taken to point out this prodigy to ſtrangers.

Preſently after the prieſt came for us, and led us into the ſanctuary, a deep cavern [q], the walls of which are ornamented with a variety of votive offerings. He had juſt taken down from them a fillet embroidered with crowns and victories [r]. At firſt we could ſcarcely diſcern the objects around us; for the incenſe and other perfumes burning there, filled the place with a thick ſmoke [s]. Towards the middle is an aperture from whence iſſues the prophetic exhalation, the approach to which is by a gentle deſcent [t]; but it is impoſſible to ſee it, for it is covered with a tripod ſo ſurrounded with chaplets and branches of laurel [u], that the vapour is prevented from diſperſing itſelf in the cavern.

The pythia, worn out with fatigue, refuſing to anſwer our queſtions, the prieſts who ſurrounded her had recourſe to menaces and even violence. Yielding at length to their perſuaſions, ſhe ſeated herſelf on the tripod, after drinking of ſome water which flows in the ſanctuary, and which poſſeſſes, as it is ſaid, the virtue of diſcloſing futurity [x].

The boldeſt colours would ſcarcely ſuffice to paint the convulſions with which ſhe was ſoon after ſeized. We ſaw her boſom heave, and her countenance alternately pale and glowing. All her limbs were agitated with involuntary motions [y]: but ſhe uttered only plaintive cries and deep groans. At

[o] Van. Dale de Orac. p. 114.
[p] Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 437.
[q] Strab. lib. 9. p. 419.
[r] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 239.
[s] Lucian. in Jov. Trag. t. ii p. 675.
[t] Lucan. Pharſal. lib. 5. v. 159.
[u] Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 39. Schol. ib.
[x] Pauſan. lib. 10. p. 859. Lucian. in Bis Accuſ. t. ii. p. 792.
[y] Lucan. Pharſal. lib. 5. v. 170. Lucian. in Jov. Tragic. t. ii. p. 676, § 30. Van. Dale de Orac. p. 154.

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length, with eyes ſparkling, foaming mouth, and hair erect, unable either to ſupport the vapour that overpowered her, or eſcape from the tripod on which ſhe was held down by the prieſts, ſhe tore the fillet from her head, and, amidſt the moſt dreadful howlings, pronounced a few words, which were eagerly collected by the prieſts. They immediately arranged them in a proper order, and delivered them to us in writing. I had aſked whether I ſhould be ſo unfortunate as to ſurvive my friend; and Philotas, unknown to me, had propoſed the ſame queſtion. The anſwers were obſcure and equivocal, and we tore them into pieces the moment we got out of the temple.

Our hearts were now filled with pity and indignation; and we ſeverely reproached ourſelves with the lamentable condition to which we had reduced the unhappy prieſteſs. The functions ſhe exerciſes are cruel, and have already coſt many of theſe women their lives [z]. The prieſts know this; yet have we ſeen them multiply and calmly contemplate the torments under which ſhe was ſinking. It is ſtill more painful to reflect that they are rendered thus callous to the feelings of humanity, by ſordid intereſt. But for the furious ravings of the pythia ſhe would be leſs conſulted, and conſequently the liberalities of the people would be leſs abundant; for an anſwer is not to be obtained gratuitouſly from the god. Such as render him only a ſimple homage, muſt, at leaſt, depoſit cakes and other offerings [a] on the altar; they who wiſh to conſult the oracle, are obliged to ſacrifice animals. Nay, ſome there are who do not bluſh on theſe occaſions to diſplay the greateſt pomp. As a portion of the victims, whether they be rejected or received, always falls to the ſhare of the miniſters of the temple, the leaſt irregularity they diſcover ſuffices to exclude them; and mercenary ſoothſayers have been

[z] Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 438. Lucan. Pharſ. lib. 5. v. 116.

[a] Eurip. in Ion. v. 226.

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known, after examining the entrails of an animal, to carry off whole pieces of it, and order the ſacrifice to be recommenced [b].

Yet this tribute, impoſed on the credulity of mankind during the whole year, and ſeverely exacted by the prieſts, whoſe principal revenue it forms [c], is infinitely leſs dangerous than the influence of their anſwers on the public affairs of Greece and of the world. Who but muſt weep over the miſeries of humanity, when he reflects, that, beſides the pretended prodigies of which the inhabitants of Delphi make a conſtant traffic [d], the anſwers of the pythia are to be obtained by money [e], and that thus a ſingle word, dictated by corrupt prieſts, and uttered by a ſenſeleſs girl, ſuffices to excite bloody wars [f], and ſpread deſolation through a whole kingdom!

The oracle requires of its votaries to render to the gods the honours that are due to them, but preſcribes no rule in that reſpect; and when it is aſked which is the beſt form of worſhip, uniformly anſwers: "Conform to the received religion of your country [g]." It requires men alſo to reſpect the temples; and denounces heavy puniſhments againſt all who violate them, or ſeize on the property appertaining to them: of this I ſhall give an example.

The plain which extends from Mount Parnaſſus to the ſea, belonged, about two centuries ago, to the inhabitants of Cirrha; and the manner in which they were deprived of it ſufficiently proves the nature of the vengeance here exerciſed againſt acts of ſacrilege. Theſe people were reproached with levying contributions on the Greeks who landed on their territory in their way to Delphi; they were accuſed likewiſe of having made inroads into the lands belonging to the temple [h].

[b] Euphr. ap. Athen. lib. 9. cap. 6. p. 380. Van Dale de Orac. cap. 5. p. 106.
[c] Lucian. in Phalar. 2. § 8. t. ii. p. 204.
[d] Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 532.
[e] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 66. Plut. in Demoſth. t. i. p. 854. Pauſan. lib. 3. p. 213. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 1. cap. 16.
[f] Id. lib. 1. cap. 53.
[g] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 803.
[h] Pauſan. lib. 10. p. 894.

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The oracle, conſulted by the Amphictyons reſpecting the ſpecies of puniſhment merited by the guilty perſons, ordered them to be purſued night and day, their country to be ravaged, and themſelves reduced to ſervitude. Several ſtates inſtantly flew to arms. The city was razed, and the harbour deſtroyed: the inhabitants were either put to death or loaded with chains; and their rich fields being conſecrated to the temple of Delphi, an oath was taken never to cultivate them, nor build houſes on them, with the following dreadful imprecation: "May the individuals, and the nations who ſhall dare to infringe this oath, be accurſed in the ſight of Apollo, and of the other divinities of Delphi; may their lands never bear any fruit; may their wives and flocks bring forth only monſters; may they periſh in battle; may they miſcarry in all their enterpriſes; may their generations become extinct with them; and, while they live, may Apollo and the other deities of Delphi reject, with horror, their prayers and their ſacrifices [i]."

The next day we deſcended into the plain, to ſee the horſe and chariot races [k]. The Hippodromos, the name of the ſpace allotted for the courſe, is ſo vaſt, that no leſs than forty chariots have ſometimes been known to contend for the victory [l]. We ſaw ten ſtart at once from the barrier [m], but few of which returned, the reſt being daſhed to pieces againſt the goal, or broken in the middle of the courſe.

When the races were ended, we returned to Delphi, to be preſent at the funeral honours which the Theoria of the Æniaues propoſed to render to the manes of Neoptolemus, and at the ceremonies which were to precede them. This people, who reckon Achilles among the number of their ancient kings, and pay peculiar reſpect to the memory of that hero and his ſon Neoptolemus, dwell near Mount Œta, in Theſſaly.

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i Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 445.
k Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 37. p. 893. Sophocl. in Elect. v. 700 et 731.
l Pind. Pyth. 5. v. 65.
m Sophocl. in Elect. v. 703.

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Every fourth year they ſend a deputation to Delphi, not only to offer ſacrifices to the deities of the place, but to make libations, and to pray upon the tomb of Neoptolemus, who periſhed here, at the foot of the altar, by the hand of Oreſtes ſon of Agamemnon [n]. The firſt of theſe duties they had diſcharged the day before; and they were now about to acquit themſelves of the ſecond.

Polyphron, a young and rich Theſſalian, was at the head of the Theoria. As he pretended to derive his deſcent from Achilles, he was deſirous to appear in the eyes of the people with a ſplendour that might juſtify ſuch high claims. The proceſſion opened by a hecatomb really conſiſting of one hundred oxen [o], ſome of them with gilded horns, and others crowned with flowers and garlands. They were led by the ſame number of Theſſalians, clothed in white, with axes on their ſhoulders. Other victims followed, and muſicians were placed at intervals who played on different inſtruments. Next appeared ſome Theſſalian women, whoſe charms attracted every eye. They walked, with meaſured ſteps, ſinging hymns in honour of Thetis, mother of Achilles, and bearing in their hands, or on their heads, baſkets filled with flowers, fruits, and precious aromatics. They were followed by fifty young Theſſalians mounted on ſuperb horſes, whitening their bits with foam. Polyphron was no leſs diſtinguiſhed by the majeſtic graces of his perſon, than by the magnificence of his apparel. When the proceſſion arrived before the temple of Diana, the prieſteſs made her appearance, with the inſignia and attributes of the goddeſs, having a quiver over her ſhoulder, and in her hands a bow and lighted flambeau. She mounted her car, and cloſed the proceſſion, which continued to proceed in the ſame order as far as the tomb of Neoptolemus, ſituated in an encloſure on the left of the temple [p].

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[n] Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 2. p. 123.
[o] Id. lib. 3. p. 127.
[p] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 24. p. 858.

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The Theſſalian horſemen three times made the circuit of the tomb. The Theſſalian girls uttered long groans, and the other deputies mournful cries. A moment after the ſignal was given, and all the victims fell at once around the altar. Their extremities were cut off and placed on a large pile, on which the prieſts, after reciting ſome prayers, made their libations; after which Polyphron ſet fire to it with the torch he had received from the hands of the prieſteſs of Diana. The claims which the miniſters of the temple have on certain portions of the victims were then ſatisfied, and the remainder reſerved for an entertainment, to which the prieſts, the principal inhabitants of Delphi, and the Theori, or deputies of the other Grecian cities, were invited [q]. We were admitted to it; but in the mean time took a ſtep to the Leſche, which preſented itſelf to our view.

This is an edifice, or portico, ſo named becauſe it is the place in which people meet to converſe or tranſact buſineſs [r]. We there found ſeveral pictures expoſed to the public eye, in a kind of emulative exhibition, which has been uſual about a century [s]. But we were leſs attentive to theſe than to the paintings which decorate the walls. They are by the hand of Polygnotus of Thaſos, and were conſecrated in this place by the Cnidians [t].

To the right, Polygnotus has repreſented the taking of Troy, or rather the conſequences of that event: for he has choſen the moment when, glutted with carnage, almoſt all the Greeks are preparing to return to their native homes. The field of the picture includes not only the inſide of the city ſeen through the walls, the deſtruction of which is completing, but the ſea ſhore, near which are ſeen the veſſel of Menelaus ready to ſet ſail, and the tent of that prince which is beginning to be taken down. A variety of groups are diſtributed in the

[q] Eurip. in Ion. v. 1131. Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 3. p. 133 et 134.
[r] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 25. p. 859.
[s] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 690.
[t] Pauſan. et Plin. ibid. Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 412.

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market-place, in the ſtreets, and on the ſea-ſhore. Here Helen is ſeen, accompanied by two of her women, ſurrounded by ſeveral wounded Trojans, whoſe misfortunes ſhe has occaſioned, and ſeveral Greeks who ſtill ſeem to contemplate her beauty with admiration. Further on, Caſſander appears ſeated on the ground, in the midſt of Ulyſſes, Ajax, Agamemnon, and Menelaus, who are repreſented ſtanding motionleſs near an altar: for the general character of this picture is that gloomy ſilence, that fearful repoſe, into which both the victors and the vanquiſhed muſt neceſſarily ſink, when the former are wearied of their cruelties, and the latter of their exiſtence. Neoptolemus alone has not yet ſatiated his vengeance, and is ſtill ſeen purſuing ſome feeble Trojans. This figure, above all, attracts the eyes of the ſpectator; and ſuch doubtleſs was the intention of the artiſt, as he painted it for a place contiguous to the tomb of that hero.

It is impoſſible not to feel the ſtrongeſt emotions of terror and compaſſion, when we view the body of Priam, and thoſe of the principal Trojan chiefs, extended on the earth, covered with wounds, and forſaken by all, amidſt the ruins of a city once ſo flouriſhing. The ſame emotions are alſo ſtrongly felt at the ſight of a child in the arms of an old ſlave, who puts his little hand before his eyes, to hide from them the ſurrounding objects of horror; of that other child, who, ſeized with terror and conſternation, is running to embrace an altar; and of thoſe Trojan women, who, ſeated on the ground, and almoſt piled upon each other, appear ſinking beneath the weight of their deſtiny. Among the number of theſe captives, are two daughters of Priam, and the wretched Andromache, holding her ſon upon her knees. The painter has let us ſee the affliction of the youngeſt of the princeſſes; but of that of the two others the imagination can only judge: their heads are covered with a veil.

At this moment, it occurred to us that great praiſe had been beſtowed on Timanthes, for having thrown a veil over

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the head of Agamemnon, in his ſacrifice of Iphigenia. The ſame image had already been employed by Euripides [u], who had borrowed it, no doubt, from Polygnotus. Be that as it may, in one of the corners of the picture I have been deſcribing, we read this inſcription by Simonides: "Polygnotus of Thaſos, ſon of Aglaophon, has repreſented the deſtruction of Troy [x]." This inſcription is in verſe, as are almoſt all thoſe intended to preſerve the memory of celebrated names or events.

On the oppoſite wall, Polygnotus has painted the deſcent of Ulyſſes into hell, conformably to the relation given by Homer and other poets. The principal objects are the bark of Charon, the evocation of the ghoſt of Tireſias, Elyſium filled with heroes, and Tartarus crowded with the wicked. In this piece we may remark a new and dreadful ſpecies of puniſhment deſtined by Polygnotus for unnatural children; one of which he has introduced in his picture, and has repreſented his father ſtrangling him [y]. I obſerved likewiſe, that to the torments of Tantalus he has added one by which this miſerable prince is kept in a perpetual ſtate of apprehenſion. He has placed over him an enormous rock, which every moment threatens to fall upon his head; but this idea he borrowed from the poet Archilochus [z].

Theſe pictures, the firſt of which contains upwards of an hundred figures, and the ſecond more than eighty, produce a noble effect, and give a high idea of the genius and ſkill of Polygnotus. The perſons round were employed in exaggerating their defects and beauties [a]; but it was admitted by all, that the artiſt had treated his vaſt and ſublime ſubjects with ſo much judgment as to produce in each picture a rich and magnificent whole.

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[u] Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. v. 1550.
[x] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 27. p. 866.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 28. p. 866.
[z] Id. ibid. p. 876.
[a] Quintil. lib. 12. cap. 10. Lucian. in Imag. t. ii. p. 465. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxvii. Hiſt. p. 49. Œuv. de Falc. t. v. p. 1.

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The principal perſonages are diſtinguiſhable by their names, written near their figures; a cuſtom which has been laid aſide as the art has been brought to greater perfection.

Whilſt we were admiring theſe works, a meſſenger came to inform us that Polyphron expected us in the banquet hall.

We found him in the centre of a large ſquare tent, covered and encloſed on three ſides by painted tapeſtry, which is kept in the treaſury of the temple, and was borrowed by Polyphron on the occaſion. On the ceiling was repreſented, on one ſide, the ſun when nearly ſetting; on the other, Aurora juſt beginning to appear; and, in the middle, Night in her car, clothed in black crape, attended by the moon and ſtars: on the other pieces of tapeſtry were centaurs, horſemen purſuing ſtags and lions, and naval battles [b].

The entertainment was very ſumptuous, and laſted a conſiderable time. Female muſicians performed upon the flute. The Theſſalian girls entertained us with delightful concerts, and the young men exhibited mock combats in dances ſkilfully executed [c].

Some days after, we aſcended to the ſource of the Caſtalian fountain, the deliciouſly cool and pure ſtreams of which form beautiful caſcades on the declivity of the mountain. The fountain guſhes forth from between two ridges of rocks, which overtop the city of Delphi [d].

Thence, purſuing our way towards the north, to the diſtance of more than ſixty ſtadia *, we arrived at the cave Corycius, or, as it is ſometimes called, the Cave of the Nymphs, becauſe conſecrated to them as well as to the gods Pan and Bacchus [e]. The water that drops from every part forms little rivulets in it, which are never dry. Though very deep, the light of day penetrates almoſt every corner of it [f]. It is ſo

b Euripid. in Ion. v. 1141.
c Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 3. p. 144.
d Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 8. p. 817. Spon. Voyag. de Grèce, t. ii. p. 37. Wheeler, a Journey, &c. b. 4. p. 314.

* About two leagues and a half.

e Æſchyl. in Eumen. v. 22. Pauſ. lib. 10. cap. 32. p. 878.
f Pauſan. ibid.

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capacious, that at the time of the expedition of Xerxes, the greateſt part of the inhabitants of Delphi made it their place of refuge [g]. We were ſhown, in the environs a great number of grottos, which are held in high veneration; for in theſe ſolitary haunts every thing is eſteemed ſacred, and every place believed to be the abode of genii [h].

The road we followed offered ſucceſſively to our view an endleſs variety of objects; pleaſing valleys, cluſters of pine trees, lands capable of cultivation, rocks menacing our heads, precipices yawning beneath our feet, and broken points of view, from which we looked down, at a great depth, on the adjacent country. In this landſcape we got a glimpſe, near Panopeus, a town ſituated on the confines of Phocis and Bœotia, of a number of carriages filled with women, who were alighting from them, and forming themſelves into circular dances. Our guides knew them to be the Athenian Thyades, women initiated in the myſteries of Bacchus, who repair annually to join thoſe of Delphi, in order to aſcend the heights of Parnaſſus in a body, and there celebrate, with their accuſtomed enthuſiaſm, the orgies of that god [i].

The extravagance of their devotion will not ſurpriſe thoſe who know how eaſy it is to inflame the lively and ardent imagination of the Grecian women. They have not unfrequently been known to ſpread themſelves like torrents over cities and whole provinces, half naked, and with diſhevelled locks, uttering the moſt frightful howlings. A ſingle ſpark ſufficed to produce theſe combuſtions. One or two of them, ſeized with a kind of delirium, imagined themſelves incited by divine inſpiration, and communicated their frantic tranſports to their companions. When the fit was on the decline, expiations and remedies reſtored tranquillity to their minds [k]. Theſe

[g] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 36.

[h] Æſchyl. in Eumen. v 23. Strab. lib. 9. p. 417. Lucan. Pharſal. lib. 5. v. 73.

[i] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 4. p. 806; cap. 6. p. 812; cap. 32. p. 876.

[k] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 54. Ælian. lib. 3. cap. 42. Theopomp. ap. Suid. in Βάκις, et ap. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 963.

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epidemical paroxyſms are leſs frequent ſince real knowledge has made a more extenſive progreſs, though ſome traces of them are ſtill to be ſeen in the feſtivals of Bacchus.

Continuing our road between hills piled upon each other, we arrived at the foot of Mount Lycorea, the higheſt of the Parnaſſian ridge, and perhaps of all Greece [l]. Here it is ſaid the inhabitants of the adjacent diſtricts took refuge to eſcape the deluge of Deucalion [m]. We ſet out to reach the top of the mountain; but, after many falls, we experienced how eaſily we may attain to certain heights on Parnaſſus, but how difficult it is to gain the ſummit; and we deſcended to Elatea, the capital of Phocis.

This little province is environed by lofty mountains, and is only acceſſible by defiles, at the entrance of which the Phocians have erected fortreſſes. Elatea defends them againſt the inroads of the Theſſalians [n]; Parapotamii from thoſe of the Thebans [o]; and twenty other cities, the greater part of which are built on rocks, are encompaſſed with walls and towers [p].

To the north, and eaſtward of Parnaſſus, we meet with beautiful plains watered by the Cephiſſus, which riſes at the foot of mount Œta, above the city of Lilæa. The people of the neighbourhood affirm, that on certain days, and eſpecially in the afternoon, this river guſhes forth from the earth with fury, making a noiſe like the roaring of a bull [q]. Of this I ſaw nothing, but only obſerved it ſilently glide along, with frequent windings [r], amidſt fields clad with various kinds of trees, grain, and paſturage [s]. As if attached to its own bounties, it ſeems reluctantly to quit the ſcenes that it embelliſhes.

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[l] Wheeler, a Journey, &c. book 4. p. 318; t. ii. p. 40.
[m] Marm. Oxon. epoch. 4. Prid. ibid. Strab. lib. 9. p. 418.
[n] Strab. ibid. p. 424.
[o] Plut. in Syll. t. i. p. 462.
[p] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 312.
[q] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 33. p. 883.
[r] Heſiod. Fragm. ap. Strab. lib. 9. p. 424.
[s] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 33. p. 883.

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The other diſtricts of Phocis are diſtinguiſhed by particular productions. The oils of Tithorea [t], and the hellebore of Anticyra, a town ſituated on the Corinthian ſea [u], are in high eſtimation. Not far from thence, the fiſhermen of Bulis catch thoſe ſhell-fiſh which are uſed for the purple dye [x]: higher up we ſaw, in the valley of Ambryſſus, rich vineyards, and a quantity of ſhrubs, which produce thoſe little ſeeds that give ſo beautiful a red to woollens [y].

Each city is independent, and poſſeſſes the right of ſending deputies to the general council, in which the national intereſts are diſcuſſed [z].

The inhabitants have a great number of feſtivals, temples, and ſtatues; but the honour of cultivating letters and the arts they leave to other nations. Their principal occupations are confined to ruſtic labours and domeſtic cares. They have at all times given ſtriking proofs of characteriſtic valour, and, on a particular occaſion, exhibited a fearful teſtimony of their love of liberty.

When on the point of ſinking under the power of the Theſſalians, who had invaded their country with ſuperior forces, they conſtructed a large pile, near which they placed their women, their children, their gold and ſilver, and all their valuable effects, and left them under the care of thirty of their warriors, with orders, in caſe of a defeat, to kill the women and children, to throw every thing into the flames, and either to deſtroy each other, or repair to the field of battle and periſh with the reſt of the nation. The conflict was long, the ſlaughter dreadful, the Theſſalians took to flight, and the Phocians remained free [a].

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[t] Id. ibid. cap. 32. p. 881.

[u] Strab. lib. 9. p. 418. Plin. lib. 25. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 367. Pauſan. ibid. cap. 36. p. 891.

[x] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 37. p. 893.

[y] Id. ibid. cap. 36. p. 890.

[z] Pauſ. lib. 10. cap. 4. p. 805; cap. 33. p. 882.

[a] Id. ibid. cap. 1. p. 800.

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CHAP. XXIII.

Remarkable Events in Greece, from the Year 361 to the Year 357 before Chriſt.—Death of Ageſilaus King of Lacedæmon.—Acceſſion of Philip to the Throne of Macedon. Social War.

DURING our ſtay at the Pythian games, we more than once heard of the laſt expedition of Ageſilaus; and on our return we learned his death [b] *.

Tachos, king of Egypt, having determined to invade Perſia, aſſembled an army of eighty thouſand men, which was to be ſtrengthened by a body of ten thouſand Greeks, among which number were a thouſand Lacedæmonians, commanded by Ageſilaus [c]. It excited univerſal aſtoniſhment to ſee this prince, now more than eighty years of age, engage in ſo diſtant an expedition, and ſerve in the pay of a foreign power. But Lacedæmon wiſhed to take vengeance for the protection which the king of Perſia had granted to the Meſſenians. She pleaded obligations to Tachos, and had beſides hopes that this war would reſtore liberty to the Greek cities of Aſia [d].

To theſe motives, which perhaps were only pretexts with Ageſilaus, were added others perſonal to himſelf. His active mind, unable to ſupport the idea of a peaceful life, and an obſcure death, ſuddenly beheld a new path opening to his genius, and he ſeized with the more avidity this opportunity of retrieving the luſtre of his glory, tarniſhed by the ſucceſs of Epaminondas, as Tachos had promiſed to confer on him the command of the whole army [e].

He left Lacedæmon. The Egyptians expected him with impatience. On the news of his arrival, the chief men of

b Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 401.
* In the 3d year of the 104th Olympiad, correſponding with the years 362 and 361 before Chriſt.
c Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 616.
d Xenoph. in Ageſ. p. 663.
e Id. ibid.

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the nation, mingled with the multitude, eagerly thronged round a hero, who, for ſuch a ſeries of years, had been ſo loudly celebrated by fame [f].

On their arrival on the ſhore, they found a little old man, of an ignoble figure, ſeated on the ground, in the midſt of a few Spartans, whoſe appearance, as negligent as his own, rendered it impoſſible to diſtinguiſh the ſubjects from the ſovereign. The officers of Tachos diſplayed before him the preſents of hoſpitality, conſiſting of various ſorts of proviſions, Ageſilaus made choice of ſome coarſe eatables, and diſtributed the moſt delicate diſhes, as well as the perfumes, among the ſlaves. The ſpectators burſt out into immoderate laughter; and the wiſeſt among them contented themſelves with teſtifying their contempt, and quoting the fable of the Mountain in Labour [g].

His patience was ſoon put to a ſtill ruder trial. The king of Egypt refuſed to intruſt him with the command of his troops. He paid no attention to his counſels, and ſubjected him to every mortification that haughty inſolence and peurile vanity can inſpire. Ageſilaus patiently awaited the moment of extricating himſelf from the ſtate of degradation into which he had fallen; nor did he long ſeek for an opportunity. The troops of Tachos revolting, formed themſelves into two parties, each of which aſſumed the power to name a ſucceſſor to his crown [h]. Ageſilaus declared himſelf in favour of Nectanebus, one of the pretenders to the throne. He directed him in all his meaſures; and, after eſtabliſhing his authority, quitted Egypt, laden with honours, and carrying with him the ſum of two hundred and thirty talents *, ſent by Nectanebus as a preſent to the Lacedæmonians. A violent tempeſt obliged him to take ſhelter on a deſert part of the coaſt of Libya, where he died, at the age of eighty-four [i].

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[f] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 616.
[g] Id. ibid. Nep. in Ageſ. cap. 8.
[h] Xenoph. in Ageſ. p. 663.

* 1,242,000 livres (51,750 l.)

[i] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 618. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 215.

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Two years after *, an event took place, which, though it eſcaped the attention of the Athenians, was deſtined to change the face of Greece, and of the known world.

Hitherto the connections between the Macedonians and Greece had been but ſlender, no diſtinction being made by the poliſhed ſtates of the latter country between them and the other barbarous nations, with whom they were perpetually at war. The ſovereigns of Macedon were formerly admitted to enter the liſts at the Olympic games, only on producing their titles, by which they derived their deſcent from Hercules [k].

Archelaus afterwards attempted to introduce into his ſtates a taſte for letters and the arts. Euripides was invited to his court, and Socrates, if he had choſen to accept the offer, might there have found an aſylum.

The laſt of theſe princes, Perdiccas, ſon of Amyntas, had lately been cut off with the greater part of his army, in a battle with the Illyrians. On this news, his brother Philip, whom I had ſeen when a hoſtage among the Thebans, eluded the vigilance of his guards, repaired to Macedon, and was appointed guardian to the ſon of Perdiccas [l].

The kingdom was now menaced with approaching ruin. Inteſtine diviſions and multiplied defeats had rendered it an object of contempt to all the neighbouring nations, which ſeemed to conſpire together to accelerate its ruin. The Paeonians made incurſions on the frontiers; the Illyrians collected their forces, and meditated an invaſion; two competitors, equally formidable, and both of the royal houſe, aſpired to the throne; the Thracians maintained the claims of Pauſanias; and the Athenians ſent a fleet and army to aſſert thoſe of Argeus. The people in conſternation beheld only exhauſted finances, a handful of diſpirited and undiſciplined ſoldiers,

* Under the archonſhip of Callimedes, the firſt year of the 105th Olympiad, correſponding with the years 360 and 359 before Chriſt.

[k] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 22; lib. 9. cap. 45.

[l] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 407. Juſtin lib. 7. cap. 5.

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the ſceptre in the hands of an infant, and by the ſide of the throne, a regent ſcarcely twenty-two years of age.

Philip conſulting his own powers rather than the forces of the kingdom, undertook to render his nation what Epaminondas, his model, had rendered the Thebans. A few ſlight advantages taught the troops ſufficient confidence in themſelves to act with courage; and the people of Macedon no longer to deſpair of the ſtate. He preſently introduced order into the different departments of adminiſtration; new-modelled the Macedonian phalanx; and engaged, by preſents and promiſes, the Pæonians to retire, and the king of Thrace to ſacrifice to him Pauſanias. He next marched againſt Argeus, defeated him, and diſmiſſed, without ranſom, the Athenian priſoners [m].

Though Athens now ſuſtained her greatneſs only by the influence of her ancient fame, ſhe was not to be treated with contempt. She had well-founded pretenſions on the city of Amphipolis in Macedonia, and the moſt evident intereſt in aſſerting her right. It was one of her colonies, and important in point of commeree, as it was through that channel that ſhe obtained her ſhip timber, her wool, and other articles of merchandiſe from Upper Thrace. After many revolutions, Amphipolis had fallen into the hands of Perdiccas, brother of Philip; and it could not be reſtored to its ancient maſters, without giving them a footing in Macedonia, nor kept without forcing them into a war. Philip, therefore, declared it independent, and ſigned a treaty of peace with the Athenians, in which that city was not mentioned. This ſilence left the contracting parties in poſſeſſion of their reſpective claims [n].

In the midſt of theſe ſucceſſes, oracles were rumoured among the people, which declared that Macedon ſhould reſume

[m] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 408.

[n] Id. lib. 16. p. 403. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 4. cap. 2. § 17.

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its ancient ſplendour under a ſon of Amyntas. Heaven had promiſed a great man to Macedonia; and the genius of Philip ſeemed to point him out [o]. The nation, perſuaded that, even by the declaration of the gods themſelves, he alone ought to govern who was able to defend them, inveſted him with the ſovereign authority, of which they deprived the ſon of Perdiccas.

Encouraged by their choice, Philip united part of Pæonia to Macedon; defeated the Illyrians, and obliged them to retire within their ancient limits [p]. He ſoon after made himſelf maſter of Amphipolis, which the Athenians, in the interval, had fruitleſsly endeavoured to retake, and of ſome adjoining cities, in which they hadg arriſons [q]. Athens, occupied with another war, was neither able to prevent nor to avenge hoſtilities, which Philip knew how to colour with ſpecious pretexts.

But nothing contributed more to augment his power, than the diſcovery of ſome gold mines, which, when worked, annually produced him upwards of a thouſand talents [r] *; he afterwards employed this wealth to corrupt the principal orators and ſtateſmen of the Grecian republics.

I have ſaid that the Athenians were obliged to ſhut their eyes to the firſt hoſtilities of Philip. The city of Byzantium, and the iſles of Chios, Cos, and Rhodes, had recently formed a league, to withdraw themſelves from their dependence [s] †. The war commenced with the ſiege of Chios. Chabrias commanded the fleet, and Chares the land forces [t]. The former enjoyed a reputation acquired by numerous great actions. He was only reproached with executing with too much ardour, projects formed with too much circumſpection [u]. Al-

[o] Juſtin. lib. 7. cap. 6.
[p] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 409.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 412. Polyæn Stratag. lib. 4. cap. 2. § 17.
[r] Strab. lib 7. p. 331 Senec. Quæſt. Nat lib. 5. cap. 15. Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 408 et 413
* Upwards of five millions four hundred thouſand livres (225,000 l.)
[s] Diod. ibid. p. 412. Demoſth. pro Rhod. Libert. p. 144.
† In the 3d year of the 105th Olympiad, before Chriſt 358 and 357.
[t] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 412.
[u] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 744.

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moſt his whole life had been paſſed at the head of armies, and far from Athens, where the fame of his opulence and merit excited much jealouſy [x]. The following anecdote will give an idea of his military talents. He was on the point of being defeated by Ageſilaus. The mercenaries in his army had fled, and the troops of Athens were ready to give way and follow their example. In this critical moment he commanded them to kneel on one knee, cover themſelves with their bucklers, and preſent their pikes. The king of Lacedæmon, ſurpriſed at a manœuvre never before practiſed, and thinking it would be dangerous to attack this phalanx of iron, gave the ſignal of retreat. The Athenians decreed a ſtatue to their general, and allowed him to be repreſented in the attitude which had ſaved them from the diſgrace of a defeat [y].

Chares, proud of trifling ſucceſſes [z] and ſlight wounds [a], for which he was indebted to chance, deſtitute beſides of real abilities, without modeſty, and intolerably vain, diſplayed a moſt offenſive luxury both in peace and war [b]; drew on himſelf in every campaign the contempt of the enemy, and the hatred of the allies; fomented diſſenſions among the friendly nations, and robbed them of their treaſures, of which he was at once covetous and laviſh [c]. He even carried his audacity to ſuch a height as to embezzle the pay of the ſoldiers to corrupt the orators [d], and to give entertainments to the people, who preferred him to all the other generals [e].

Chabrias, when he came in ſight of Chios, unable to moderate his ardour, ordered the rowers to redouble their exertions, entered ſingly into the port, and was immediately ſurrounded by the fleet of the enemy. After an obſtinate reſiſtance, his ſoldiers threw themſelves into the ſea, to ſwim to the other galleys which were coming to their aſſiſtance. Cha-

[x] Theopomp. ap. Athen lib. 12. p. 532. Nep. in Chabr. cap. 3.
[y] Nep. in Chabr. cap. 1.
[z] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 385.
[a] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 278.
[b] Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 532.
[c] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 747. Diod. ibid. p. 403.
[d] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 406.
[e] Theopomp. ap. Athen. ibid.

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brias might have followed their example, but he choſe rather to die than abandon his ſhip [f].

The ſiege of Chios was undertaken and raiſed. The war laſted four years [g]. We ſhall hereafter ſee in what manner it was terminated.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Feſtivals of the Athenians.

THE early feſtivals of Greece were characterized by joy and gratitude. The people of the different nations, after gathering in the fruits of the earth, aſſembled to offer up ſacrifices, and to indulge in that mirth which is the natural conſequence of plenty [h]. Several of the Athenian feſtivals bear the veſtiges of this origin: they celebrate the return of verdure, of the harveſts, the vintage, and the four ſeaſons of the year [i]; and as theſe acts of worſhip are addreſſed to Ceres and to Bacchus, the feſtivals of thoſe two divinities are more numerous than thoſe of the other deities.

In proceſs of time, the commemoration of beneficial or illuſtrious events was fixed to ſtated days, the more certainly to perpetuate them to poſterity. If we take a view of the Athenian calendar [k], we ſhall find in it an abſtract of the annals of Athens, and the events the moſt glorious to the city. At one time, the union of the people of Attica by Theſeus, the return of that prince into his ſtates, and the abolition of debts which he procured, are celebrated; and, at another, the the battles of Marathon and Salamis, or thoſe of Platæa, Naxos, &c [l].

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[f] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 412. Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 744. Nep. in Chabr. cap. 4.

[g] Diod. ibid. p. 424.

[h] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 8. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 110.

[i] Meurſ. Græc. Fer. Caſtellan. &c.

[k] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 349.

[l] Meurſ. Græc. Fer.

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The birth of children is a feſtival for individuals [m]; and the enrolling of theſe children among the number of the citizens, a national feſtival [n]; as is alſo, when, on attaining a certain age, they exhibit public teſtimonies of the progreſs they have made in the exerciſes of the gymnaſium [o]. Beſides theſe feſtivals, which intereſt the whole ſtate, there are others peculiar to each town.

The public ſolemnities are either annual, or return after a certain number of years. Such as were eſtabliſhed in the country from the remoteſt periods, are diſtinguiſhed from thoſe which have been recently borrowed from other nations [p]. Some of them are celebrated with extraordinary magnificence. On certain occaſions, I have ſeen three hundred oxen led in ſolemn pomp to the altars [q]. Upwards of eighty days [r], loſt to induſtry and ruſtic labours, are dedicated to ſpectacles calculated to divert the people after their fatigues, and to attach them to religion and the government. Theſe conſiſt of ſacrifices which inſpire reſpect by the pompous apparatus of the ceremonies; proceſſions in which the youth of both ſexes advantageouſly diſplay all their charms; theatrical pieces, the productions of the firſt geniuſes of Greece; dances, ſongs, and combats, in which bodily ſtrength, ſkill, and genius are by turns exhibited.

Theſe combats are of two kinds; the gymnaſtic exhibited at the ſtadium, and the ſcenic competitions at the theatre [s]. In the former, the prize is diſputed by running, wreſtling, and other exerciſes of the gymnaſium; and in the latter, by ſong and dance. As theſe conſtitute the chief ornament of the principal feſtivals [t], I ſhall proceed to give ſome idea of the exhibitions on the ſtage.

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[m] Id. ibid, in Amphidr.
[n] Id. ibid. in Apat.
[o] Id. ibid. in Oſchoph.
[p] Harpocr. in Ἔτνμ.
[q] Iſocr. Areop. t. i. p. 232.
[r] Iſocrat Paneg. t. i. p. 142. See the Athenian Calendar, in Petit, Corſini, &c.
[s] Poll. lib. 3. cap. 30. § 142.
[t] Lyſ. Defenſ. Mun. p. 374.

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Each of the ten tribes furniſhes a chorus, and a leader to conduct it [u]. This leader, who is named the choregus, muſt be at leaſt forty years of age [x]. The choice of the performers lies with him, and they are generally taken from the claſs of children, or of youths [y]. It is his intereſt to have an excellent player on the flute, to direct their voices, and an able maſter, to regulate their ſteps and geſtures [z]. As it is neceſſary to eſtabliſh the moſt perfect equality between the competitors, and as the victory frequently depends on the ſuperior ſkill of theſe teachers, one of the firſt magiſtrates of the republic ſees them drawn for by lot, in preſence of the different bands, and their reſpective choregi [a].

Some months previous to the feſtivals, they begin to exerciſe the performers; and the choregus, that they may be conſtantly under his eye, often takes them to live with him, and provides for their ſupport [b]. He appears at the feſtival, as well as his followers, with a gilt crown, and a magnificent robe [c].

Theſe functions, conſecrated by religion, are ſtill farther ennobled by the example of Ariſtides, Epaminondas, and the greateſt men, who have deemed it an honour to diſcharge them; but they are ſo expenſive, that many citizens refuſe the dangerous honour of ſacrificing part of their fortunes [d], to the precarious hope of riſing, by this means, to the firſt offices of magiſtracy.

Sometimes a tribe is unable to find a choregus, and in this caſe the ſtate takes upon itſelf the expence [e], orders two citizens conjointly to ſupport the burden [f], or permits the choregus of one tribe to conduct the chorus of another [g]. I ſhall

[u] Argum. Orat. in Mid. p. 600. Demoſth. ibid. p. 605. Id. in Bœot. p. 1002.
[x] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 262.
[y] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 764.
[z] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 606 et 612.
[a] Id. ibid. p. 605.
[b] Antiphon. Orat. 16. p. 143. Ulpian. in Leptin. p. 575.
[c] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 606 et 613. Antiphan. ap. Athen. lib. 3. p. 103.
[d] Lyſ Defenſ. Mun. p. 375. Demoſthen. in Mid. p. 605. Argum. Orat. in Mid. p. 600.
[e] Inſcript. Ant. ap. Spon. Voyag. t. ii. p. 326.
[f] Ariſtot. ap. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 408.
[g] Antiphon. Orat. 16. p. 143.

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add likewiſe that each tribe is eager to obtain the beſt poet, to compoſe the ſacred hymns [h].

The choruſes appear in the *pomps* or proceſſions; they range themſelves around the altars, and ſing hymns during the ſacrifice [i]; they repair to the theatre, where, deputed to maintain the honour of their reſpective tribes [k], their exertions are animated by the moſt lively emulation. Their leaders employ intrigues and corruption to obtain the victory [l]. Judges are appointed to decree the prize [m], which ſometimes is a tripod, carefully conſecrated by the victorious tribe, either in a temple [n], or in an edifice erected on the occaſion [o].

The people, almoſt as jealous of their pleaſures as of their liberty, wait the deciſion of the conteſt, with the ſame anxiety, the ſame tumult, as if their moſt important intereſts were the object of diſcuſſion. The glory reſulting from the victory is ſhared between the triumphant chorus, the tribe to which it belongs, the choregus who is at its head, and the maſters who have given the preparatory leſſons [p].

Every thing relative to theſe ſpectacles is provided for and ſettled by the laws. They declare the perſons of the choregus and the actors inviolable during theſe feſtivals [q]; they regulate the number of the ſolemnities when the different kinds of games, of which the people are ſo paſſionately enamoured, ſhall be preſented [r]. Such, amongſt others, are the Panathenæa and the greater Dionyſia, or Dionyſia of the city.

The former fall in the firſt month, which begins at the ſummer ſolſtice. Inſtituted in the earlieſt ages in honour of Minerva,

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[h] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 1404. Schol. ib.
[i] Plat. de Leg lib. 7. t. ii. p. 800.
[k] Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 311.
[l] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 604 et 612.
[m] Id. ibid. p. 606.
[n] Id. ibid. p. 604. Id. in Pænipp. p. 1025. Plut. in Ariſtid. t. i. p. 318. Athen. lib. 1. p. 37. Suid. in Πυθ. Taylor in Marmor. Sandvic. p. 67.
[o] Plut. in X. Rhet. Vit. t. ii p. 835. Chandl. Inſcript. p. 48.
[p] Lucian. in Hermot. t. i. p. 851. Inſcript. Antiq. ap. Spon. Voyag. t. ii. p. 315 et 327; ap. Van Dale, de Gymnaſ. cap. 5. ap. Taylor. in Marm. Sandvic. p. 70.
[q] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 612.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 604.

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and revived by Theſeus in memory of the union of all the people of Attica, their return is annual; but they are celebrated with additional ceremony and ſplendour in the fifth year [s]. The following is the order obſerved in them, according to the remarks I made the firſt time I had an opportunity of being preſent.

The people who inhabit the different towns of Attica thronged to the capital, leading with them a great number of victims deſtined for ſacrifices to the goddeſs [t]. In the morning I repaired to the banks of the Iliſſus, and ſaw the horſe races, in which the ſons of the firſt citizens of Athens contended for the honour of the victory [u]; I went to the ſtadium, and ſaw other young men ſtruggling for the prize at wreſtling, and different exerciſes of the body [x]; then proceeding to the Odéum, I found there ſeveral muſicians engaged in gentler and leſs perilous conteſts [y]. Some executed pieces on the flute or cithara; others ſang and accompanied their voices with one of theſe inſtruments [z]. The ſubject propoſed to them was the eulogium of Harmodius, Ariſtogiton, and Thraſybulus, who had reſcued the republic from the yoke of the tyrants by which it was oppreſſed [a]: for, among the Athenians, public inſtitutions are ſo many monuments for the citizens who have ſerved the ſtate, and leſſons for thoſe who are called upon to render it ſervice. A crown of olive, and a veſſel filled with oil, were the prizes beſtowed upon the victors [b]. Crowns were afterwards conferred on individuals, who appeared to the people to have merited that mark of honour, by their zeal in the ſervice of their country [c].

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[s] Meurſ. Panathen. Corſin. Faſt. Attic. t. ii. p. 357. Caſtell. de Feſt. Græc. in Panathen.

[t] Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 185. Schol. ib.

[u] Xenoph. Sympoſ. p. 872. Athen. lib. 4. p. 168

[x] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 492. Xenoph. ibid.

[y] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 160.

[z] Meurſ. Panath. cap. 10.

[a] Philoſtr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 7. cap. 4. p. 283.

[b] Ariſtot. ap. Schol. Sophocl. in Ædip. Colon. v. 730. Schol. Pind. Nem. od. x. v. 65. Meurſ. Panath. c. 13.

[c] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 492.

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I next went to the Ceramicus, to see the procession pass that was formed without the walls [d], and beginning to file off. It was composed of different classes of citizens crowned with chaplets of flowers [e], and remarkable for their personal beauty. Among the number were old men of a majestic and venerable appearance, bearing branches of olive [f]; middle aged men, who, armed with lances and with bucklers, seemed only to respire war [g]; youth from eighteen to twenty, who sang hymns in honour of the goddess [h]; beautiful boys clad in a simple tunic [i], adorned only with their native graces; and, lastly, girls, who were of the first families in Athens, and whose features, shape, and deportment, attracted every eye [k]. With their hands they held baskets on their heads, which under a rich veil, contained sacred utensils, cakes, and every thing necessary for the sacrifices [l]. Female attendants, who followed them, with one hand held over them an umbrella, and carried in the other a folding chair [m]. This is a species of servitude imposed on the daughters of all foreigners settled at Athens: a servitude they share in common with their fathers and mothers, who likewise carried on their shoulders vessels filled with water and honey, for the purpose of libations [n].

They were followed by eight musicians, four of whom played on the flute, and four on the lyre [o]. After them came rhapsodists singing the poems of Homer [p], and dancers armed at all points, who, attacking each other at intervals, represented, to the sound of the flute, the battle of Minerva with the Titans [q].

d Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 57.
e Demosth. in Mid. p. 612.
f Xenoph. Sympos. p. 883. Etymol. Magn. et Hesych. in Θαλλοφ.
g Thucyd. ibid. cap. 58.
h Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 1. p. 18.
i Meurs. Panath. cap. 24.
k Hesych. et Harpocr in Κανηφ. Ovid. Metamor. lib. 2. v. 711.
l Aristoph. in Pac. v. 948.
m Aristoph. in Av. v. 1550. Schol. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 1.
n Ælian. ibid. Harpocr. in Μετοικ. Id. et Hesych. in Σκαφ. Poll. lib. 3. cap. 4. § 55.
o Drawings of Nointel, preserved in the king of France's library.
p Lycurg. in Leocr. part 2. p. 161. Plat. in Hipp. t. ii. p. 228.
q Aristoph. in Nub. v. 984. Schol. ibid. Lys. in Mun. Accept. p. 374. Meurs. Panathen. cap. 12.

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Next came a ship that appeared to glide over the ground by the power of the wind, and the efforts of a great number of rowers, but which really was put in motion by concealed machinery [r]. The vessel had a sail of light stuff [s], on which young girls had represented in embroidery the victory of Minerva over the Titans [t]. On it also they had depicted, by order of the government, some heroes whose illustrious deeds had merited to be celebrated with those of the gods [u].

This procession marched on with solemn steps, under the direction of several magistrates [x], and traversed the most frequented quarter of the city, amidst a crowd of spectators, most of whom were placed on scaffolds erected for the occasion [y]. When it had reached the temple of the Pythian Apollo [z], the sail of the ship was taken down and carried to the citadel, where it was deposited in the temple of Minerva [a].

In the evening I followed the crowd to the academy, to see the torch race. The course is only six or seven stadia in length [b]. It extends from the altar of Prometheus, which is at the gate of this garden, to the walls of the city [c]. Several young men are stationed in this interval at equal distances [d]. When the shouts of the multitude have given the signal [e], the first lights his flambeau at the altar [f], and running with it, hands it to the second, who transmits it in the same manner to the third, and so successively [g]. He who suffers it to be extinguished can no more enter the lists [h], and they who slacken their pace, are exposed to the railleries, and even blows, of the populace [i]. To gain the prize, it is necessary to have

[r] Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 1. p. 17. Philostr. in Sophist. lib. 2. p. 550. Meurs. Panath cap. 19.
[s] Harpocr. in Πέπλ.
[t] Plat. in Eutyphr. t. i. p. 6. Eurip. in Hecub. v. 466. Schol. ibid Suid. in Πέπλ.
[u] Aristoph. in Equit. v. 562. Schol. ib
[x] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 93.
[y] Athen. lib. 4. p. 167.
[z] Philostr. in Sophost lib. 2. p. 550.
[a] Plat. in Eutyphr. t. i. p. 6.
[b] Cicer. de Fin. lib. 5. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 196.
[c] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 30. p. 75.
[d] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 98.
[e] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 133.
[f] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 79.
[g] Herodot. ibid. Æschyl. in Agam. v 320. Meurs. Græc. Fer. lib. 5. in Lampad.
[h] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 30. p. 75.
[i] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 1125. Schol. ibid. Hesych. in Κέρμ.

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paſſed through the different ſtations with ſucceſs. This trial of ſkill was frequently repeated, and is diverſified according to the nature of the feſtivals [k].

The candidates who had been crowned at the different exerciſes, invited their friends to ſupper [l]. Sumptuous repaſts were given in the prytaneum and other public places, which laſted till the following day [m]. The people among whom the immolated victims were diſtributed [n], ſpread tables on every ſide, and gave a looſe to their lively and tumultuous mirth.

Several days of the year are dedicated to the worſhip of Bacchus [o]. The city, the harbour of Piræus, the country, and the neighbouring towns, by turns re-echo with his name. I have more than once ſeen the whole city in a ſtate of the moſt complete intoxication [p]; I have ſeen Bacchanals and Bacchanalian nymphs crowned with ivy, fennel, and poplar, with convulſive agitations, dance and howl through the ſtreets, and invoke Bacchus with barbarous acclamations [q]; I have ſeen them tear the raw entrails of the victims with their teeth and nails, ſqueeze ſerpents in their hands, interweave them in their hair, twiſt them round their bodies, and by ſuch kind of extravagances attract the attention of the terrified multitude [r].

Similar ſcenes are in ſome meaſure exhibited at a feſtival which is celebrated on the firſt appearance of ſpring. The city is then filled with ſtrangers [s], who repair thither in crowds, to bring the tribute of the iſlands ſubjected to the Athenians [t], to ſee the new pieces preſented at the theatre [u], and to be preſent at the games and public ſhows, but, above all, at a proceſſion which repreſents the triumph of Bacchus. In this the ſame retinue is exhibited with which that god is ſaid to

[k] Plat. de Rep. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 328.
[l] Athen. lib. 4. p. 168.
[m] Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 1. p. 18.
[n] Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 385. Schol. ibid.
[o] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 604.
[p] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 637.
[q] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 516.
[r] Plut. in Alex. t. i. p. 665. Clem. Alex. Protrept. t. i. p. 11.
[s] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 637.
[t] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 377.
[u] Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 603. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 311.

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have been attended when he made the conqueſt of India: men who perſonate ſatyrs, others who repreſent the god Pan [x]; ſome dragging goats along to ſacrifice them [y]; others mounted on aſſes in imitation of Silenus [z]; others diſguiſed like women [a]; others again carrying obſcene figures, ſuſpended on long poles [b], and ſinging the moſt licentious hymns [c]: in fine, all ſorts of perſons, of both ſexes, moſt of them clad in the ſkins of fawns [d], concealed under maſks [e], crowned with ivy, either drunk or feigning to be ſo [f], mingling their uninterrupted ſhouts with the ſound of inſtruments; ſome agitating their bodies like madmen, and abandoning themſelves to all the convulſions of fury; others executing regular and military dances, but holding vaſes inſtead of bucklers, and throwing thyrſi in the manner of darts, with which they ſometimes menace and inſult the ſpectators [g].

In the midſt of theſe bands of furies, the choruſes deputed by the different tribes advance in the moſt perfect order [h], and a number of young women, of the moſt diſtinguiſhed families of the city, walk with downcaſt eyes [i], decked out in all their ornaments, and bearing on their heads the ſacred baſkets, which, beſides offerings of the earlieſt fruits, contain cakes of different forms, grains of ſalt, ivy leaves, and other myſterious ſymbols [k].

The roofs of the houſes, which are in the form of terraces, are covered with ſpectators, and eſpecially women, moſt of them with lamps and torches [l], to light the proceſſion, which almoſt always begins its march at night [m], halting in the

[x] Plut. in Anton. t. i. p. 926. Athen. lib. 5. p. 197.
[y] Plut. de Cup. Divit. t. ii. p. 527.
[z] Ulpian. in Mid. p. 688.
[a] Heſych. in Ἰθύφαλ.
[b] Herodot lib. 2. cap. 49. Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 242.
[c] Ariſtoph. ibid. v. 260.
[d] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 1242. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 12. p. 148.
[e] Plut. de Cup. Divit. ibid. Athen. lib. 14. p. 622. Demoſth. in Mid. p. 632.
[g] Demoſt. ib. Athen. lib. 14. p. 631.
[h] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 475.
[i] Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 241. Schol. ibid. Id. v. 253, &c.
[k] Clem. Alex. Protrept. t. i. p. 19. Caſtellan. in Dionyſ.
[l] Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 261. Caſaub. in Athen. lib. 4. cap. 12.
[m] Sophocl. in Antigon. v. 1161. Schol. ibid.

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squares and public places, to make libations, and offer up victims in honour of Bacchus [n].

The day is consecrated to different games. The company repair early to the theatre [o], either to be present at the competitions in music and dancing between the choruses, or to see the new pieces which the poets have prepared for the occasion.

The first of the nine archons presides at these festivals [p]; the second at other solemnities [q]; and both have officers under them to relieve them in their functions [r], and guards to drive all persons from the theatre, or other spectacles, who are the occasion of any disturbance [s].

As long as these festivals continue, the least violence done to a citizen is criminal, and no creditor is allowed to prosecute his debtor. All crimes and disorders committed at this time are severely punished on the succeeding days [t].

The women alone participate in the festivals of Adonis [u], and in those which, under the name of Thesmophoria, are celebrated in honour of Ceres and Proserpine [x]: both these are accompanied with ceremonies which I have more than once described, or of which I am unable to penetrate the meaning.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the Houses and Entertainments of the Athenians.

The houses of the Athenians in general consist of two sets of apartments; the upper story for the women, and the lower for the men [y]. The roofs have terraces [z], with a large pro-

[n] Demosth. in Mid. p. 611.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 615.
[p] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 89. Plut. in Cim. p. 483.
[q] Poll. ibid. §. 90.
[r] Demosth. ibid. p. 605.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 631.
[t] Demosth. in Mid. p. 604.
[u] Meurs. Græc. Fer. lib. 1. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii p. 98.
[x] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxix. p. 203.
[y] Lys. de Cæd. Eratosth. p. 6.
[z] Plin. lib. 36. cap. 25. p. 756.

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jection at each extremity [a]. Athens is reckoned to contain upwards of ten thouſand [b].

A conſiderable number have gardens behind them [c], and in the front a ſmall court, or rather a ſort of portico [d], at the end of which is the houſe door, ſometimes intruſted to the care of a eunuch [e]. We there find ſometimes either a figure of Mercury to drive away thieves [f], or a dog, who is a much more effectual guard [g], and almoſt always an altar in honour of Apollo, on which the maſter of the houſe ſacrifices on certain days [h].

Strangers are ſhown the houſes of Miltiades, Ariſtides, Themiſtocles, and other great men of the laſt age. Formerly nothing diſtinguiſhed them from the others; at preſent they are conſpicuous from their contraſt with the ſumptuous edifices which men, deſtitute either of fame or virtue, have had the effrontery to erect by the ſide of theſe modeſt habitations [i]. Since a taſte for building has been introduced at Athens, the arts are conſtantly employed to encourage and improve it. The ſtreets are made more ſtraight and regular [k], the modern houſes are built with two wings, and the apartments of the huſband and wife placed on the ground floor; they are rendered more commodious by a judicious diſtribution of all the parts, and more ſplendid by a variety of embelliſhments.

Such was the houſe occupied by Dinias, one of the moſt opulent and luxurious citizens of Athens, whoſe oſtentation and expenſive profuſion was ſuch as preſently to diſſipate his

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[a] Ariſtot. Æconom. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 502. Polyæn. Strat. lib. 3. cap. 9. § 30.

[b] Xenoph. Memor. p. 774.

[c] Terent. in Adelph. act. 5. ſcen. 5. v. 10.

[d] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 311. Vitruv. lib. 6. cap. 10. p. 119.

[e] Plat. ibid. t. i. p. 314.

[f] Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 1155. Schol. ibid.

[g] Id. in Lyſiſt. v. 1217. Theophr. Charact. cap. 4. Appollodor. ap. Athen. lib. 1. p. 3.

[h] Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 870. Schol. ibid. Plat. de Rep. l. 1. t. ii. p. 328.

[i] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 825. Demoſth. Olynth. 3. p. 38 et 39. Id. de Rep. Ordin. p. 127. Id. in Ariſtocr. p. 758

[k] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 7. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 438.

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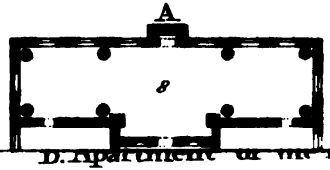
PLAN OF A GRECIAN HOUSE
AFTER VITRUVIUS.



A. Apartment of the Wife.

1. Entrance or First Door to the Street
2. Passage called by Vitruvius Iter
3. Second or inner Door
4. Lodges of the Porters
5. Peristyle
6. Porticos
7. Vestibule
8. Work-Shops
9. Bed-chamber or Thalamus
10. Chamber for Visits or Amphithalamus
11. Dining-Room
12. Rooms for the Servants
13. Communication between the apartment of the Wife and that of the Husband.

D. Apartment of the Husband.

a. Vestibules
b. Great Peristyle
c. Porticos
d. Rhodian Portico
e. Banquetting Hall
f. Libraries
g. Gallery of Pictures
h. Dining Room
i. Halls of Audience and Conversation
k. Apartments for the Guests
l. Stables and Court-yard
m. Garden
n. Alleys called Mesaulæ

T. Cook. sc.

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fortune. He was conſtantly followed by three or four ſlaves [l], and his wife Lyſiſtrate never appeared in public but in a carriage drawn by four white Sicyonian horſes [m]. Like other Athenians, he was always ſerved by a waiting woman, who ſhared the nuptial privileges with his wife [n]; and was never without a kept miſtreſs in the city, on whom he generouſly beſtowed her freedom and a ſettlement before he quitted her [o]. Eager to promote his own enjoyments and thoſe of his friends, he was continually giving feaſts and entertainments.

I requeſted him one day to ſhow me his houſe, and afterwards drew a plan of it, which I ſubjoin *. A long and narrow avenue led directly to the apartment of the women: no men are permitted to enter except near relations, and ſuch as are introduced by the huſband. After croſſing a periſtyle ſurrounded by three porticos, we arrived at a large room, where we found Lyſiſtrate, to whom I was preſented by Dinias.

She was employed in embroidering a robe; but her attention was ſtill more engaged by two Sicilian doves, and a little Malteſe lap-dog that was playing about her [p]. Lyſiſtrate was reckoned one of the handſomeſt women in Athens, and took no ſmall pains to ſupport this reputation by the elegance of her dreſs. Her black hair, perfumed with eſſences [q], floated in large treſſes on her ſhoulders; golden trinkets adorned her ears [r]; her neck and arms were ornamented with ſtrings of pearls [s], and her fingers with precious ſtones [t]. Not ſatisfied with her natural complexion, ſhe had employed artificial aids, to rival the bloom of the roſe and the lily [u]. She was

[l] Demoſth. pro Phorm. p. 965.
[m] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 628.
[n] Id. in Neær. p. 881.
[o] Id. pro Phorm. p. 965.
* See the plan; and the note which is at the end of the volume.
[p] Theophr. Charact. cap. 5 et 21.
[q] Lucian. Amor. t. ii. p. 441.
[r] Lyſ. contr. Eratoſth. p. 198. Lacrt. lib. 3. § 42.
[s] Anacr. od. 20. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 847. Theophr. de Lapid. § 64.
[t] Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 331.
[u] Lyſ. de Cæd. Eratoſth. p. 8. Athen lib. 13. cap. 3. p. 568. Etymol. Magn. in Ἐψιμ. et in Ἔγχ.

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dreſſed in a white robe, ſuch as are uſually worn by women of diſtinction [x].

At this moment we heard a voice inquiring whether Lyſiſtrate was at home [y]. Yes, anſwered a ſlave, who immediately entered to announce Eucharis, a female friend of Lyſiſtrate, who ran to meet her, tenderly embraced her, ſat down by her, and never ceaſed praiſing her on her figure and adjuſtment. How divinely you look! it is impoſſible to be better dreſſed. This ſtuff is charming, and becomes you wonderfully. How much did it coſt [z]?

As I perceived that this converſation would not be ſoon ended, I requeſted the permiſſion of Lyſiſtrate to examine the reſt of the apartment. The firſt object that attracted my attention was the toilet. I there ſaw ſilver baſons and ewers; different ſorts of mirrors; bodkins to diſentangle the hair, irons to curl it [a], fillets of different breadths to bind it, nets to confine it [b], yellow powder to colour it [c]; bracelets and earrings of various kinds; boxes containing red and white paint; black to tinge the eye-brows; and every utenſil neceſſary for cleaning the teeth [d].

I examined all theſe objects with the greateſt attention; Dinias however ſeemed unable to comprehend why they ſhould appear novel to a Scythian. He next ſhowed me his own portrait and that of his lady [e]; and, on my appearing aſtoniſhed at the elegance of his furniture, told me that, deſirous to avail himſelf of the induſtry and ſuperior ingenuity of foreign workmen, he had procured his ſeats to be made in Theſſaly [f], his matreſſes at Corinth [g], and his pillows at Carthage [h]; and, ſeeing my ſurpriſe increaſe, he laughed at my

[x] Ariſtoph. in Theſmoph. v. 848. Schol. ibid.
[y] Theocr. Idyll. 15. v. 1.
[z] Ariſtoph. in Lyſiſt. v. 78. Theocr. ibid. v. 34.
[a] Lucian. Amor. t. ii. § 39 et 40. Poll. lib. 5. cap. 16. § 95. Not. Var. ibid.
[b] Homer. Iliad. lib. 22. v. 468.
[c] Heſych. in Θέψιν. Schol. Theocr. in Idyll. 2. v. 88.
[d] Lucian. Amor. t. ii. § 39 et 40.
[e] Theophr. Charact. cap. 2.
[f] Crit. ap. Athen. lib. 1. p. 28. Poll. lib. 10 cap. 11. § 48.
[g] Antiph. ap. Athen. p. 27.
[h] Hermipp. ibid. p. 28.

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simplicity, and, in vindication of himself, added, that Xenophon appeared in the army with an Argive buckler, an Athenian cuirass, a Bœotion helmet, and a horse from Epidaurus [i].

We now proceeded to the apartments of the men, in the centre of which we found a small grass-plat [k], surrounded by four porticos, the walls of which were lined with stucco, and wainscotted [l]. These porticos communicate with several halls or chambers, most of them beautifully decorated. The elegance of the furniture was heightened by gold and ivory [m]; the walls and ceilings [n] were ornamented with paintings [o]; the tapestry of the doors [p], and the carpeting manufactured at Babylon, represented Persians with their sweeping robes, vultures and different kinds of birds, and various fantastic animals [q].

Nor did Dinias display less luxury at his table than in his house. I shall give, from my journal, a description of the first supper to which I was invited with my friend Philotas.

The company was to assemble towards the evening, as soon as the shade of the gnomon should be twelve feet long [r]. We were careful to be neither too soon nor too late, agreeable to the rules of Athenian politeness [s]. We found Dinias hurrying about and giving his orders. He introduced to us Philonides, one of those parasites who ingratiate themselves with the rich, to do the honours of the house and furnish amusement for the guests [t]. From time to time we observed him shaking off the dust that stuck upon the robe of Dinias [u]. A

i Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3. p. 24. Poll. lib. 1. cap. 10. § 149.
k Plin. Jun. lib. 7. epist. 27.
l Vitruv. lib. 6. cap. 10.
m Bacchyl. ap. Athen. lib. 2. cap. 3. p. 39.
n Plat. de Rep. lib. 7. t. ii p. 529. Andoc. de Alcibiad. part. 2. p. 31. Xenoph. Mem. lib. 5. p. 844.
o Theophr. Char. cap. 5.
q Callixen. ap. Athen. lib. 5. cap. 6. p. 197. Hipparch. ap. Eumd. lib. 11. cap. 7. p. 477. Aristoph. in Ran. v. 969. Spanh. ibid. p 312.
r Hesych. in Δωδεκ. Menand. ap. Athen. lib. 6. cap. 10. p. 243. Casaub. ibid.
s Schol. Theocr. in Idyll. 7. v. 24. Plut. Sympos. lib. 8. quæst. 6. t. ii. p. 726.
t Theophr. Charact. cap. 20.
u Id. ibid. cap. 2.

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moment after arrived Nicocles the phyſician, much fatigued: he had a great many patients, he ſaid; but their ailments were only ſlight colds and coughs, the conſequence of the rains that had fallen ſince the beginning of autumn [x]. He was ſoon followed by Leon, Zopyrus, and Theotimus, three Athenians of diſtinction, attached to Dinias from love of pleaſure. Laſt of all Democharès made his appearance uninvited [y]. He was a man of wit and agreeable talents, and met with the moſt welcome reception from the whole company.

We paſſed into the dining room, where frankincenſe and other odours were burning [z]. On the buffet were diſplayed ſilver and gilt vaſes, ſome of them enriched with precious ſtones [a].

Some ſlaves in waiting now poured water on our hands [b], and placed chaplets on our heads [c]. We drew by lot for the king of the banquet [d], whoſe office it is to keep the company within bounds, without checking a proper degree of freedom; to give the ſignal for circulating bumpers; name the toaſts, and ſee that all the laws of drinking are obſerved *. Chance decided in favour of Democharès.

After the table had been ſeveral times wiped with a ſponge [e], we ſeated ourſelves around it on couches [f], with coverlets of purple [g]. The bill of fare of the ſupper being brought to Dinias [h], we ſet apart the firſt portion of it for the altar of Diana [i]. Each of us had brought his ſervant [k]. Dinias was

[x] Hippocr. Aphoriſm. ſect. 3. § 13.
[y] Plat. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 174.
[z] Archeſtr. ap. Athen. lib. 3. cap. 21. p. 101.
[a] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 417. Theophr. Charact. cap. 23. Id. de Lapid. § 63. Plut in Alcib. t. i. p. 193.
[b] Athen. lib. 9. cap. 1. p. 366. Duport. in Theophr. p. 454.
[c] Archeſtr. ap. Athen. l. 3. p. 101.
[d] Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 973. Laert. lib. 8. § 64. Plut. Sympoſ. lib. 1. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 620.
* By one of theſe laws, a man muſt either drink or leave the table (Cicer. Tuſcul. 5. cap. 41. t. ii. p. 395). Sometimes the company contented themſelves with pouring on the head of the delinquent the wine he refuſed to drink (Laert. lib. 8. § 64).
[e] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 20. v. 151. Martial. Epigr. 142. lib. 14.
[f] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 842. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 7. cap. ultim. t. ii. p. 448.
[g] Athen. lib. 2. cap. 9. p. 48.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 10. p. 49.
[i] Theophr. Charact. cap. 10. Duport. ibid.
[k] Id. ibid. cap. 9.

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waited on by a negro, by one of thoſe Æthiopian ſlaves who are purchaſed by the rich at a great price, to diſtinguiſh themſelves from other citizens [l].

I ſhall not enter into a minute detail of an entertainment which every moment afforded us freſh proofs of the opulence and prodigality of Dinias: to give a general idea of it will be ſufficient.

We were firſt preſented with ſeveral ſorts of ſhell-fiſh; ſome as they come out of the ſea; others roaſted on the aſhes, or fried in ſtoves; and moſt of them ſeaſoned with pepper and cummin [m]. Freſh eggs were ſerved up at the ſame time, both of common fowls and peahens, the latter of which are in the higheſt eſtimation [n]; ſauſages [o], pigs feet [p], a wild boar's liver [q], a lamb's head [r], calves chitterlings [s], a ſow's belly ſeaſoned with cummin, vinegar, and ſilphium [t]; ſmall birds, on which was poured a very hot ſauce compoſed of ſcraped cheeſe, oil, vinegar, and ſilphium [u]. In the ſecond courſe we were preſented with whatever was eſteemed moſt exquiſite in game, poultry, and particularly fiſh. The third courſe conſiſted of fruit.

Among the multitude of dainties that were ſucceſſively placed on the table, each gueſt had the liberty of chooſing what was moſt agreeable to the taſte of his friends, and ſending it to them [x]: an attention ſeldom omitted at ceremonious entertainments.

No ſooner had we begun ſupper, than Democharès taking a cup, ſlightly applied it to his lips, and handed it round the table, each of us touching the liquor in his turn. This firſt

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[l] Id. ibid. cap. 21. Caſaub. ibid. Terent. in Eunuch. act. 1. ſcen. 2. v. 85.
[m] Athen. lib. 3. cap. 12. p. 90, &c.
[n] Triph. ap. Athen. lib. 2. p. 58.
[o] Ariſtoph. in Equ. v. 161. Henric. Steph. in Αλλᾶς.
[p] Ecphant. et Pherecr. ap. Athen. lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 96.
[q] Eub. ap. Ath. lib. 7. cap. 24. p. 330.
[r] Id. ibid.
[s] Id. ibid. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 716.
[t] Archeſtr. ap. Athen. lib. 3. cap. 21. p. 101.
[u] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 532 et 1578.
[x] Id. in charn. v. 1048. Theoph. Charact. cap. 17. Caſaub. ibid. p. 137.

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taſte is conſidered as the ſymbol and bond of friendſhip by which the gueſts are united. Other full cups quickly followed this, regulated by the healths Democharès drank, ſometimes to one, ſometimes to another [y], and which the perſon drank to immediately returned.

The converſation at table was lively, without interruption, or any particular object, and inſenſibly led to pleaſantries reſpecting the ſuppers of men of wit and philoſophers, who loſe moments ſo precious in puzzling each other with riddles and ænigmas [z], or in a methodical diſcuſſion of the moſt obſcure queſtions in morals or metaphyſics [a]. By way of ridiculing this practice, Democharès propoſed that we ſhould diſplay our knowledge in the choice of the diſhes moſt agreeable to the palate, the art of preparing them, and the facility of procuring them at Athens. As we had determined to imitate as cloſely as poſſible the banquets of the ſages, it was agreed that each perſon preſent ſhould ſpeak in his turn, and treat his ſubject with the utmoſt gravity, without being either too prolix, or too negligent in his details.

The ceremony was to begin with me; but, as I was but little acquainted with the ſubject which was to be diſcuſſed, I was on the point of making my excuſe, when Democharès begged me to give the company an idea of the Scythian repaſts. I anſwered in a few words, that their ſole food was honey, and the milk of cows or mares [b], to which they were ſo accuſtomed from their birth, as not to ſtand in need of nurſes [c]; that they received the milk in large pails, and churned it a conſiderable time to ſeparate the moſt delicate part of it from the reſt, an employment which they allotted to ſuch priſoners as the chance of war threw into their hands [d];

[y] Homer. Iliad. lib. 4. v. 3. Ariſtoph. in Lyſiſt. v. 204. Athen. lib. 10. p. 432 et 444. Feith. Antiq. Homer. lib. 3 p. 306.

[z] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 404. Athen. lib. 10. cap. 15. p. 448.

[a] Plat. Conviv. t. iii. p. 172. Xenoph. ibid. p. 872. Plut. Sept. Sapient. Conviv. t. ii. p 146.

[b] Juſtin. lib. 2. cap. 2.

[c] Antiph. ap. Athen. lib. 6. cap. 2. p. 226.

[d] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 2.

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but I was careful not to add that they put out the eyes of theſe unhappy men to prevent them from eſcaping.

After other particulars which I ſuppreſs, Leon taking up the converſation, ſaid, The Athenians are perpetually reproached with their frugality [e]. Our meals indeed are in general ſhorter and leſs ſumptuous than thoſe of the Thebans and ſome other of the Grecian ſtates [f]; but we have begun to follow their example, and preſently they will follow ours. Every day we add new refinements to the pleaſures of the table, and ſee our ancient ſimplicity gradually diſappear, with all thoſe patriotic virtues which originated in neceſſity, and could not be the growth of all ages. Let our orators remind us as often as they pleaſe of the battles of Marathon and Salamis; let ſtrangers admire the monuments that decorate this city: Athens poſſeſſes a more ſubſtantial advantage, in my eyes, in that abundance which we enjoy here during the whole year; and in that market which daily preſents to us the choiceſt productions of the iſlands and the continent. I am not afraid to aſſert it: there is no country in which it is eaſier to find good cheer, not excepting even Sicily.

We have nothing to wiſh for with reſpect to butcher's meat and fowls. Our poultry yards, either in town or country, are admirably ſtocked with capons [g], pigeons [h], ducks [i], chickens, and geeſe, which we have a particular art of fattening [k]. The ſeaſons, in their ſucceſſion, bring us becaficos [l], quails [m], thruſhes [n], larks [o], red-breaſts [p], ſtock-doves [q],

[e] Eubul. ap. Athen. lib. 2. cap. 8. p. 47.

[f] Diphil. et Polyb. ap. Athen. lib. 4. p. 17 et 18. Eubul. ap. eumd. lib. 10. cap. 4. p. 417.

[g] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 9. cap. 50. t. i. p. 956.

[h] Id. ibid. lib 1. cap. 1. p. 763. Athen. lib. 9. cap. 11. p. 393.

[i] Athen. ibid. p. 395. Mneſim. ibid. cap. 15. p. 403.

[k] Athen. ibid. cap. 8. p. 384. Varr. de Re Ruſtic. lib. 3. cap. 8. § 9 Cicer. Acad. lib. 2. cap. 18. t ii. p. 26. Plin. lib. 10. cap. 50. t. i. p. 571.

[l] Ariſtot. ib. lib. 8. cap. 3. t. i. p. 902. Athen. lib. 2. cap 24. p. 65. Epicharm. ibid. lib. 9. p. 398.

[m] Athen. ibid. cap. 10. p. 392.

[n] Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 1149. Athen. lib. 2. p. 64.

[o] Ariſtot. ibid. lib. 9. cap. 25. t. i. p. 935.

[p] Id. ibid. lib. 8. cap. 3. p. 902. Plin. lib. 10. cap. 9. p. 561.

[q] Id. ibid. Athen. lib. 9. p. 393.

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turtles [r], woodcocks [s], and francolins [t]. The Phaſis preſents to us the birds that are the ornament of its banks, and which may be ſtyled, with ſtill more juſtice, the ornament of our tables. They begin to multiply among us in the pheaſant-grounds eſtabliſhed by ſome wealthy individuals [u]. Our plains are covered with hares and partridges [x]; our hills with thyme, roſemary, and other herbs fit to give a flavour and perfume to our rabbits. The adjacent foreſts furniſh us with wild boars and their young ones [y]; and from the iſle of Melos we have the beſt roebucks in Greece [z].

The ſea too, ſaid Zopyrus, taking up the diſcourſe, attentive to remit the tribute due to her maſters, enriches our tables with delicate fiſh [a]. We have the lamprey [b], the dorado [c], the weever [d], the xiphias [*] [e], the pagrus [f], the ſhad [g], and tunnies in abundance [h].

Nothing is comparable to the conger-eel we procure from Sicyon [i], the glaucus taken at Megara [k]; the turbot, the mackerel, the ſoles, the mullets and rochets that frequent our coaſts [l]. The pilchards taken in other countries are the food of the common people; thoſe we catch in the vicinity of Pha-

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[r] Id. ibid. p. 394.

[s] Id. ibid. cap. 26. p. 93.

[t] Ariſtoph. et Alexand. apud Athen. lib. 9. p. 387. Phœnic. ap. eumd. lib. 14. cap. 18. p. 652. Ariſtot. ibid. lib. 9. cap. 49. p. 955.

[u] Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 109. Schol. ibid. Ariſtot. lib. 6. cap. 2. t. i. p. 859. Philox. ap. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 2 p. 147.

[x] Athen. lib. 9. p. 388. Wheeler, a Journey, &c. book 5. p. 352.

[y] Xenoph. de Venat. p. 991. Mneſim. ap. Athen. lib. 9. cap. 15. p. 403. Spon. t. ii. p. 56.

[z] Athen. lib. 1. cap. 4. p. 4.

[a] Spon. ibid. p. 147. Wheel. ibid.

[b] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 8. cap. 13. p. 909. Theophr. ap. Athen. lib. 7. cap. 18. p. 312.

[c] Epich. et Archeſtr. ap. Athen. lib. 7. cap. 24. p. 328. Aldrov. de Piſc. lib. 2. cap. 15. p. 169. Geſn. de Piſc. p. 128.

[d] Mneſim. ap. Athen. lib. 9. cap. 15. p. 403. Aldrov. ib. lib. 2. p. 255.

[e] Athen. lib. 7. cap. 7. p. 282. Aldrov. ibid. lib. 3. p. 330.

[*] This is the fiſh known in France by the name of the *eſpadon*; in Italy by that of the *peſce ſpada* (*Anglicè* the ſword fiſh).

[f] Athen. lib. 7. cap. 22. p. 327. Aldrov. lib. 2. p. 149. Geſn. ib. p. 773.

[g] Ariſtot. lib. 9. cap. 37. t. i. p. 941. Geſner. ib. p. 21. Aldrov. p. 499.

[h] Geſn. ibid. p. 1147.

[i] Eudox. et Philem. ap. Athen. lib. 7. cap. 10. p. 288. Aldrov. p. 348. Geſner. de Piſc. p. 345.

[k] Archeſtr. ap. Athen lib. 7. p. 295.

[l] Lync. Sam. ibid. p. 285 et 330. Archeſtr. ibid. p. 288. Cratin. et Naufic. ibid. p. 325.

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lerum are worthy of the table of the gods, eſpecially when left to ſteep only for a moment in boiling oil [m].

The vulgar, dazzled by a name, imagine that every part of what is reputed a delicacy is equally delicate: but we who analyze merit more minutely, prefer the fore part of the glaucus, the head of the barbel and the conger, the breaſt of the tunny, and the back of the ſcate [n], and leave the reſt to leſs difficult taſtes.

To the abundant ſupplies of the ſea, let us add thoſe of the lakes of Bœotia. Are not freſh eels, equally remarkable for their delicacy and ſize, brought us every day from lake Copais [o]? Nor ought we to forget, in this enumeration of our riches, that aſtoniſhing quantity of ſalt fiſh, which we receive from the Helleſpont, Byzantium, and the coaſts of the Euxine.

Leon and Zopyrus, ſaid Philotas, have treated of thoſe diſhes which form the baſis of an entertainment. Thoſe of the firſt and third courſe would require more profound erudition than I can pretend to poſſeſs, but would furniſh no leſs convincing proofs of the advantages of our climate.

Lobſters and crawfiſh [p] are as common with us as muſcles, oyſters [q], urchins or ſea hedge-hogs [r]; the latter are ſometimes dreſſed with oxymel, parſley, and mint [s]. They are delicious when caught at the full of the moon [t], and by no means deſerve the ill name given them by a Lacedæmonian, who, never having ſeen this kind of ſhell-fiſh, put one of them into his mouth, and ſwallowed it with all its briſtly points [u].

[m] Athen. lib. 7. cap. 8. p. 285. Aldrov. de Piſc. lib. 2. p. 212. Geſn. ibid. p. 73; et alii.

[n] Plat. ap. Athen. lib. 7. p. 279. Antiphan. ibid. p. 295. Eriph. ibid. p. 302.

[o] Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 1004. Id. in Lyſiſtr. v. 36. Schol. ibid. Athen. lib. 7. p. 297.

[p] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 815. Athen. lib. 3. cap. 23. p. 104 et 105. Geſn. de Loc. et de Aſtac, &c.

[q] Athen. ibid. p. 90. Archeſtr. ib. p. 92.

[r] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 4. cap. 5. p. 822. Matron. ap. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 5. p. 135.

[s] Athen. ibid. p. 91.

[t] Id. ibid. p. 88.

[u] Demetr. Scept. ap. Athen. p. 91.

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I shall say nothing of the mushrooms, the asparagus [x], the various species of cucumbers [y], and that infinite variety of vegetables which are brought fresh to market every day; but I cannot omit observing that the fruit of our gardens has a most exquisite flavour [z]. The superiority of our figs is universally admitted [a]: when fresh gathered, they are the favourite delicacy of the inhabitants of Attica; and when carefully dried, are exported to distant countries, and find their way even to the table of the king of Persia [b]. Our pickled olives excite the appetite. Those we call colymbades * are more esteemed for their size and flavour than the olives of other countries [c]; nor are the grapes, known by the name of Nicostratian, in less repute [d]. The art of grafting [e] bestows on our pears and fruit in general, qualities which nature had refused them [f]. Eubœa furnishes us with excellent apples [g]; Phœnicia with dates [h]; Corinth with quinces, as delicious to the taste as they are beautiful to the eye [i]; and Naxos with that kind of almonds which are in high estimation through all Greece [k].

The turn of the parasite being now come, we all redoubled our attention, and he began his harangue as follows:

The bread served at our tables, nay, even that exposed to sale in the market, is of a dazzling whiteness, and an admirable flavour [l]. The art of preparing it was brought to perfection in Sicily, in the last century, by Thearion [m]: it has been preserved among us in all its purity, and has contri-

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[x] Athen. p. 60, 62, &c.
[y] Id. p. 67.
[z] Aristot. Probl. sect. 20 t. ii. p. 774.
[a] Athen. lib. 14. p. 652.
[b] Dinon. ap. eumd. ibid.
* The modern Greeks of Athens still call them by the same name: and the Grand Signior has them all monopolized for his own table. Spon. Voy. t. ii. p. 147.
[c] Athen. lib. 4. cap. 4. p. 133.
[d] Id. lib. 14. cap. 19. p. 654.
[e] Aristot. de Plant. lib. 1. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 1016.
[f] Athen. ibid. p. 653.
[g] Hermipp. ap. Athen. lib. 1. cap. 21. p. 27.
[h] Id. ibid. p. 28. Antiphan. ibid. p. 47.
[i] Athen. lib. 3. p. 82.
[k] Id. p. 52.
[l] Archestr. et Antiphan. ap Athen. lib. 3. p. 112.
[m] Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 518.

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buted not a little to the progreſs of paſtry. We are at preſent in poſſeſſion of a thouſand methods of converting every ſort of flour into a wholeſome and agreeable nutriment. If a little milk, oil, and ſalt be mixed with the flour of wheat, you will have the materials for thoſe delicate loaves for which we are indebted to the Cappadocians [n]. Knead the dough with a little honey, and roll it into thin ſheets which will run up on approaching a quick fire, and you will produce theſe biſcuits that have been juſt handed to us, and which you have dipped in wine [*]; but they muſt be ſerved up burning hot [o]. Theſe ſweet and light cakes, which have been ſince preſented to us [p], are made in a ſtove with the flour of ſeſama, honey, and oil [†]. Take ſome peeled barley; pound it in a mortar, and put the flour in a veſſel; pour oil on it; keep ſtirring this mixture whilſt it heats gently on the fire; feed it now and then with pullet, kid, or lamb gravy, taking ſpecial care not to let it boil over; and when ſtewed to the exact point of perfection, ſerve it up [q]. We have cakes made ſimply of milk and honey [r], others in which the flour of ſeſama and a little cheeſe or oil is added to the honey [s]. We have tarts too made with different ſorts of fruit [t]. Hare paſties are of the ſame nature [u], as well as the pies made of becafigos, and thoſe little birds that fly about the vineyards [x].

Philonides, as he pronounced theſe words, took poſſeſſion of a tart made of raiſins and almonds [y], which was juſt brought in, and would proceed no farther in his oration.

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[n] Athen. lib. 3. cap. 28. p. 113.

[*] Theſe were a ſort of wafers. Caſaub. in Athen. p. 131.

[o] Antidot. ap. Athen. lib. 3. c. 25. p. 109.

[p] Athen. lib. 14. cap. 14. p. 646.

[†] A kind of fritters.

[q] Athen. lib. 3. cap. 36. p. 126. Caſaub. in Athen. p. 151.

[r] Eupol. ap. Athen. lib. 14. cap. 14. p. 646.

[s] Athen. ibid.

[t] Id. ibid. 648. Poll. lib. 6. cap. 11. § 78.

[u] Telecl. ap. Athen. ibid. p. 647 et 648.

[x] Poll. lib. 6. cap. 11. § 78.

[y] Id. ibid.

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We did not continue long in ſuſpenſe; for Theotimus immediately took up the converſation. Many authors, ſaid he, have written on the culinary art, that firſt of all arts, ſince it is that which procures us the moſt frequent and moſt durable enjoyments. Such were Mithæcus, who has given us the Sicilian Cook [z]; Numenius of Heraclea, Hegemon of Thaſos, Philoxenus of Leucas [a], Actides of Chios, Tindaricus of Sicyon [b], and many others I could mention; for I have all their works in my library; but I prefer the Gaſtronomia of Archeſtratus to them all. This author, who was the friend of one of the ſons of Pericles [c], had travelled through various countries, to inform himſelf accurately of all their choiceſt productions [d]. During his travels, his object was not to become acquainted with the manners of different nations, a knowledge of no ſort of utility, ſince it is impoſſible to change them; but to procure admiſſion into thoſe laboratories in which the luxuries of the table are prepared, and to converſe with thoſe perſons only who might contribute to his enjoyments. His poem is a treaſure of information; not a verſe in it but what contains a precept.

This work is, as I may ſay, the code in which ſeveral cooks have ſtudied the principles of an art that has rendered them immortal [e], an art long ſince brought to perfection in Sicily and Elis [f], and which Thimbron, among us, has carried to the ſummit of its glory [g]. I am aware that the perſons who exereiſe it have often, by their pretenſions, deſervedly been ridiculed on the ſtage [h]; but without the enthuſiaſm, they never would have poſſeſſed the genius of their profeſſion.

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[z] Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 518.
[a] Athen. lib. 1. cap. 5. p. 5.
[b] Id. lib. 14. cap. 23. p. 662. Poll. lib. 6. cap. 10. § 71.
[c] Id. lib. 5. cap. 20. p. 220.
[d] Id. lib. 7. cap. 5. p. 278.
[e] Id. ibid. p. 293.
[f] Id. lib. 14. p. 661.
[g] Id. lib. 7. p. 293.
[h] Damoxen. ap. Athen. lib. 3. cap. 21. p. 101. Philem. ibid. lib. 7. cap. 10. p. 288. Hegeſand. ibid. 290.

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My own cook, whom I have lately ſent for from Syracuſe, aſtoniſhed me the other day with an enumeration of the qualifications and ſtudy requiſite for his employment. After telling me, by the way, that Cadmus, the grandſire of Bacchus, and founder of Thebes, was originally a cook to the king of Sidon [l]; Do you know, added he, that, properly to diſcharge the office I hold, it is not enough to poſſeſs ſenſes exquiſitely refined, and a conſtitution proof againſt every attack [k], but that it is neceſſary to combine the greateſt abilities with the moſt extenſive information [l]. I do not employ myſelf in any of the vile functions of your kitchen; I never appear there but to direct the action of the fire, and to obſerve the effect of my operations. Seated, in general, in an adjacent chamber, I iſſue orders to be executed by ſubordinate artiſts [m]. I meditate on the productions of nature: ſometimes I leave them in their ſimplicity; ſometimes I diſguiſe or mix them, as new proportions which appear beſt calculated to gratify your palate may occur to me. Am I, for inſtance, to give you a ſucking pig, or a large piece of beef, I content myſelf with boiling them [n]. Do you wiſh for an excellent hare; if young, it requires no recommendation but its intrinſic merit, to appear before you with approbation: I put it on the ſpit, and ſerve it up to you all bleeding [o]. But it is the refinement of combination which diſplays my ſcience in all its luſtre.

The principal agents I make uſe of are ſalt, pepper, oil, vinegar, and honey, and of theſe better than Attica affords cannot be found in any climate. Your oil is excellent [p], as well as your vinegar of Decelia [q]; your honey of Mount Hymettus [r] deſerves the preference even to that of Sicily itſelf.

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[i] Evemer. ibid. lib. 14. c. 22. p. 658.
[k] Poſeid. ibid. lib. 14. p. 661.
[l] Damox. ibid. cap. 22. p. 102.
[m] Id. ibid. Athen. lib. 3. cap. 22. p. 102.
[n] Athen. lib. 2. p. 63; lib. 9. cap. 14. p. 375.
[o] Archeſtr. ap. Athen. lib. 9. cap. 14. p. 379.
[p] Spon. t. ii. p. 146.
[q] Athen. lib. 2. cap. 26. p. 67.
[r] Antiphan. ap. Athen. lib. 3. cap. 2. p. 74. Spon. ibid. p. 130.

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Beſides theſe ingredients, in ragouts [s], we employ eggs, cheeſe, dried raiſins, ſilphium *, parſley, ſeſama, cummin, capers, creſſes, fennel, mint, coriander, carrots, garlic, onions; and various aromatic plants much in uſe among us, ſuch as the origanum †, and the exquiſite thyme of Mount Hymettus [t]. Theſe, if I may ſo ſpeak, are powers at the diſpoſal of an artiſt, but which he ſhould never laviſh. If a fiſh, the fleſh of which is firm, be ſent to me to dreſs, I take care to give it a ſprinkling of ſcraped cheeſe, and to moiſten it with vinegar [u]; but if it be of a more delicate kind, I only throw a little ſalt over it, and a few drops of oil [u]; or, by way of change, after garniſhing it with origanum leaves, I wrap it up in a fig leaf and broil it under the aſhes [x].

A good cook will not multiply mixtures and expedients, except in ſauces or ragouts; of which we have various ſorts, ſome ſharp, and others ſweet. The ſauce that may be ſerved with all boiled or roaſted fiſh [y], is compoſed of vinegar, ſcraped cheeſe, and garlic, to which may be added a few leeks and onions cut ſmall [z]. When you wiſh to have it not ſo ſtrong, it may be mixed up with oil, the yolks of eggs, leeks, garlic, and cheeſe [a]: if you deſire it ſtill milder, honey, dates, cummin, and other ingredients of the ſame nature, may be uſed [b]. But mixtures of this ſort muſt not be left to the caprice of every ignorant pretender.

The ſame may be ſaid of ſtuffings introduced into the belly of a fiſh. Every cook knows that the fiſh muſt be opened, and that, after taking out the bones, it ſhould be filled with ſilphium, cheeſe, ſalt, and origanum [c]; he knows likewiſe, that a pig may be ſtuffed with thruſhes, becafigos, yolks of

[s] Athen. lib. 2. cap. 26. p. 68. Poll. lib. 6. cap. 10. § 66.

* A plant but little known, but made great uſe of by the ancients in their repaſts.

† A ſort of wild marjoram.

[t] Antiph. ap. Athen. lib. 1. p. 28.

[u] Archeſtr. ap. Athen. lib. 7. cap. 20. p. 321.

[x] Id. ibid. cap. 5. p. 278.

[y] Anan. ap. Athen. lib. 7. p. 282.

[z] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 62. Dalech. Not. in Athen. p. 747 et 750.

[a] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Equit. v. 768.

[b] Heſych. in Τυρόεφα.

[c] Alex. ap. Athen. lib. 7. p. 322.

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eggs, oysters, and different kinds of shell-fish [d]. But, believe me, there is no end to the variety of these mixtures, and nothing short of very long and profound researches will suffice to render them equally agreeable to the palate, and conducive to health; for my art is allied to all the sciences *, but more immediately to medicine. Must I not be supposed to know the herbs which, in each season, have the most juice and virtue? Shall I venture to bring to your table in summer a fish that should only make its appearance there in winter? Are not certain aliments more easy of digestion at certain times; and is it not from the preference we give to some of these over others that the greatest part of the maladies to which we are subject proceed [e]?

At these words, Nicocles the physician, who had hitherto continued to eat silently and indiscriminately every thing that came in his way, eagerly exclaimed, Your cook proceeds on true principles. Nothing is so essential as the choice of aliments, nothing requires more attention. This should be regulated, in the first place, by the nature of the climate, by the variations of the air and seasons, by the differences of age and constitution [f], and next by the more or less nutritive qualities peculiar to the various kinds of meat, fish, vegetables, and fruit. The flesh of beef, for instance, is hard and difficult to digest; that of veal is less so; in like manner, the flesh of lamb is lighter than that of mutton, and kid than that of goat [g]. Pork, as well as wild boar, is deficcatory, but it strengthens and passes easily. Sucking pig is heavy. The flesh of hare is dry and astringent [h]. In general, the flesh of wild animals is less succulent than that of domestic ones; that of animals which feed on fruit than that of those

[d] Athen. lib. 4. p. 129.

* The reader may compare the language which the Greek comic writers put into the mouths of the cooks of their time, with that Montaigne gives us, in a few words of the *Maître d' Hôtel* of Cardinal Caraffe, liv. 3. c. 51.

[e] Nicom. ap. Athen. lib. 7. cap. 11. p. 291

[f] Hippocr. de Diæt. lib. 3. cap. 1. &c. t. i. p. 241.

[g] Id. lib. 2. p. 219. § 15.

[h] Id. ibid. p. 220.

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which live on herbs; that of males than that of females; that of black than that of white; and that of crinigerous than that of ſmooth animals: ſuch is the doctrine of Hippocrates [l].

All liquors, in like manner, have their properties. Wine is dry and heating, and has ſomething purgative in its nature [k]: ſweet wines fly to the head [l], the red are nouriſhing, the white aperitive; clarets dry, and favourable to digeſtion [m]. Hippocrates tells us that new wines are more laxative than old, as they approach nearer to the nature of muſt [n]; aromatics are more nutritive than others [o]; your red mellow wines——

Nicocles was continuing his diſſertation; but Dinias, ſuddenly interrupting him, exclaimed, I pay no attention to ſuch diſtinctions, but I baniſh from my table the wines of Zacynthus and of Leucas, becauſe I believe them to be unwholeſome, on account of the plaſter that is mixed with them [p]. I do not like that of Corinth, for it is harſh [q]; nor that of Icaria, becauſe, in addition to this fault, it is heady [r]: I eſteem the old wine of Corcyra, which is exceedingly pleaſant [s], and the white wine of Mende, remarkable for its delicacy [t]. Archilochus compared that of Naxos to nectar [u]; but I ſhould compare the wine of Thaſos to that divine liquor [x]. I prefer it to every kind of wine, except that of Chios, when of the firſt quality; for there are three ſorts of it [y].

In Greece, we are fond of ſweet and odoriferous wines [z]. In ſome places they ſweeten them, by putting flour, kneaded

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l Id. ibid. p. 222. § 20.
k Id. lib. 3. p. 223. § 22.
l Diocl. et Praxag. ap. Athen. lib. 1. p. 32.
m Mneſith. ap. Athen. ibid.
n Hippocr. de Diæt. p. 224.
o Id. ibid. p. 225.
p Athen. lib. 1. cap. 25. p. 33 Euſtath. in Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 7. t. iii. p. 1573, lin. 25.
q Alex. ap. Athen, lib. 1. p. 30.
r Id. ibid.
s Id. ibid. p. 33.
t Id. ibid. p. 29.
u Id. ibid. p. 30.
x Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 1022. Schol. ibid. Id. in Lyſiſtr. v. 196. Spanh. in Ariſtoph. Plut. v. 545. Plin. lib. 34. cap. 7. p. 717.
y Athen. lib. 1. p. 32. Hermipp. ibid. p. 29.
z Athen. lib. 1. p. 30.

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with honey, into the cask [a]; and almoſt every where origanum [b], aromatics, fruits, and flowers are infuſed in them. My pleaſure is, on opening one of my barrels, to have the odour of violets and roſes inſtantly exhale, and fill my cellar [c]; not that I would wiſh to have one ſenſe too much gratified at the expence of another. The wine of Byblos, in Phœnicia, ſurpriſes at firſt by the ſtrength of the perfumes with which it is impregnated: I have a good ſtock of it; yet I hold it greatly inferior to that of Leſbos, which, though leſs highly ſcented, is infinitely more grateful to the palate [d]. Do you wiſh for an agreeable and wholeſome beverage? Mix your fragrant and rich wines with thoſe of an oppoſite quality. Such is the mixture of the wine of Erythræa with that of Heraclea [e].

Sea water mixed with wine is ſaid to aid digeſtion, and prevent the wine from flying to the head; but it muſt not be too predominant, which is the fault of the Rhodian wines; a fault which is avoided in thoſe of Cos [f]. I believe one meaſure of ſea water is ſufficient for fifty of wine, eſpecially if, in preparing it, the new methods are adopted in preference to the old [g].

Learned reſearches have taught us to mix our liquors with exactneſs. The uſual proportion of wine with water is as two to five, or as one to three [h]; but, with our friends, we chooſe rather to reverſe this proportion, and, towards the end of the entertainment, to forget all theſe auſtere rules.

Solon prohibited the uſe of pure wine. Of all his laws, this is perhaps the moſt religiouſly obſerved, thanks to the perfidy of our merchants, who weaken this precious liquor [i]. As for myſelf, I import my own wine, and you may rely

[a] Theophr. ap. Athen. p. 32.
[b] Ariſtot. Problem. ſect. 20. t. ii. p. 776. Spanh. in Plut. Ariſtophan. v. 809.
[c] Hermip. ap. Athen. lib. 1. p. 29.
[d] Archeſtr. ap. Athen. lib. 1. p. 32. Theophr. ap. Athen. p. 32.
[e] Athen. ibid.
[f] Plin. Epiſt. ap. Athen. p. 31.
[g] Heſiod. Oper. v. 596. Athen. lib. 10. p. 426 et 430. Caſaub. in Athen. lib. 10. cap. 7. p. 454. Spanh. in Plut. Ariſtoph. v. 1133.
[h] Alex. ap. Athen. l. 10. c. 8. p. 431.

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upon it, that the law of Solon will be uniformly violated during the whole of this entertainment.

As he ended these words, Dinias sent for several bottles which had been kept ten years, and which were soon followed by others still older [k].

We now drank about almost without interruption. Demochares, after giving several toasts, took up a lyre, and, whilst he was tuning it, entertained us with an account of the custom of intermixing songs with the pleasures of the table. Formerly, said he, all the guests sang together, and in unison [l]; but afterwards it became the established rule for each person to sing in his turn [m], holding a branch of myrtle or laurel in his hand. The mirth was less tumultuous indeed, but ceased to be so lively; and it was still farther restrained, when the lyre was introduced to accompany the voice [n], for then several of the guests were absolutely reduced to silence. Themistocles was formerly reproached, with justice, for having neglected to acquire skill in this pleasing art; in our time Epaminondas has been much commended for having cultivated it [o]. But when too great a value is set on such accomplishments, they become a study. The art attains perfection at the expence of pleasure and hilarity, and success is only attended with a smile.

Convival songs at first contained only expressions of gratitude, or lessons of wisdom. We then celebrated in them, as we do still, the gods, heroes, and citizens who had benefited their country. To subjects of so grave a nature, in process of time, were added the praises of wine; and poetry, employed to depict its pleasing effects in the most lively colours, painted at the same time that confusion of ideas, those tumultuous emotions which we experience with our friends at the

[k] Athen. lib. 13. p. 584 et 585.
[l] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. ix. p. 324.
[m] Athen. lib. 15. cap. 14. p. 694. Dicæarch. ap. Schol. Aristoph. in Ran. v. 1337.
[n] Plut. Sympos. lib. 1. quæst. 1. t. ii. p. 615.
[o] Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 234.

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ſight of the liquor ſparkling in the cups. Hence all thoſe Bacchanalian ſongs, interſperſed with maxims, ſometimes relative to happineſs and virtue, and ſometimes to love and friendſhip. For it is to theſe two ſentiments that the ſoul delights continually to recur, when overpowered with an exceſs of joy.

Several poets have exerciſed their genius in this ſpecies of compoſition, and ſome of them with diſtinguiſhed ſucceſs. Alcæus and Anacreon have given it celebrity. It requires no efforts; for in its nature it is an enemy to artifice. Magnificence of expreſſion and ideas may with propriety be employed to exalt gods and heroes, but it is the excluſive province of enthuſiaſm and the graces to paint ſentiment and pleaſure.

Let us reſign ourſelves then, added Democharès, to the tranſports inſpired by this happy moment; let us ſing all together, or by turns, holding in our hands branches of laurel or of myrtle [p].

We inſtantly obeyed his command, and, after various ſongs ſuitable to the occaſion, ſung in full chorus that of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton [q] *. Democharès accompanied us at intervals; but, ſeized with a new enthuſiaſm, he ſuddenly exclaimed, My diſobedient lyre rejects ſuch noble themes, and reſerves all its notes for the ſongſter of wine and love. How do its ſtrings vibrate at the very name of Anacreon, and ſend forth more harmonious ſounds! O my friends! let the wine circulate in deep bowls; join your voices to mine, and aid me to vary the modulations.

Let us drink, let us ſing Bacchus: he delights in our dances, he takes pleaſure in our ſongs; he triumphs over envy, hatred, and chagrin [r]; the ſeducing graces [s], and the

[p] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 1367. Id. in Veſp. v. 1217.

[q] Athen. lib. 15. cap. 15. p. 695.

* It was frequently ſung at entertainments. I have already given it in Note IV. of the Introduction.

[r] Anacreon, od. 26. 39. 42. &c.

[s] Id. od. 41. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 11.

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enchanting loves, owe to him their birth. Let us love, let us drink, let us ſing Bacchus.

The future does not yet exiſt; the preſent is ſoon no more: life is only the moment we enjoy [t]. Let us love, let us drink, let us ſing Bacchus.

Wiſe in our follies [u], rich in our pleaſures, let us trample under foot the earth and its vain grandeur [x]; and, in that delicious intoxication with which theſe glorious moments inſpire our ſouls, let us drink, let us ſing Bacchus.

We now heard a great noiſe at the gate, and Callicles, Nicoſtratus, and other young men made their appearance, bringing with them ſome dancing girls, and female performers on the flute, with whom they had ſupped [y]. Moſt of the company immediately roſe from table, and began to dance; for the Athenians are ſo paſſionately fond of this exerciſe, that they conſider it as a want of politeneſs not to join in it whenever circumſtances require [z]. Several reliſhes for the purpoſe of ſtimulating the appetite were brought in at the ſame time; ſuch as cercopes * and graſhoppers [a], ſliced radiſhes pickled in vinegar and muſtard [b], roaſted vetches [c], and olives taken freſh out of the pickle [d].

This new ſervice, accompanied with a freſh ſtock of wine, and larger goblets than we had hitherto made uſe of [e], ſeemed the prelude to exceſſes which were fortunately interrupted by an unexpected ſcene. On the arrival of Callicles, Theotimus had ſtept out of the room, and now returned, followed by ſome of thoſe jugglers and buffoons, who amuſe the populace by their deceptions in the ſtreets and markets of the city [f].

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[t] Id. od. 4, 15, 24, &c.
[u] Id. od. 48.
[x] Id. od. 26.
[y] Plat. in Conv. t. iii. p. 212. Id. in Protag. t. i. p. 347.
[z] Alexis, ap. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 4. p. 134. Theophr. Charact. cap. 15.
* A little animal reſembling a graſhopper. Athen. p. 133.
[a] Ariſtoph. ap. Athen. lib. 4. p. 133.
[b] Athen. ibid. Ariſtot. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 5. cap. 30. t. i. p. 856.
[c] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. v. 45.
[d] Athen. ibid. p. 133.
[e] Diog. Laert. lib. 1. § 104. Caſaub. in Theophr. cap. 4. p. 39.
[f] Plat. de Leg. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 658. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 1. p. 129.

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The table was ſoon after cleared. We made libations in honour of the good genius and Jupiter Saviour [g]; and, after waſhing our hands in perfumed water [h], our ſleight-of-hand men began their tricks. One placed a certain number of ſhells, or little balls, under dice boxes, which he cauſed to vaniſh or appear at his command, with ſuch dexterity as to eſcape the eye [i]. Another wrote or read, at the ſame time whirling round with the utmoſt rapidity [k]. Some there were who vomited flames from their mouths, or walked with their heads downwards upon their hands, imitating the motions of dancers with their feet [l]. A woman appeared holding twelve braſs hoops in her hand, with ſeveral little rings of the ſame metal ſtrung in their circumference, and while ſhe danced, ſucceſſively threw into the air and catched the twelve hoops [m]. Another ruſhed into the midſt of ſeveral naked ſwords [n]. Theſe tricks, ſome of which intereſted without pleaſing me, were almoſt all performed to the ſound of the flute. To ſucceed in them, it is neceſſary to unite a graceful neatneſs to preciſion of motion.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Education of the Athenians.

THE inhabitants of Mytilene having again brought under ſubjection ſome of their allies, who had revolted from them, forbade them to give the leaſt inſtruction to their children [a]. They were ſenſible that no more effectual method could be deviſed to retain them in ſervitude, than to keep them in ignorance.

[g] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 1212. Schol. ejuſd. in Pac. v. 299.
[h] Athen. lib. 9. cap. 18. p. 409.
[i] Caſaub. in Athen. lib. 1. cap. 15; lib. 4. cap 1.
[k] Xenoph. in Conv. p. 893.
[l] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 129.
[m] Xenoph in Conviv. p. 876. Caylus, Recueil d'Antiquit. t. i. p. 202.
[n] Xenoph. ibid. Athen. lib. 4. p. 129. Paciaud. de Athlet. Κυβ. § 5. p. 18.
[a] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 7. cap. 15.

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The object of education is to give to the body the ſtrength deſigned it by nature, and to the mind every perfection of which it is capable [b]. Education among the Athenians commences at the birth of the child, and does not end till his twentieth year. This period, ſo far from being longer than is neceſſary to form citizens, is found inſufficient, from the negligence of parents, who abandon the hopes of the ſtate and of their families, at firſt to ſlaves, and afterwards to the care of mercenary preceptors.

Legislators could only expreſs their opinions on this ſubject by general laws [c]: philoſophers, enlarging the field of their inquiries, have extended their views even to the care requiſite during the ſtate of childhood, and to the aſſiduities, too frequently prejudicial, of thoſe who ſurround infants. In treating of this eſſential object, I ſhall ſhow the connection which certain practices have with religion or government; and place by the ſide of the errors uſually committed, the advice of perſons of underſtanding and reflection.

Epicharis, the wife of Apollodorus, at whoſe houſe I reſided, was on the point of lying in. During the firſt forty days of her pregnancy, ſhe was not ſuffered to go out [d]. She was repeatedly reminded, that, as the conſtitution of her child might be greatly influenced by her conduct and ſtate of health [e], it was her duty to make uſe of wholeſome nouriſhment, and to preſerve her ſtrength by gentle exerciſe [f].

Among many of thoſe nations whom the Greeks ſtyle barbarians, the natal day of an infant is a day of mourning for the family [g]. Aſſembling around it they compaſſionate the child who has had the misfortune to receive the fatal preſent of exiſtence. Theſe lamentations are but too conformable to the maxims of the Grecian ſages. When we reflect, ſay

[b] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 788.
[c] Id. ibid.
[d] Cenſor. de Die Nat. cap. 11.
[e] Hippocrat. de Nat. Puer. § 22. t. i. p. 149.
[f] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 789. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 7. cap. 16. t. ii. p. 447.
[g] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 4. Strab. lib. 11. p. 519. Anthol. p. 16.

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they, on the deſtiny that awaits man on earth, we ought to bedew his cradle with our tears [h].

Yet at the birth of the ſon of Apollodorus I beheld joy and tenderneſs ſparkle in the eyes of the relations; I ſaw a crown of olive, the ſymbol of that agriculture for which man was deſigned, ſuſpended over the door of the houſe. Had it been a girl, a woollen fillet, inſtead of the olive crown, would have betokened the ſpecies of labour in which women ſhould employ themſelves [i]. This cuſtom, which recals the memory of ancient manners, proclaims to the republic that ſhe has acquired a citizen. Formerly it was emblematic of the paternal and maternal duties.

The father has the right of pronouncing on the life or death of his children. On their birth they are laid at his feet, and if he takes them in his arms they are ſaved. When he is not wealthy enough to bring them up, or when he deſpairs of being able to correct certain defects in their conformation, he turns aſide his eyes, and they are inſtantly carried off to be expoſed, or put to death [k]. The laws prohibit this barbarity at Thebes [l]; but authorize or tolerate it throughout almoſt all the reſt of Greece. Some philoſophers approve it [m]; whilſt others, contradicted indeed by more rigid moraliſts [n], add, that a mother, who is already ſurrounded by a too numerous family, has a right to deſtroy the child ſhe carries in her womb.

Whence is it that enlightened and ſenſible nations thus violate the dictates of nature? It is becauſe the number of their citizens being limited by the very conſtitution, they are not anxious to augment their population; and every citizen being with them a ſoldier, the country gives itſelf no concern about

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[h] Euripid. Fragm. Cteſiph. p. 476. Axioch. ap. Plat. l. 3. p 368. Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 1. cap. 48 t. ii. p. 273.

[i] Heſych. in Σ|φας. Ephipp. ap Athen. lib 9. p. 370.

[k] Terent. in Heautontim. act. 4. ſcen. 1.

[l] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 7.

[m] Plat. de Rep. lib 5. t. ii p 460.

[n] Ariſtot. de Republ. lib. 7. cap 16. t. ii. p. 447 Phocylid. Poem. Admon. v. 172.

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the fate of a man who would never render it any ſervice, and to whom its aſſiſtance would be often neceſſary.

The child was waſhed with warm water, conformably to the advice of Hippocrates [o]. The people who are called barbarians would have plunged it into cold water [p], which would have contributed to ſtrengthen it. It was then laid in one of thoſe wicker baſkets uſed to ſeparate the grain from the chaff [q]; a ceremony deemed the preſage of great future opulence, or of a numerous poſterity.

Formerly the moſt diſtinguiſhed rank did not exempt a mother from nurſing her infant: ſhe now confides this ſacred duty to a ſlave [r]; but, to correct in ſome meaſure the meanneſs of her birth, ſhe is admitted into the family; and nurſes in general become the friends and confidants of the girls they have brought up [s].

As the Lacedæmonian nurſes are highly celebrated in Greece [t], Apollodorus had ſent for one, and put his ſon into her hands. On receiving him ſhe was particularly careful not to ſwaddle him [u], nor to confine his limbs by the machines made uſe of in certain countries [x], and which too often ſerve only to thwart and obſtruct nature.

To accuſtom him early to bear the cold, ſhe covered him only with a few thin garments, a practice recommended by the philoſophers [y], and which I find in uſe among the Celts, another of thoſe nations ſtyled barbarians by the Greeks.

The fifth day was ſet apart for purifying the infant: a woman took him in her arms, and, followed by the whole family, ran with him ſeveral times round a fire burning on the altar [z].

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[o] Hippocr. de Salubr. Diæt. § 9. t. i. p. 630.

[p] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 7. cap. 17. t. ii. p. 447.

[q] Callim. Hymn. in Jov. v. 48. Schol. ibid Etym. Magn. in Λεῖκνον

[r] Plat. de Leg. l. 7. t. ii. p. 790. Ariſtot. de Mor. l. 8. c. 9. t. ii. p. 108.

[s] Euripid. in Hippol. Terent. in Heauton Adelph. &c.

[t] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49.

[u] Id. ibid.

[x] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 7. cap. 17. t. ii. p. 447.

[y] Id. ibid.

[z] Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 160. Harpocr. et Heſych in Αμφιδρ. Meurſ. de Puerp. cap. 6.

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Many children dying of convulsions soon after their birth, the parents wait for the seventh, and sometimes the tenth day, before they name them [a]. Apollodorus having assembled his own and his wife's relations, and their friends [b], said in their presence, that he gave his child the name of his father Lysis; for it is the custom for the eldest son of a family to be named after his grandfather [c]. This ceremony was succeeded by a sacrifice and an entertainment; and a few days after followed by another still more sacred, that of initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries. The Athenians, persuaded that initiation is productive of great advantages after death, are anxious to perform this ceremony on their children [d].

On the fortieth day Epicharis quitted her bed [e]. This day was a festival in the house of Apollodorus; and the parents, after receiving new tokens of affection from their friends, redoubled their attention to the education of their son. Their first object was to give him a robust constitution, and to select from the practices generally in use, such as were most conformable to the views of nature, and the improved knowledge of philosophy. Deidamia, for so the nurse or gouvernante was named, listened to their advice, and suggested what she herself had learned from experience.

So powerful is the vegetation of the human body in the first five years of infancy, that, according to some naturalists, it does not double its height in the twenty succeeding years [f]. It then requires plentiful nourishment, and much exercise. Nature agitates the infant with a secret restlessness, and nurses are often obliged to take him in their arms, and gently lull his brain by pleasing and melodious songs. It should seem as

[a] Euripid. in Elect. v. 1126. Aristoph. in Av. v. 494 et 923. Schol. ibid. Demosth. adv. Bœot. p. 1004. Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 7. cap. 12. t. i. p. 896. Harpocr. in Ἐξάμ.

[b] Suid. in Ἀμφιδρ.

[c] Isæus, de Hæredit. Pyrrh. p. 41. Plat. in Lys. t. ii. p. 205. Demosth. in Bœot. p. 1005.

[d] Terent. in Phorm. act. i. scen. i. v. 15. Apollod. ap. Donat. ibid. Turneb. adv. lib. 3. cap. 6. Note of Madame Dacier on the 2d scene of the 4th act of the Plutus of Aristophanes.

[e] Censor. de Die Natal. cap. 11.

[f] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 788.

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if long habit had led them to conſider muſic and dancing as the primary elements of our education [g]: theſe promote digeſtion, procure tranquil ſleep, and diſſipate thoſe ſudden terrors which external objects are apt to produce on the yet feeble organs.

As ſoon as the child was able to ſtand, Deidamia accuſtomed him to walk, being herſelf always ready to aſſiſt him [h]. I afterwards ſaw her put little play-things into his hands, which by their noiſe might amuſe him, or divert his attention [i]; a circumſtance I ſhould paſs unnoticed, were not the moſt commodious of theſe toys the invention of the celebrated philoſopher Archytas [k], who wrote on the nature of the univerſe, and at the ſame time employed his attention on the education of children.

More important cares ſoon occupied the attention of Deidamia, and particular views led her to deviate from the practices moſt generally in uſe. She accuſtomed her pupil to eat indiſcriminately of all ſorts of food that were offered him [l]. Never was violence employed to ſtop his tears: but it was only in compliance with the example of certain philoſophers [m], that ſhe conſidered them as a ſort of uſeful exerciſe for children; it appeared to her preferable to prevent them when their cauſe could be diſcovered, and to ſuffer them to flow when that could not be aſcertained: he therefore ceaſed to ſhed any as ſoon as he was able by his geſtures to explain his wants.

She was particularly attentive to the firſt impreſſions he ſhould receive; impreſſions ſometimes ſo powerful and durable as to leave traces on the character for the remainder of life; and, in fact, it is ſcarcely poſſible but that a mind which in its infancy is continually agitated by idle terrors, ſhould

[g] Id. ibid. p. 790.
[h] Id. ibid. lib. 7 p. 789.
[i] Etym. Magn. et Suid. in Παλαμαλ. Anthol. l. 6. c. 23. p. 440.
[k] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 456.
[l] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49.
[m] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 7. cap. 17. t. ii. p. 448.

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become more and more ſuſceptible of that timidity in which it has been regularly initiated [n]. Deidamia carefully withheld from her pupil all objects that might increaſe his fears inſtead of multiplying them by menaces and blows.

I one day ſaw her much offended at a mother who had told her ſon that the pimples in his face were a puniſhment for his falſehoods [o]; and in conſequence of my obſerving that the Scythians handled their weapons with equal addreſs with the right and left hand, I ſoon after ſaw her pupil make uſe of both his hands indiſcriminately [p].

He was healthy and robuſt, and was not treated either with that exceſſive indulgence which renders children difficult to pleaſe, haſty, impatient of the ſlighteſt contradiction, and inſupportable to others; nor with that extreme ſeverity that makes them timid, ſervile, and inſupportable to themſelves [q]. His taſtes were contradicted without reminding him of his dependence; and his faults were puniſhed without adding inſult to correction [r]. Apollodorus laid the moſt particular injunction on his ſon not to frequent the ſociety of the ſervants, who were ſtrictly prohibited from tainting him with the leaſt tincture of vice, either by their words or their example [s].

It is the advice of wiſe men not to impoſe on children, for the firſt five years, any labour that requires application [t]: their ſports alone ſhould animate and intereſt them. This period, allotted for the growth and ſtrengthening of the body, Apollodorus prolonged in favour of his ſon; nor did he place him under the care of a conductor or pedagogue before the end of his ſixth year [u]. This tutor was a confidential ſlave [x], employed to accompany him every where, and eſpecially to the

[n] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 791.
[o] Theocr. Idyll. 12. v. 23. Schol. ibid.
[p] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 794.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 791.
[r] Id ibid. p. 793.
[s] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 7. cap. 17. t. ii. p. 448.
[t] Id. ibid.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 194.
[x] Id. in Lyſ. t. ii p. 208.

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maſters who were to inſtil into him the firſt elements of the ſciences.

Before he intruſted him to his care, he was deſirous of ſecuring to him the privileges of a citizen. I have already ſaid that the Athenians are divided into ten tribes: each tribe is ſubdivided into three confraternities, or curiæ; and each curia into thirty claſſes [y]. The members of the ſame curia are deemed brethren, inaſmuch as their feſtivals, temples, and ſacrifices are in common. An Athenian muſt be enrolled in one of the curiæ, either immediately on his birth, or at three or four years old, but rarely after the ſeventh year [z]. This ceremony is ſolemnly performed at the feſtival Apaturia, which is celebrated in the month Pyanepſion, and laſts three days. The firſt day is diſtinguiſhed only by entertainments, at which relations are aſſembled together under the ſame roof, and the members of a curia in the ſame place [a].

The ſecond is conſecrated to religious ceremonies. The magiſtrates offer up public ſacrifices; and many Athenians, richly dreſſed, and carrying burning firebrands in their hands, run haſtily round the altar, ſing hymns in honour of Vulcan, and celebrate the god who introduced the uſe of fire among mortals [b].

On the third day, children are admitted to the rank of citizens. Several of both ſexes were to be preſented [c]. I followed Apollodorus into a ſmall temple which belonged to his curia [d], where we found the chiefs of the curia, and of the particular claſs of which he was a member, aſſembled with ſeveral of his relations. He preſented his ſon to them, with a ſheep for ſacrifice: this they proceeded to weigh, and I heard ſome of the by-ſtanders cry out laughing, Leſs, leſs; meaning that it was not of the weight preſcribed by the law [e]. This is a pleaſantry ſeldom omitted on theſe occaſions. Whilſt

[y] Heſych. Etymol. Magn. Harpocr. et Suid. in Φρατρ. Poll. lib. 3. § 52.
[z] Sam. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 146. &c.
[a] Meurſ. Græc. Feriat. in Apatur.
[b] Id ibid.
[c] Poll. lib 8. cap. 9. § 107.
[d] Id. lib. 3 § 52.
[e] Harpocr. in Μείον. Suid. in Μειον.

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the flame was conſuming part of the victim [f], Apollodorus advanced, and holding his ſon by the hand, took the gods to witneſs that this child was the offspring of himſelf, and of an Athenian wife, in lawful wedlock [g]. The votes were now collected, and the infant immediately enrolled under the name of Lyſis, ſon of Apollodorus, in the archives of the curia, called the Public Regiſter [h].

This act, by which a child is entered in a certain tribe, curia, and claſs of that curia, is the only one that aſcertains the legitimacy of his birth, and eſtabliſhes his right to the inheritance of his parents [i]. When the members of the curia refuſe to incorporate him in their body, they are liable to be proſecuted by the father [k].

Education, to be conformable to the genius of a government, ſhould impreſs on the hearts of the young citizens, uniformity of ſentiments and principles: accordingly the ancient legiſlators had ſubjected the youth to one common inſtitution [l]. At preſent they are in general brought up in their own families, which directly claſhes with the democratic ſpirit. In private education, a child, meanly abandoned to the flattery of his relations and their ſlaves, conſiders himſelf as diſtinct from the multitude, becauſe he is ſeparated from them. In public education, the emulation is more general; all conditions are brought upon a level, or, if I may ſo ſpeak, are in contact with each other: there the youthful citizen is every day and every inſtant taught, that merit and talents alone can confer any real ſuperiority.

This queſtion is more eaſy of ſolution than a multitude of others which employ the fruitleſs diſcuſſions of philoſophers. It is often aſked whether more attention ſhould be beſtowed on the cultivation of the mind than the formation of the heart; whether infants ſhould be confined to leſſons of virtue, excluſive-

[f] Demoſth. in Macart. p. 1029.
[g] Iſæus, de Hæred. Apoll. p. 65. Id. de Hæred. Cyron. p. 70.
[h] Harpocr. in Κοιν. γραμμ.
[i] Demoſth. in Bœot. p. 1005.
[k] Id. adv. Nær. p. 870.
[l] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 1. t. ii p. 449.

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ly of thoſe which have relation to the wants and comforts of ſociety; and how far they ſhould be inſtructed in the arts and ſciences [m]

Far from engaging in ſuch diſputes, Apollodorus determined not to deviate from the ſyſtem of education eſtabliſhed by the ancient legiſlators, the wiſdom of which attracts a great number of ſtudents from the neighbouring countries, as well as from the remoteſt nations [n]. But he reſerved to himſelf the power of correcting its abuſes. He ſent his ſon every day to the ſchools, which the law orders to be opened at ſun riſing, and ſhut at ſun ſet [o]. His conductor took him there in the morning, and returned for him in the evening [p].

Among the preceptors intruſted with the care of the Athenian youth, it is not uncommon to meet with men of diſtinguiſhed merit. Such formerly was Damon, who gave leſſons of muſic to Socrates [q], and of politics to Pericles [r]. Such, in my time, was Philotimus; who had frequented the ſchool of Plato, and to an acquaintance with the arts, added a well-grounded knowledge of true philoſophy. Apollodorus, who had a great affection for him, had prevailed on him to aſſiſt in the pains he beſtowed on the education of his ſon.

They were agreed that it ſhould turn only on one principle. Pleaſure and pain, ſaid Philotimus to me one day, are like two copious ſtreams, which Nature has diſtributed among men, and in which they dip at a venture for miſery or happineſs [s]. Theſe are the two firſt feelings of our infancy, and thoſe which direct all our actions in a more advanced age. But let us beware leſt ſuch guides ſeduce us into errors: Lyſis therefore muſt be taught betimes to be diffident of their ſuggeſtions, and not to contract in his earlier years any habit that may not eventually be juſtified by reaſon. Let example,

[m] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 2. p. 456.
[n] Æſchin. Epiſt. 12 p 2 4.
[o] Id. in Tim. p 261.
[p] Plat. in Lyſ. t. ii. p. 223.
[q] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 400.
[r] Id. in Alcib. t. ii. p. 118. Plut. in Per. t. i p 154.
[s] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. p. 636.

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converſation, ſciences, bodily exerciſes, every thing, in ſhort, concur to make him love and hate, from the preſent moment, what it is his duty to love and hate for his whole life [t].

A courſe of ſtudies compriſes muſic and gymnaſtics [u]; that is to ſay, every thing that has any relation to mental and corporeal exerciſes. In this diviſion the word muſic is of very extenſive acceptation.

To underſtand the form and value of letters, to trace them with elegance and facility [x], to give the proper length and intonation to ſyllables, were the firſt ſtudies of young Lyſis. He repaired daily to the houſe of a grammarian, who dwelt near the temple of Theſeus, in a frequented part of the city, and who gave inſtructions to a great number of diſciples [y]. Every evening he gave to his parents an account of the progreſs he had made. I ſaw him with a ſtylus, or pin, in his hand, repeatedly following the windings of the letters his maſter had traced out on the tablets [z]. He was enjoined to pay the moſt ſcrupulous attention to punctuation, until it was time to inſtruct him in the rules [a]. He often read the fables of Æſop [b], and frequently repeated verſes he knew by rote. To exerciſe the memory of their pupils, the profeſſors of grammar teach them paſſages of Homer, Heſiod, and the Lyric poets [c]: but, ſay the philoſophers, nothing is ſo contrary to the moſt important object of education. As the poets attribute paſſions to the gods, and juſtify thoſe of men, children become familiar with vice before they know its pernicious nature. For this reaſon, collections of ſelect pieces of a pure morality have been formed for their uſe [d], and it was

[t] Id. lib. 2. p. 653. Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 20.

[u] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 325, &c. Id. de Rep lib. 3 t. ii. p. 412.

[x] Lucian. de Gymnaſ. t. ii. p. 902.

[y] Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii p. 114. Demoſth. de Cor. p. 494 et 515.

[z] Plat. in Charmid. t. ii. p. 159. Quintil. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 13.

[a] Ariſtot. de Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 589.

[b] Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 128. Id. in Av. v. 471. Ariſtot. ap. Schol. Ariſtoph. ibid.

[c] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 325. Id. de Rep. lib. 2. p. 377. Lucian. de Gymn. t. ii. p. 902.

[d] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 811.

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one of thoſe collections that the maſter of Lyſis had put into his hands. To this he afterwards added the enumeration of the troops who went to the ſiege of Troy, as we find it in the Iliad [e]. Some legiſlators have directed that children ſhould be accuſtomed to repeat it in the ſchools, as it contains the names of the moſt ancient cities and families of Greece [f].

In the earlier part of his education, when Lyſis ſpoke, or read, or was declaiming from any author, I was aſtoniſhed at the degree of importance his teachers annexed to his pronunciation, by making him ſometimes reſt upon one ſyllable, and hurrying him on another. Philotimus, to whom I expreſſed my ſurpriſe, removed it by the following obſervations:

Our firſt legiſlators eaſily conceived that the Greeks muſt be addreſſed through the imagination, and that virtue was infinitely more perſuaſive when conveyed by ſentiment, than in precepts. They preſented us with truths decorated with all the charms of poetry and muſic. We were taught our duties in the amuſements of our childhood: we ſang the bounty of the gods, and the virtues of our heroes. Our manners became milder by the pleaſing illuſion; and we may at this day fairly boaſt, that the graces themſelves have laboured to make us what we are.

The language we ſpeak ſeems to be their invention. What ſweetneſs! what richneſs! what harmony! How faithfully does it interpret the mind and heart! Whilſt by the copiouſneſs and boldneſs of its expreſſions, it ſuffices to ſignify all our ideas, and clothes them when neceſſary in brilliant colours, its melody inſtils perſuaſion into our ſouls. It is not ſo much my intention to explain, as to give you a faint idea of this effect.

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[e] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2.

[f] Euſtath. in Iliad. 2. t. i. p. 263.

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We remark in this language three eſſential properties; ſound, accent, and quantity [g].

Each letter, either ſeparately or conjointly with another, conveys a ſound, and theſe ſounds differ in ſoftneſs or harſhneſs, ſtrength or feebleneſs, clearneſs or obſcurity. I point out to Lyſis thoſe which delight the ear, and thoſe which offend it [h]: I make him remark that an open, clear, and full ſound produces more effect than a ſound that dies away on the lips, or is broken againſt the teeth; and that there is one letter, which, when it frequently recurs, cauſes ſo diſagreeable a hiſſing, that ſome authors have rigorouſly baniſhed it from their works [i].

You are aſtoniſhed at that ſpecies of melody, which among us not only animates declamation, but even familiar converſation. You will find it among almoſt all the ſouthern nations: their language, like ours, is guided by accents appropriated to each word, and which give inflections to the voice, that are more numerous in proportion as nations poſſeſs more ſenſibility, and ſtronger, as they are leſs cultivated and enlightened. Nay, I am apt to think that the ancient Greeks not only uſed more aſpirations, but were addicted to a ſtill ſtronger accentuation than the moderns. However that may be, with us the voice ſometimes riſes and ſinks the difference of a fifth on two ſyllables, nay even on the ſame [k]; but more frequently the tranſition is by ſmaller intervals [l], ſome diſtinctly marked, others ſcarcely perceptible to, or wholly undiſcoverable by, the ear. In writing, the accents being placed over the words [m], Lyſis eaſily diſtinguiſhes the ſyllables on which he muſt elevate or lower his voice; but as it is impoſſible by ſigns to determine the preciſe degrees of elevation

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[g] Ariſtot. Poet. cap. 20. t. ii. p. 667.

[h] Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 203. Id. in Cratyl. ibid. p. 224. Dionyſ. Halic. de Compoſ. Verb. cap. 12. t. v. p. 65.

[i] Dionyſ. ibid. cap. 14 p. 80. Athen. lib. 10. cap. 21. p. 455. Euſtath. in Iliad. 10. p. 813.

[k] Dionyſ. Halic. de Compoſ. Verb. cap. 11. t. v. p. 58.

[l] Sim. Bircov Not. in Dionyſ. p. 8. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. t. xxxii. p. 439.

[m] Ariſtoph de Soph. Elench. t. i. p. 284.

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and ſinking, I accuſtom him to adopt the inflections the moſt ſuited to the circumſtances and the ſubject [n]. You muſt have perceived that his intonation daily acquires new beauties, as it becomes more juſt and varied.

The length of the ſyllables is meaſured by a certain interval of time. Some drag on with more or leſs ſlowneſs, others preſs forward with a greater or leſs degree of quickneſs [o]. Collect ſeveral ſhort ſyllables, and you will be hurried away in deſpite of yourſelf, by a rapidity of pronunciation; ſubſtitute long ſyllables for them, and you will be retarded by their weight; combine them together according to their relative length, you will perceive your ſtyle obedient to all the emotions of your mind, and exactly convey the impreſſions you wiſh to communicate. This it is which conſtitutes that rhythmus, that cadence [p], which cannot be violated without offending the ear; and thus, from the varieties which nature, the paſſions, and art, have given to the expreſſions of the voice, there reſults a combination of more or leſs agreeable, violent, or rapid ſounds.

When Lyſis ſhall be more advanced, I will ſhow him that the beſt method of aſſorting theſe ſounds, is by contraſting them; for contraſt, from whence ariſes equilibrium, is throughout all nature, and principally in the imitative arts, the ſource of order and of beauty. I will ſhow him by what a happy equipoiſe they may be ſtrengthened and enfeebled. Theſe rules ſhall be ſupported by examples. In the works of Thucydides he will diſtinguiſh a ſevere, commanding melody, full of grandeur, but generally deſtitute of amenity; in the writings of Xenophon, a ſeries of harmonious ſounds, which, by their elegance and ſoftneſs, characterize the graces by which he was inſpired [q]; and in the poems of Homer, a

[n] Id. de Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 583.

[o] Dionyſ. Halic. de Compoſ. Verb. cap. 15, t. vi p. 85.

[p] Plat. in Cratyl. t. i. p. 424. Ariſtot. de Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 591.

[q] Dionyſ. Halic. de Compoſ. Verb. cap. 10. t. v. p. 52.

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learned and perpetually diverſified arrangement [r]. Obſerve, when ſpeaking of Penelope, in what a manner that poet combines the ſweeteſt and moſt melodious ſounds, to diſplay the harmony and ſplendour of beauty [s]. Would he repreſent the noiſe of the waves breaking on the ſhore, his language lengthens, and imitates the roaring of the ſea. Does he wiſh to paint the torments of Siſyphus eternally labouring to roll a rock up to the top of a mountain, whence it inceſſantly recoils upon him, his verſes, after a ſlow, heavy, and fatiguing progreſs, roll and precipitate themſelves like a torrent [t]. Thus are ſounds converted into colours, and images become realities, under the pen of the moſt harmonious of poets.

We do not teach foreign languages to our pupils; whether it be from contempt of other nations, or becauſe they have not more time than is requiſite to learn our own. With the properties of the component elements of the latter, Lyſis is well acquainted. His flexible organs ſeize without difficulty thoſe ſhades which a practiſed ear remarks in the nature of ſounds, in their duration, and in the different degrees of their elevation or depreſſion [u].

Theſe notions, which have never yet been collected in any work, will perhaps appear to you frivolous; and ſo they would be, if, compelled as we are to pleaſe in order to perſuade, it were not often neceſſary to prefer ſtyle to thought, and harmony to expreſſion [x]. But they are eſſential in a government where the value of eloquence is infinitely enhanced by the acceſſory qualities that attend it; and more eſpecially among a people whoſe mind is levity itſelf, and whoſe ſenſes are of the utmoſt delicacy; who will ſometimes pardon an orator for oppoſing their inclinations, but never for offending their ear [y]. Hence the incredible exertions of certain orators to

[r] Id. ibid. cap. 15. p. 90.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 16. t. v. p. 197.
[t] Id. ibid. cap. 20 t. v. p. 139, &c.
[u] Ariſtot. de Rhet. lib. 3. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 583
[x] Id. p. 584. Dionyſ. Halic. ibid.
[y] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 481. Ulpian. ibid. p. 529. Cicer. Orat. cap. 8. et 9. t. i. p. 425. Suid. it Φημὶ.

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rectify their organs of ſpeech; hence their efforts to give that melody and cadence to their harangues, which may beſt effect perſuaſion; hence, in fine, thoſe inexpreſſible charms, that raviſhing ſweetneſs, which diſtinguiſh the Grecian tongue in the mouth of the Athenians [z]. Conſidered in this point of view, grammar is ſo intimately connected with muſic, that the care of teaching both is generally intruſted to the ſame preceptor [a].

I ſhall relate on another occaſion the converſations I had with Philotimus on the ſubject of muſic. I ſometimes was preſent at the muſical leſſons he gave his pupil. Lyſis learned to ſing with taſte, accompanying his voice on the lyre. He was ſuffered to make uſe of no inſtruments that violently agitate the mind, or which ſerve only to enervate it [b].

He was forbidden the flute, which alternately excites and lulls to ſleep the paſſions. Not long ago, this inſtrument conſtituted the chief entertainment of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Athenians. Alcibiades, when a boy, began to learn to play on it; but finding that his exertions to produce the ſounds diſfigured his features, he broke his flute into a thouſand pieces [c]. From that moment the Athenian youth conſidered playing on this inſtrument as an ignoble exerciſe, and abandoned it to profeſſional muſicians.

It was about this time that I ſet out for Egypt. Before my departure, I requeſted Philotimus to commit to writing the remainder of this plan of education; and I ſhall now continue the narrative from his journal.

Lyſis paſſed ſucceſſively under the care of different maſters. He learned arithmetic by principle, and in his ſports; for, in order to aſſiſt children in the ſtudy of this ſcience, they are accuſtomed ſometimes to ſhare amongſt them, according to

[z] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 642. Cicer. de Orator. lib. 3. cap. 11. t. i. p. 290.

[a] Quintil. Inſtit. lib. 1. cap. 10. p. 69.

[b] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 457.

[c] Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 106. Aul. Gell. lib. 15. cap. 17.

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their number, a certain quantity of apples or chaplets; ſometimes they change places with each other in their exerciſes, according to certain given combinations; ſo that the ſame boy ſhall occupy each place in his turn *[d]. Apollodorus would not allow his ſon to learn either the pretended powers attributed to numbers by the Pythagoreans, nor the application which a ſpirit of ſordid intereſt may make of calculation to commercial tranſactions [e]. He nevertheleſs had a great eſteem for arithmetic, becauſe, among other advantages, it increaſes the ſagacity of the mind, and prepares it for the reception of geometry and aſtronomy [f].

Lyſis acquired a tincture of both theſe ſciences. With the aſſiſtance of the former, ſhould he one day be placed at the head of armies, he will be better enabled to mark out a camp, conduct a ſiege, arrange troops in order of battle, and direct their motions with more facility on a march, or in an action [g]. The latter will guard him againſt the panic terror with which but lately the ſoldiers were uſed to be ſeized at the ſight of eclipſes and the extraordinary phænomena of nature [h].

Apollodorus happening one day to call at the houſe of one of the preceptors of his ſon, found there mathematical inſtruments, ſpheres, globes [i], and tables on which were delineated the boundaries of different empires, and the poſition of the moſt celebrated cities [k]. As he had been told that his ſon often talked to his friends of an eſtate belonging to the family in the diſtrict of Cephiſſia, he embraced this opportunity to give him the ſame leſſon that Alcibiades received from Socrates [l]. Show me, ſaid he to him, on this map of the world, where Europe, Greece, and Attica are ſituated. Lyſis anſwered theſe queſtions ſatisfactorily; but Apollodorus next in-

* See note at the end of the volume.

d Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 819.

e Id. de Rep. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 525.

f Id. in Theæt. t. i. p. 145. Id. de Rep. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 526. Id. de Leg. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 747.

g Id. de Rep. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 526.

h Thucyd. lib. 7. cap. 50.

i Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 201, &c.

k Herodot. lib. 5. c. 49. Diog. Laert. in Theophr. lib. 5. § 51.

l Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 28.

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quiring of him where the diſtrict of Cephiſſia lay, his ſon anſwered with bluſhes, that he was not able to find it. His friends ſmiled, and he never more ſpoke of the poſſeſſions of his father.

Lyſis was inflamed with an ardent deſire to acquire knowledge: but his father never loſt ſight of this maxim of a king of Lacedæmon, That nothing ſhould be taught children but what may be eventually uſeful [m]: nor of this other, That ignorance is preferable to a multiplicity of knowledge confuſedly jumbled together in the mind [n].

Lyſis learned at the ſame time to ſwim, and to manage a horſe [o]. Dancing regulated his ſteps, and beſtowed a gracefulneſs on all his motions. He was a cloſe attendant at the gymnaſium of the Lyceum. In Greece, children begin their bodily exerciſes very early [p], ſometimes even at ſeven years old [q], and continue them till the age of twenty. They are firſt habituated to bear cold and heat, and all the inclemencies of the ſeaſons [r]; and afterward accuſtomed to throw balls of different ſizes, returning them to each other. This and other games of the ſame nature are but preludes to thoſe laborious exerciſes which are to ſucceed in proportion as their ſtrength increaſes. They run on a deep ſand; hurl javelins; and leap over ditches or barriers, holding in their hands great leaden weights, and throwing into the air, or before them, quoits of ſtone or braſs [s]. They run once, or oftener, the whole length of the ſtadium, and frequently in heavy armour. But their chief exerciſes conſiſt in wreſtling, pugiliſtic encounters, and the various combats which I ſhall deſcribe when I come to ſpeak of the Olympic games. Lyſis, who was paſſionately fond of theſe amuſements, was obliged to uſe them with mo-

[m] Plut. Lacon. Apophth. t. ii. p. 224.
[n] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 819.
[o] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 162.
[p] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 402. Lucian. de Gymnaſ. t. ii. p. 898.
[q] Axioch. ap Plat. t. iii. p. 366.
[r] Lucian. ibid.
[s] Id. ibid. t. ii. p. 909.

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deration, and correct their effects by mental exercises, to which his father incessantly recalled his attention.

On his return home in the evening, he either sang to the lyre [t], or amused himself with drawing, a study which has been almost generally introduced, of late years, among children of free condition [u]. He often read instructive and entertaining books, in presence of his father and mother. On these occasions Apollodorus performed the office of those grammarians, who, under the name of critics [x], teach us to solve the difficulties that occur in the text of authors; and Epicharis, that of a woman of taste, who is able to relish and point out their beauties. Lysis one day asking by what criterion we should judge of the merit of a book? Aristotle, who was present, replied, "When the author has said every thing that he ought, nothing but what he ought, and when he says that as he ought [y]."

His parents formed him to that noble politeness of which they were themselves the models. The desire of pleasing, facility in the intercourse of life, equality of character, attention to yield precedence to the aged [z], decency of deportment, of appearance, manners, and expressions [a], all were prescribed him without constraint, and all acquired and observed without an effort.

His father often took him to hunt different kinds of quadrupeds, because the chace is the image of war [b]; sometimes to kill or catch birds; but always on uncultivated grounds, that he might not destroy the hopes of the husbandman [c].

He was taken early to the theatre [d]; and afterwards more than once distinguished himself in the musical and dancing

[t] Plat. in Lys. t. ii. p. 209.
[u] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 450. Plin. lib. 35. t. ii. p. 694.
[x] Axioch. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 366. Strab. ap Eustath. t. i. p. 285.
[y] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 2. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 22. Id. de Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 583.
[z] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 9. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 118.
[a] Isocr. ad Demon. t. i. p. 24, 27, &c. Aristot. de Rep. t. ii. lib. 7. cap. 17. p. 448.
[b] Xenoph. de Venat. p. 974 et 995.
[c] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 824.
[d] Theophr. Charact. cap. 9.

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choruſes at the ſolemn feſtivals. He was eminent likewiſe at thoſe public games in which horſe-races are introduced, and frequently carried off the palm; but he was never ſeen, like ſome young men, ſtanding upright on horſeback, throwing arrows, and making a ſhow of himſelf by tricks of dexterity [e].

He took ſome leſſons of a fencing-maſter [f], and made himſelf acquainted with tactics [g]; but he never frequented thoſe ignorant profeſſors, to whoſe lectures youth repair to learn to command armies [h].

Theſe different exerciſes were principally connected with the military art. But if it was his duty to defend his country, it was thought no leſs incumbent on him to contribute to its information and improvement. Logic, rhetoric, ethics, hiſtory, the laws, and politics, ſucceſſively engaged his attention.

Mercenary maſters take upon them to teach theſe various branches of ſcience, and require a high premium for their leſſons. The following anecdote is told of Ariſtippus. An Athenian requeſting him to complete the education of his ſon, Ariſtippus demanded a thouſand drachmas. "But," replied the father, "I could have a ſlave for that ſum." "You will have two," ſaid the philoſopher; "your ſon, and the ſlave whom you had placed about his perſon [i]."

Formerly this city was greatly frequented by the ſophiſts, who taught the Athenian youth to declaim ſuperficially on every ſubject. Though their number be now greatly diminiſhed, ſome of them are ſtill to be ſeen ſurrounded by their diſciples, and who make the halls of the gymnaſium re-echo with their clamours and diſputations. Lyſis ſeldom attended at theſe contentions. Leſſons were given him by teachers of much greater abilities; and he had the advantage of receiving the inſtruction of men of the firſt order for genius and learn-

[e] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 93.
[f] Id. in Lach. t. ii. p. 182.
[g] Axioch. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 365.
[h] Plat. in Euthid. t. i. p. 307.
[i] Plut. de Lib. Educ. t. ii. p. 4.

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ing. Such were Plato, Iſocrates, and Ariſtotle, who were all three the friends of Apollodorus.

Logic added new powers, and rhetoric new charms, to his reaſon. But care was taken to warn him that both ſciences, though intended to render truth triumphant, were but too frequently employed to give the victory to falſehood. As an orator ſhould not be too negligent of external acquirements, he was placed for ſome time under the eye of an able actor, who gave him proper inſtructions with reſpect to the management of his voice and geſtures [k].

The hiſtory of Greece taught him the claims and errors of the different ſtates which inhabit it. He attended the bar, until the time ſhould come, when, after the example of Themiſtocles and other great men, he might have the opportunity of perſonally defending the cauſe of innocence [l].

One of the principal objects of education is to form the infant heart. In the courſe of it [m], the parents, tutor, ſervants, and maſters, weary the child with trite maxims, the impreſſion of which they weaken by their examples. Menaces and blows, too, injudiciouſly employed, often give him a diſtaſte for truths which he ſhould have been induced to love.

The ſtudy of morality never coſt Lyſis a tear. His father had placed about him perſons who improved him by their conduct, and not by importunate remonſtrances. When a child, he pointed out his faults to him with mildneſs: when his reaſon was more completely formed, he let him ſee that they were contrary to his intereſt.

He was very careful in his choice of books on the ſubject of morality; their authors in general either wavering in their principles, or having only falſe ideas of the duties of mankind. Iſocrates one day read us a letter which he had formerly addreſſed to Demonicus [*], a young man who reſided at

[k] Plut. in Demoſth. t. i. p. 839.
[l] Nep. in Them. cap. 1.
[m] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 325.
[*] See note at the end of the volume.

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the court of Cyprus[n]. This letter, which was fraught with ſenſe, but loaded with antitheſes, contained rules for manners and conduct, arranged in the form of maxims, relative to the various circumſtances of life. The following may ſerve as a ſpecimen.

"Act towards your parents, as you would that your children ſhould one day act towards you[o]. In your moſt ſecret actions, ſuppoſe that you have all the world for witneſſes. Do not flatter yourſelf that reprehenſible actions can remain in oblivion; you may perhaps conceal them from others, but never from yourſelf[p]. Employ your leiſure hours in liſtening to the converſation of the wiſe[q]. Deliberate ſlowly, execute promptly[r]. Comfort diſtreſſed virtue; liberality well applied conſtitutes the treaſure of the worthy man[s]. When you ſhall be inveſted with ſome important office, never employ bad men; when you quit it, let it be with glory rather than with wealth[t]."

This work was written with that profuſion of ornament and elegance which we diſcover in all the productions of Iſocrates. Compliments were beſtowed upon the author; and when he was gone, Apollodorus thus addreſſed his ſon: The pleaſure you received on hearing this letter read, did not eſcape me, nor am I ſurpriſed at it: it has awakened ſentiments which are precious to your heart, and we are always happy to meet our friends. But did you attend to the paſſage I deſired him to repeat, and which points out to Demonicus the conduct he ſhould obſerve at the court of Cyprus? I know it by rote, anſwered Lyſis. "Conform to the inclinations of the prince. By appearing to approve them, you will acquire additional influence with him, and more reſpect from the people. Obey his laws, and conſider his example as the firſt[u]." What a ſtrange leſſon in the mouth of a re-

[n] Iſocr. ad Demon. t. i. p. 15.
[o] Ibid. p. 23.
[p] Ibid. p. 25.
[q] Ibid. p. 26.
[r] Ibid. p. 37
[s] Ibid. p. 33.
[t] Ibid. p. 39.
[u] Ibid.

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publican! resumed Apollodorus; and how is it possible to reconcile it with the advice the author gives Demonicus to detest flatterers [x]? The fact is, that Isocrates has but a borrowed doctrine on morality, and speaks rather as a rhetorician than as a philosopher. Besides, is it by such vague precepts that we are to enlighten the mind? Do you imagine that Demonicus was in a situation to understand the words, wisdom, justice, temperance, honesty, and a variety of others which have so often met your ear in this production; those words which so many men content themselves with retaining and distributing as it may serve their purpose [y]? Have you yourself an accurate idea of their true signification? Are you aware that our greatest danger from prejudices and vices is when they assume the disguise of truths and virtues; and that nothing is more difficult than to obey the voice even of a faithful guide, when overpowered by that of a multitude of impostors, who walk by his side and imitate his language?

Hitherto I have made no attempt to fortify you in virtue systematically. I have contented myself with making you practise it. It was proper to dispose your mind for the reception of these lessons, as we prepare the earth before we scatter the seed by which it is to be enriched [z].

You should now call me to account for the sacrifices I have sometimes required from you, and enable yourself to justify those you will one day be obliged to make.

A few days after, Aristotle was so obliging as to bring with him several works which he had sketched out or finished, mostly on the science of morals [a], commenting on them as he read. I shall endeavour to explain his principles.

All modes of life, all our actions, have a particular end in view; and all those ends tend to one general object, which is

[x] Ibid. p. 34.
[y] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 263.
[z] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 10. cap. 10, t. ii. p. 141.
[a] Id. ibid. p. 3. Id. Magn. Mor. p. 145. Id Eudemior. p. 195.

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happineſs [b]. It is not in the end we propoſe, but in the choice of means, that we deceive ourſelves [c]. How often do honours, riches, power, and beauty, prove more fatal than uſeful to us [d]! How often has experience taught us, that diſeaſe and poverty are not themſelves injurious [e]! Thus, from the erroneous idea we form of good and evil, as much as from the inconſtancy of our will [f], we almoſt always act without preciſely knowing what it is we ought to deſire, or what we ought to fear [g].

To diſtinguiſh real from apparent good [h], is the object of morality, which unfortunately does not proceed like the ſciences limited to theory. In the latter, the mind without difficulty perceives conſequences reſulting from principles [i]. But when called upon to act, it ought to heſitate, to deliberate, to chooſe, and, above all, to guard itſelf againſt illuſions ariſing from external conſiderations, and againſt thoſe which originate in our hearts. If we wiſh our deciſions to be wiſe and juſt, let us conſult our own feelings, and acquire a juſt idea of our paſſions, virtues, and vices.

The ſoul, that principle which, among other faculties, enjoys thoſe of knowing, conjecturing, and deliberating; of feeling, wiſhing, and fearing [k]; the ſoul, indiviſible perhaps in itſelf, is, relatively to its various operations, divided as it were into two principal parts; the one of which poſſeſſes reaſon and the intellectual virtues; the other, which ſhould be guided by the former, is the reſidence of the moral virtues [l].

The former is the ſeat of intelligence, wiſdom, and ſcience, which apply themſelves only to intellectual and invariable

[b] Id. de Mor. lib. 1. cap. 1 et 2.
[c] Ariſtot. Magn. Mor. lib. 1. cap. 19. t. ii. p. 158.
[d] Eudem. lib. 7. cap. 15. p. 290.
[e] Id de Mor. lib. 5. cap. 9. p. 36.
[f] Ariſtot. Magn. Mor. lib 1. cap. 12. p. 155.
[g] Id. Eudem. lib. 1. cap. 5. p. 197, &c.
[h] Id. de Mor. lib. 3. cap. 5. p. 33.
[i] Id Magn. Mor. lib. 1. cap. 18. p. 158.
[k] Ariſtot. de Anim. lib. 1. cap. 9. t. i. p. 629.
[l] Id. de Mor. lib. i. cap. 13. p. 16 Id. Magn. Moral. lib. 1. cap 5. p. 151 Ibid cap 35, p. 169. Id. Eudem. lib 2. cap. 1. p. 204.

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things; of prudence, judgment, and opinion, the objects of which fall under the obſervation of the ſenſes, and are perpetually varying; and of ſagacity, memory, and other qualities, that I omit [m].

Intelligence, a ſimple perception of the ſoul *, confines itſelf to the contemplation of the eſſence and eternal principles of things: Wiſdom meditates not only on the principles, but on the conſequences which flow from them; it partakes of intelligence that ſees, and ſcience that demonſtrates [n]. Prudence appreciates and combines the good and evil, deliberates ſlowly, and determines our choice in the manner the moſt conformable to our real intereſts [o]. When, with ſufficient knowledge to decide, it has not power enough to make us act, it is no more than a ſound judgment [p]. Laſtly, opinion envelopes itſelf in doubts [q], and often leads us into error.

Of all the qualities of the mind, wiſdom is the moſt eminent, and prudence the moſt uſeful. As there is nothing ſo great in the univerſe as the univerſe itſelf, the ſages, who aſcend to its origin, and ſtudy the incorruptible eſſence of all beings, are entitled to the firſt rank in our eſteem. Such were Anaxagoras and Thales. They have tranſmitted to us admirable and ſublime ideas, but which are of no importance to our happineſs [r]; for wiſdom has only an indirect influence on morals. That conſiſts wholly in theory, prudence entirely in practice †. In a family we frequently ſee the maſter confide to a faithful ſteward the minute particulars of domeſtic government, that he may apply himſelf to more important affairs; thus wiſdom, abſorbed in profound meditations, relies on prudence to regulate our propenſities, and to govern

[m] Id. de Magn. Moral. lib. 1. c. 5. p. 151.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[n] Ariſtot. Magn. Moral. cap. 35. p. 170.

[o] Id. de Mor. lib. 6. cap. 5. p. 76; cap. 8. p. 79.

[p] Id. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 11. p. 81.

[q] Id. Magn. Mor. lib. 1. cap. 35. p. 170.

[r] Id. de Mor. lib. 6. cap. 7. p. 78; cap. 13. p. 82.

† See note at the end of the volume.

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that part of the ſoul in which, as I have ſaid, the moral virtues reſide [s].

This part is every moment agitated by love, hatred, anger, deſire, fear, envy, and a multitude of other paſſions, the ſeeds of which we bring with us into the world, and which are of themſelves deſerving neither of cenſure or praiſe [t]. Their motions, which are cauſed by the attraction of pleaſure or the fear of pain, are almoſt always irregular and fatal; now, in the ſame manner as the want or exceſs of exerciſe deſtroys the powers of the body, ſo does a paſſionate emotion, either too violent or too weak, lead aſtray the mind, leaving it either ſhort of, or urging it beyond, the mark it ought to have in view, whilſt a well regulated emotion conducts it naturally to the object [u]. It is the medium, therefore, between two vicious affections, that conſtitutes a virtuous ſentiment *. Let us give an example. Cowardice fears every thing, and errs by deficiency; preſumption fears nothing, and errs by exceſs: courage, which adopts the medium between the two, fears only when it is neceſſary to fear. Thus paſſions of the ſame nature produce in us three different affections, two vicious, and the other virtuous [x]. Thus do the moral virtues ariſe from the very boſom of the paſſions, or rather they are no other than paſſions reſtrained within due limits.

Ariſtotle now ſhowed us a writing in three columns, where moſt of the virtues were reſpectively placed between their two extremes: liberality, for inſtance, ſtood between avarice and prodigality; friendſhip between averſion or hatred, and complaiſance or flattery [y]. As prudence, by its nature, is a property of the rational, and, by its functions, of the irra-

[s] Ariſtot. Magn. Mor. lib. 1. cap. 35. p. 171 et 172.
[t] Id. de Mor. lib. 2. cap. 4 p. 21.
[u] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 2. cap. 2. p. 19.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 8. p. 25.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 7. p. 24. Id. Eudem. lib. 2. cap. 3. p. 206 et cap. 7. p. 225.

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tional mind, it was accompanied by craft, which is a vice of the heart, and ſtupidity, which is a mental defect.

We diſcovered ſome gaps in this table. Temperance was oppoſed to intemperance, which is its exceſs; inſenſibility was choſen for the other extreme, becauſe, ſaid Ariſtotle, men never err by deficiency in matters of pleaſure, unleſs they are inſenſible. Our language, added he, has not a word proper to characterize the virtue oppoſite to envy, though it be recognized in the indignation that every honeſt mind experiences at the ſucceſs of the wicked.

Be this as it may, the two vices correſponding to a virtue may be more or leſs remote from it, without ceaſing to be blameable. A man may be more or leſs cowardly, more or leſs prodigal; there is but one only manner in which he can be perfectly liberal or courageous: accordingly we have very few words in our language to ſignify each virtue, but a conſiderable number for every vice. Hence the Pythagoreans ſay, that evil partakes of the nature of infinite, and good of the nature of finite [a].

But what ſhall diſcover this good, which is almoſt imperceptible amid the evils that ſurround it? Prudence, which I ſhall ſometimes call right reaſon, becauſe, uniting the light of experience to the natural light of reaſon, it rectifies the one by the other [b]. The function of prudence is to point out to us the track in which we are to walk, and to reſtrain as much as poſſible ſuch of our paſſions as might induce us to wander into the adjoining paths [c]; for it is her duty to ſignify her commands to them: ſhe is to them what an architect is to the workmen who labour under him [d].

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[a] Id. ibid. cap. 7. p. 24. Id. ibid.

[a] Id. de Mor. lib. 2. cap. 5. p. 23. Id. Magn. Moral. lib. 1. cap. 25. p. 162.

[b] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 6. cap. 1, 9, &c.

[c] Id. Magn. Mor. lib. 2. cap. 18. p. 158.

[d] Id. ibid. cap. 35. p. 172.

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Prudence deliberates, on all occaſions, on the advantages we ſhould purſue, advantages difficult to know, and which ſhould be relative not only to ourſelves, but to our relations, our friends, and fellow citizens [e]. Deliberation ſhould be followed by a voluntary choice, without which it would deſerve only pity or indulgence [f]. The choice is free whenever we are not conſtrained to act againſt our judgment by external force, or hurried away by an excuſable ignorance [g]. Thus, an action, the object of which is honourable, ſhould be preceded by deliberation and by choice, to render it, properly ſpeaking, an act of virtue; and this act, by frequent repetition, forms in our minds a habit which I call virtue [h].

We are now able to diſtinguiſh what nature has done for us, and what ſound reaſon has added to her work. Nature neither gives nor denies us any virtue. She grants us only faculties, leaving the uſe of them to ourſelves [i]. While ſhe has ſowed in our hearts the ſeeds of every paſſion, ſhe has implanted there the principles of every virtue [k]. We receive, conſequently at our birth, an aptitude more or leſs approaching to a virtuous diſpoſition, a propenſity more or leſs ſtrong towards what is good and juſt [l].

Hence we may perceive an eſſential difference between what we ſometimes denominate natural virtue, and virtue properly ſo called [m]. The former is that aptitude, that propenſity I have mentioned, a ſort of inſtinct which, unenlightened as yet by reaſon, wavers between good and evil. The latter is the ſame inſtinct conſtantly directed towards good by right reaſon, and always acting with knowledge, choice, and perſeverance [n].

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[e] Id. de Mor. lib. 1. cap. 5. p. 8.
[f] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 28.
[g] Id. ibid. cap. 1 et 2.
[h] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 2. cap. 1. p. 18; cap. 4. p. 21.
[i] Id. ibid.
[k] Id. Magn. Mor. lib. 2. cap. 7. p. 184.
[l] Id. de Mor. lib. 6. cap. 13. p. 84. Id. Magn. Mor. ibid.
[m] Ariſtot. Magn. Mor. lib. 1. cap. 35. p. 171; de Mor. p. 84.
[n] Id. de Mor. lib. 2. cap. 3. p. 21.

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I conclude from hence, that virtue is a habit formed, in the first instance, and afterwards guided by prudence; or, if you will, it is a natural impulse towards good actions, transformed by prudence into a habit [o].

Several consequences arise naturally from these ideas. It is in our power to be virtuous, since we all possess the aptitude to become so [p]; but it does not depend on any of us to be the most virtuous of men, unless that individual has received from Nature the dispositions requisite to such a degree of perfection [q].

Since prudence forms in us the habit of virtue, all the virtues become her work; whence it follows, that in a mind docile to her dictates, not a virtue but presents and places itself in its proper rank, and not one will be found in opposition to another [r]. In such a mind, too, we must discover a perfect harmony between reason and the passions, since the former commands, and the latter always obey [s].

But how can we assure ourselves of this harmony, or flatter ourselves that we possess such virtue? First, by a secret sentiment [t], and next by the pain or pleasure we experience. If this virtue be not yet matured, the sacrifices it requires will afflict us; if complete, those sacrifices will afford us the purest joy; for virtue has its voluptuousness [u].

It is impossible for children to be virtuous; they are alike unable to distinguish, or to prefer their real good. Yet, as it is essential to cherish in them the natural propensity they have to virtue, they should be accustomed to virtuous actions [x].

Prudence always conducting itself by wise and good motives, and each virtue requiring perseverance, many actions, which

[o] Aristot. de Mor. cap. 6. p. 23. Magn. Mor. lib. 1. cap. 35. p. 171.
[p] Id. de Mor. lib. 5. cap. 7. p. 33. Id. Magn. Mor. lib. 1. cap. 9. p. 153.
[q] Id. Magn. Mor. lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 155.
[r] Id. de Mor. lib. 6. cap. 13. p. 84. Id. Magn. Mor. lib. 2. cap. 3. p. 174.
[s] Id. Magn. Mor. lib. 2. cap. 7. p. 184.
[t] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 10. p. 186.
[u] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 2. cap. 2. p. 19; lib. 10. cap. 7. p. 137.
[x] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 1. p. 18.

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ſeem worthy of commendation, loſe all their value when we inveſtigate the principle that produced them [y]. Some expoſe themſelves to great dangers from the hope of great advantage; others through fear of cenſure. Theſe men are not courageous. Take ambition from the former, and ſhame from the latter, they poſſibly will prove arrant cowards [z].

The man who is hurried away by revenge is not to be called courageous: he is a wild boar ruſhing on the ſpear that has wounded him. Nor is that appellation to be beſtowed on thoſe who are agitated by unruly paſſions, and whoſe courage takes fire and extinguiſhes with them. Who then is the courageous man? He who, influenced by good and wiſe motives, and guided by ſound reaſon, knows the danger, fears it, yet bravely haſtens to meet it [a].

Ariſtotle applied the ſame principles to juſtice, temperance, and the other virtues. He went through them all in detail, and followed them in their ſubdiviſions, fixing their extent and boundaries; for he ſhowed us in what manner, under what circumſtances, and on what objects, it was the province of each of them to act, or to ſuſpend their operations. As he proceeded, he gave us his opinion on a multitude of queſtions, concerning which philoſophers are divided, reſpecting the nature of our duties. Theſe particulars, which are often but hinted at in his works, and which I cannot here unfold, brought him back to the motives that ſhould attach us inviolably to virtue.

Let us conſider virtue, ſaid he, one day, in its relations to ourſelves and others. The virtuous man finds his enjoyment in dwelling and living with himſelf. You will find in his ſoul neither the remorſe nor tumults which agitate the vicious. He is happy in the recollection of the good he has done, and in the proſpect of that he may yet have it in his power to do [b].

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[y] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 3.
[z] Id. Magn. Moral. lib. 1. cap. 21. p. 160.
[a] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 38. Id. Eudem. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 220.
[b] Id. ibid. lib. 9. cap. 4. p. 120.

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He enjoys his own eſteem, by obtaining the eſteem of others; he ſeems to act only for them; he will even reſign to them the moſt ſplendid employments, if he be perſuaded that they can diſcharge the duties of them better than himſelf[c]. His whole life is ſpent in uſeful activity[d], and all his actions originate in ſome particular virtue: he therefore poſſeſſes happineſs, which conſiſts only in a ſeries of virtuous actions[e].

I have been ſpeaking of the happineſs ariſing from an active life dedicated to the duties of ſociety. But there is another kind of happineſs of a ſuperior order, excluſively reſerved for the ſmall number of ſages, who, far from the tumult of affairs, reſign themſelves to a life of contemplation. As they have diveſted themſelves of every thing mortal in our nature, and only hear, as it were, the diſtant murmur of the paſſions, all is peace and ſilence in their ſouls, except in that part which poſſeſſes the perogative of command, a divine portion, whether we call it intelligence or by any other name[f], perpetually employed in meditating on the divine nature, and on the eſſence of beings[g]. They who liſten only to the voice of this intelligence, are more eſpecially favoured by the Deity; for if it be true, as all nature leads us to believe, that he beſtows ſome attention on human affairs, with what a favourable eye muſt he regard thoſe, who, after his example, place all their happineſs in the contemplation of eternal truths[h].

In the converſations held in preſence of Lyſis, Iſocrates pleaſed his ear, Ariſtotle enlightened his mind, and Plato inflamed his ſoul. The latter ſometimes explained to him the doctrine of Socrates, or laid before him the plan of his own ideal republic; at others he made him ſenſible that no real

[c] Id. Magn. Mor. lib. 2 cap. 13. p. 192.
[d] Id. ibid cap. 10. p. 187.
[e] Id. de Mor. lib. 1. cap. 6. p. 9; lib. 10. cap. 6 et 7. Id Magn. Morai. lib 1. cap. 4. p. 150.
[f] Id. de Mor. l. 10. cap. 7. p. 138.
[g] Ariſtot. Eudem. lib. 7. cap. 15. p. 291. Id. Magn. Mor. lib. 1. cap. 35. p. 170.
[h] Id. de Mor. lib. 10. cap. 8. p. 139; cap. 9. p. 140.

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elevation, no perfect independence, can exist but in a virtuous mind. More frequently still, he demonstrated to him at length, that happiness consists in the knowledge of the sovereign good, which is no other than God [i]. Thus, while other philosophers held out no recompence for virtue but the public esteem and the transiant happiness of this life, Plato presented him with a nobler support.

Virtue, said he, proceeds from God [k]; you can acquire it only by knowing yourself, by obtaining wisdom, and preferring yourself to what only appertains to you. Follow me in my reasoning, Lysis. Your person, your beauty, your riches, are yours, but do not constitute you. Man consists wholly in his soul [l]. To learn what he is, and what he ought to do, he must consider himself in his intellectual powers, in that part of the soul in which sparkles a ray of the divine wisdom [m], a pure light, which will insensibly conduct his view to the source from whence it emanates. When he has fixed his eyes on this, and shall have contemplated that eternal standard of all perfections, he will feel that it is his most important interest to imitate them in his own conduct, and to assimilate himself to the Divinity, at least so far as it is possible for so faint a copy to approach so sublime a model. God is the measure of every thing [n]; there is nothing good or estimable in the world, but what has some conformity with him. He is sovereignly wise, holy, and just; and the only means of resembling and pleasing him, is by filling our minds with wisdom, justice, and holiness [o].

Called to this high destiny, place yourself in the situation of those, who, as the sages say, by their virtues unite the heavens with the earth, the gods with men [p]. Let your life afford the happiest of conditions to yourself, and the sublimest

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i Plat. de Rep. lib. 6. p. 505, &c. Bruck. Histor. Critic. Philos. t. i. p. 721.

k Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 99 et 100.

l Id. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 130 et 131.

m Id. ibid. p. 133.

n Id. de Leg. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 716.

o Id. in Theæt. t. i. p. 176. Id. de Leg. ibid.

p Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 509.

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ſpectacle to others, that of a ſoul in which all the virtues are in perfect harmony [q].

I have often ſpoken to you of the conſequences reſulting from theſe truths, bound together, if I may venture the expreſſion, by reaſons of iron and of adamant [r]; but I muſt remind you, before I conclude, that vice, beſides that it degrades the ſoul, is ſooner or later conſigned to the puniſhment it merits.

God, as it has been ſaid before our time, paſſes through the whole univerſe, holding in his hand the beginning, the middle, and the end of all beings *. Juſtice attends his ſteps, ready to puniſh offences committed againſt the divine law. The humble and modeſt man finds his happineſs in obſerving this law; the vain man diſregards it, and God abandons him to his paſſions. For a time he retains his conſequence in the eyes of the vulgar; but vengeance quickly overtakes him: and ſhould ſhe ſpare him in this world, ſhe purſues him with redoubled fury in the next [s]. It is not, therefore, by obtaining honours, and the applauſes of men, that we ſhould endeavour to diſtinguiſh ourſelves, but by labouring for the approbation of that dread tribunal which ſhall judge us after death [t].

Lyſis was now ſeventeen; his ſoul was full of paſſion, and his imagination lively and brilliant: he expreſſed himſelf with equal facility and grace. His friends never ceaſed to extol theſe advantages, and were continually reminding him of the conſtraint under which he hitherto had lived, both by their raillery and their example. Philotimus ſaid to him one day: Children and young people were much more ſtrictly educated formerly than at preſent. They wore nothing but ſlight clothing to guard them againſt the inclemency of the weather, and ſatisfied the cravings of hunger with the moſt ordinary ali-

[q] Id. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 402.
[r] Id. in Gorg. p. 509.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[s] Plat. de Leg. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 716.
[t] Id. in Gorg. t. i. p. 526.

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ments. When in the ſtreets with their maſters and relations, they appeared with down-caſt eyes, and a modeſt carriage. They dared not utter a word in preſence of aged perſons; and were kept in ſuch rigorous ſubjection to decency, that, when ſeated, they would have bluſhed to advance one knee before the other [u]. And what was the reſult of theſe clowniſh manners? demanded Lyſis. Theſe unpoliſhed men, anſwered Philotimus, defeated the Perſians and ſaved Greece.—We ſhould defeat them ſtill.—I doubt that much, when at the feſtivals of Minerva I ſee our youth ſcarce able to bear the weight of a buckler, and performing our warlike dances with ſo much elegance and effeminacy [x].

Philotimus next aſked him what he thought of a young man, who both in his language and dreſs deviated from all the rules of reſpect due to ſociety. All his companions applaud him, ſaid Lyſis: and all men of ſenſe condemn him, replied Philotimus. But by theſe ſenſible perſons, ſaid Lyſis, do you mean thoſe old men who are acquainted with nothing but their ancient cuſtoms, and who, deſtitute of all indulgence for our foibles, expect us to be born eighty years old [y]. They have one way of thinking, and their grand-children another. Who is to decide? Yourſelf, anſwered Philotimus. Without recurring to our principles relative to the reſpect and affection we owe to the authors of our being, I ſhall ſuppoſe that you are obliged to travel in remote countries: will you chooſe a road, without knowing whether it be paſſable, whether it lies through immenſe deſerts and barbarous nations, and whether it be not in certain places infeſted by robbers?—It would be certainly imprudent to expoſe ones ſelf to ſuch dangers. I would take a guide.—Lyſis, obſerve that old men have reached the goal of the career you are about to run, a career at once highly difficult and dangerous [z]. I underſtand you, ſaid Lyſis, I am aſhamed of my error.

[u] Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 960, &c.
[x] Id. ibid.
[y] Menand. ap. Terent. in Heauton. act. 2 ſcen. 1.
[z] Plat de Rep. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 328.

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In the mean time the ſucceſs of the public orators excited his ambition. Having accidentally heard ſome ſophiſts making long harangues on politics at the Lyceum, he thought himſelf qualified to inſtruct the Athenians. He warmly condemned the ſubſiſting adminiſtration; and, like moſt of the youth of his own age, impatiently waited for the moment when he ſhould be allowed to mount the roſtrum. His father diſpelled this illuſion in the ſame manner that Socrates convinced a younger brother of Plato of his incapacity to govern the ſtate.

My ſon, ſaid he to him [a], I underſtand that you are inflamed with deſire to attain the principal direction of the government. I was indeed thinking of it, anſwered Lyſis, with emotion. It is a noble project. If it ſucceeds, you will have it in your power to be uſeful to your relations, to your friends, and to your country: your fame will be ſpread not only among the Athenians, but throughout Greece, and poſſibly, like that of Themiſtocles, among the barbarous nations.

At theſe words the young man felt his heart palpitate with joy. To obtain this glory, reſumed Apollodorus, is it not neceſſary to render important ſervices to the republic?—Doubtleſs.—What is the firſt benefit, then, that Athens will receive from you? Lyſis was ſilent, in order to prepare his anſwer. After a moment's pauſe, Apollodorus continued: If the matter in queſtion were to raiſe the family of your friend, you would firſt think of enriching it; in like manner you will ſtrive to augment the revenues of the ſtate.—Such is my idea.—Tell me, then, what is their preſent amount, whence they proceed, which the particular branches are that you deem capable of augmentation, and which thoſe that have been totally neglected? You have reflected, no doubt, on all this.—No, father, I have never even thought of it.—

[a] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 772.

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You know, at leaſt, the application that is made of the public treaſure; and it is certainly your intention to retrench all ſuperfluous expences.—I muſt own that I have paid no more attention to this article than to the former.—Well, then! ſince we know nothing either of the receipt or the expenditure, let us lay aſide, for the preſent, our project of procuring new reſources for the republic.—But it is poſſible, father, to obtain them at the expence of the enemy.—I admit it; but that depends on the advantages you ſhall gain over him; and to obtain them, muſt you not, before you determine on war, compare the forces you propoſe to employ with thoſe he will oppoſe to them?—You are right.—Tell me, then, what is the ſtate of our army and navy, as well as that of the troops and ſhips of the enemy.—It is impoſſible for me to give you an account of this immediately.—You have it perhaps in writings; I ſhould be glad to ſee it.—No, I have it not.

I can ſuppoſe, reſumed Apollodorus, that you have not yet had time to apply yourſelf to ſuch calculations: but the fortreſſes that defend our frontiers have undoubtedly fixed your attention. You know how many ſoldiers we maintain in all theſe different poſts; you know likewiſe that certain places are not ſufficiently ſecure, that others ſtand in no need of being fortified, and you will declare in the general aſſembly that ſuch a garriſon ſhould be reinforced, and another removed.—For my part, I ſhall ſay that they ought all to be removed; for they diſcharge their duty very indifferently.—And how are you ſo ſure that our defiles are ill-guarded? Have you been upon the ſpot?—No, but ſo I conjecture.—We muſt reconſider this matter then, when, inſtead of conjectures, we ſhall have acquired certain knowledge.

I know that you have never ſeen the ſilver mines belonging to the republic, and it is not to be expected that you ſhould tell me why they produce leſs now than formerly.—No, I never deſcended into them.—The place in fact is un-

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wholeſome, and this excuſe will juſtify you, ſhould the Athenians ever take this ſubject into conſideration. What I ſhall aſk you now, at leaſt, cannot have eſcaped you. How many meaſures of corn does Attica produce? How many are neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of its inhabitants? You will readily grant that this is neceſſary to be known by thoſe who hold the reins of government, in order to prevent a famine.—But there would be no end, were we to enter into theſe particulars.—What! muſt not the maſter of a houſe keep a watchful eye over the wants of his family, and ſeek reſources to ſupply them? But if you are terrified with all theſe minutiæ, inſtead of taking upon you the ſuperintendence of ten thouſand families which inhabit this city, you ſhould firſt try your ſtrength, and eſtabliſh order in the houſe of your uncle, whoſe affairs are in a very diſordered ſtate.—I ſhould ſoon be able to arrange them, would he but follow my advice.—And do you really imagine that all the Athenians, your uncle among the number, will more eaſily be perſuaded? Tremble, my ſon, leſt a vain love of glory ſhould only lead you to diſgrace. Do you not feel how imprudent and dangerous it would be to undertake the management of ſuch weighty intereſts without underſtanding them? Numberleſs examples will teach you, that, in the moſt important offices, admiration and eſteem are indeed the reward of knowledge and of wiſdom; but cenſure and contempt the conſequence of ignorance and preſumption.

Lyſis was aſtoniſhed at the extenſive information neceſſary to a ſtateſman [b], but he was not diſcouraged. Ariſtotle had taught him the nature of the various forms of government invented by legiſlators [c]; Apollodorus inſtructed him in the nature of the government, the ſtrength, and commerce, as well of his own country as of other nations. It was deter-

[b] Ariſtot. de Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 521.

[c] Id. de Rep. t. ii. p. 296.

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mined, that after his education was completed, he ſhould travel into all thoſe countries which had any material connections with the Athenians [d].

At this time I arrived from Perſia, and found him in his eighteenth year [e]. It is at this age that the Athenian children enter into the claſs of the Ephebi, and are enrolled in the militia: but for the two following years they are not to ſerve out of Attica [f]. The country which henceforth conſiders them as her defenders, requires them to engage, by a ſolemn oath, to pay implicit obedience to her commands. In the little temple of Agraulos was it that he ſolemnly promiſed, among other things, in preſence of the altars, never to diſhonour the arms of the republic, or to quit his poſt, to ſacrifice his life for his country, and to leave it more flouriſhing than he had found it [g].

During that whole year he never went out of Athens; he watched over the ſafety of the city, aſſiduouſly mounted guard, and inured himſelf to military diſcipline. At the beginning of the following year [h], on his repairing to the theatre where the general aſſembly was held, the people beſtowed commendations on his conduct, and returned him his lance and ſhield. Lyſis immediately departed, and was ſucceſſively employed in the fortreſſes ſituated on the frontiers of Attica.

Returning at the age of twenty, he had another eſſential formality to undergo. I have already ſaid, that he was enrolled in his infancy, and in preſence of his family, in the regiſter of the curia of which his father was a member. This act teſtified the legitimacy of his birth. Another was now requiſite to put him in poſſeſſion of all the rights of a citizen.

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[d] Id. de Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 522.

[e] Corſin. Faſt. Att. Differt. II. t. ii. p. 139.

[f] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 422. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9, § 105, Ulpian. ad Olynth 3. p. 42.

[g] Lycurg. adverſ. Leocr. part. ii. p. 157. Ulp in Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 391. Plut in Alcib. p. 198. Philoſtr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 4. cap. 21. p. 60.

[h] Ariſtot. ap. Harpocr. in Περίπολοι.

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The inhabitants of Attica, as is well known, are diſtributed into a certain number of diviſions or diſtricts, which form ten tribes. At the head of each diſtrict is a demarch, a magiſtrate whoſe office it is to convene its members, and to keep the regiſter which contains their names [l]. The family of Apollodorus belonged to the diſtrict of Cephiſſia, which appertains to the tribe Erechtheis [k]. In this town we found the greater part of thoſe who have the right of voting in its aſſemblies. Apollodorus preſented his ſon to them, together with the act by which he had already been admitted into his curia [l]. After the ſuffrages were taken, the name of Lyſis was entered in the regiſter [m]. But as this is here the only record which can aſcertain the age of a citizen, to the name of Lyſis, ſon of Apollodorus, was added that of the firſt archon, not only of the current year, but of the preceding one [n]. From this moment Lyſis poſſeſſed the privilege of attending at the public aſſemblies, of aſpiring to the offices of magiſtracy, and of diſpoſing of his fortune as he pleaſed, ſhould he happen to loſe his father [o].

On our return to Athens, we repaired a ſecond time to the little temple of Agraulos, where Lyſis, clad in armour, repeated the oath he had taken there two years before [p].

I ſhall only ſay a word or two on the education of the girls. According to their different ſituations in life, they are taught to read, write, ſew, ſpin, prepare the wool for clothing, and to ſuperintend domeſtic concerns [q]. Such as are of the firſt families of the republic are brought up with more refinement. As they appear from the age of ten, and ſometimes from that of ſeven [r], at the religious ceremonies, ſome carrying the ſacred baſkets on their heads, others ſinging

l Harpocr. in Δημαρχ.
k Iſæus, ap. Harpocr. in Κηφισ.
l Demoſth. in Leoch. p. 1048.
m Id. ibid. p. 1047. Harpocr. et Suid. in Ἐγγράφ.
n Ariſtot. ap. Harpocr. in Στρατ.
o Suid. in Ἀξιαρχ.
p Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 106. Stob. Serm. 41. p. 243. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 155.
q Xenoph. Memorab. lib. 5. p. 836 et 840.
r Ariſtoph. in Lyſiſt. v. 642.

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hymns or performing dances, different maſters previouſly inſtruct them to modulate their voices, and regulate their ſteps. In general, mothers exhort their daughters to conduct themſelves with prudence [s]; but they pay much more attention to inculcate the neceſſity of holding themſelves upright, of ſinking their ſhoulders, of compreſſing their boſoms with a wide riband, of being extremely abſtemious, and of preventing, by every poſſible means, a plumpneſs which might prove injurious to elegance of ſhape and graceful motion [t].

CHAP. XXVII.

Converſations on the Grecian Muſic.

I WENT one day to ſee Philotimus, in a ſmall houſe he had without the walls of Athens, on the little hill of the Cynoſarges, at the diſtance of three ſtadia from the gate of Melita. Its ſituation was delightful. On every ſide the eye repoſed on rich and varied landſcapes. Beſides a view of the different parts of the city and its environs, the proſpect extended beyond them as far as the mountains of Salamis, Corinth, and even of Arcadia [u].

We went into a little garden cultivated by Philotimus himſelf, and which furniſhed him with plenty of fruit and vegetables: its ſole ornament conſiſted in a grove of plane-trees, in the midſt of which ſtood an altar dedicated to the muſes. It is always with pain, ſaid Philotimus with a ſigh, that I tear myſelf from this retirement. I will ſuperintend the education of the ſon of Apollodorus, ſince I have promiſed it; but it is the laſt time I will ſacrifice my liberty. Seeing me expreſs aſtoniſhment at this language, he added: The Athenians no longer ſtand in need of inſtruction. They are

[s] Xenoph. ib. p. 837.
[t] Menánd. ap. Terent. Eunuch. act. 2. ſcen. 3. v. 21.
[u] Stuart, Antiquities of Athens. p. 9.

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ſo accompliſhed! Alas, what can be ſaid to people who daily lay it down as a principle, that one pleaſurable ſenſation is preferable to all the truths of morality?

The houſe ſeemed to me furniſhed with no leſs taſte than modeſty. In a cabinet we found lyres, flutes, and inſtruments of various kinds, ſome of which have ceaſed to be in uſe [x]. Several ſhelves were filled with books relative to muſic. I deſired Philotimus to point out thoſe proper to teach me the principles of that ſcience. There are none to be found, replied he; we have only an inconſiderable number of ſuperficial works on the enharmonic genus [y], and a greater quantity on the preference to be given, in education, to certain kinds of muſic [z]. No author has hitherto undertaken methodically to inveſtigate and explain the whole of the ſcience.

I then expreſſed ſo earneſt a deſire that he would endeavour to give me, at leaſt, ſome idea of the ſubject, that he complied with my wiſhes.

FIRST CONVERSATION.

On the Technical Part of Muſic.

You may judge, ſaid Philotimus, of our taſte for muſic, by the great variety of ſenſes in which we employ the word. We apply the term indifferently to melody, meaſure, poetry, dancing, geſticulation, the union of all the ſciences, and the knowledge of almoſt every art. Nor is this all: the ſpirit of ſyſtem and combination, which for near two centuries has introduced itſelf among us, and impelled us to ſearch every where for affinities, has ſuggeſted, that even the motions of the heavenly bodies [a], and the operations of the mind [b], are ſubjected to the laws of harmony.

[x] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 6.
[y] Id. Harm. Elem. lib. 1. p. 2. & 4. lib. 2. p. 36.
[z] Id. de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 7.
[a] Plin. lib. 2. cap. 22. Cenſorin. cap. 13, &c.
[b] Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1147.

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But not to dwell on what is ſo foreign to the ſubject, our buſineſs at preſent is with muſic properly ſo called, the elements of which I ſhall endeavour to explain to you, if you will promiſe to ſupport without impatience the tireſome details into which I muſt enter. I promiſed, and he continued his diſcourſe as follows:

In muſic we diſtinguiſh ſounds, intervals, concords, genera, modes, rhythmus, mutations, and melopœia [c].

The ſounds we utter in ſpeaking and ſinging, though formed by the ſame organs, produce different effects. Does this difference ariſe, as ſome pretend [d], from the circumſtance of the voice proceeding in ſinging by more diſtinct intervals, reſting longer on a ſyllable, and being more frequently ſuſpended by marked pauſes?

Each ſpace or tranſition of the voice might be divided into an infinity of parts; but the organ of hearing, though ſuſceptible of a great variety of ſenſations, is leſs delicate than that of ſpeech, and is only capable of diſcerning a certain number of intervals [e]. How are theſe to be determined? The Pythagoreans have recourſe to calculations; muſicians to the judgment of the ear [f].

Philotimus now took a monochord or ruler [g], on which was ſtretched a line faſtened at both ends to two immoveable bridges. We ſlid a third bridge under the ſtring, and ſtopping it at different diviſions traced out on the rule, I readily perceived that the reſpective portions produced ſounds ſharper than the whole ſtring; that the half gave the diapaſon or octave, three fourths ſounded a fourth, and two thirds a fifth. You ſee, added Philotimus, that the ſound of the whole ſtring is to the ſound of its parts, as the length of the whole is to that of theſe ſame parts, and that accordingly the octave is in

[c] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 398. Euclid. in Introd. Harm. p. 1. Ariſtid. Quintil. de Muſ. lib. 1. p. 9.

[d] Ariſtox. lib. 1. p. 8. Euclid. Introd. Harm. p. 2.

[e] Id. ibid. lib. 2. p. 53.

[f] Id. ibid. p. 32. Meibom. ibid. Plut. de Muſ. p. 1144.

[g] Ariſtid. Quintil. Boeth. de. Muſ. lib. 4. cap. 4. p. 1443.

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the proportion of 2 to 1, or of 1 to $\frac{1}{2}$; the fourth in that of 4 to 3, and the fifth in that of 3 to 2.

The moſt ſimple diviſions of the monochord have given us the intervals moſt agreeable to the ear. If we ſuppoſe the whole ſtring to ſound *mi* *, I ſhall expreſs them thus: *mi, la*, a fourth; *mi, ſi*, a fifth; *mi, mi*, an octave.

To have the double octave, it is only neceſſary to divide the numerical expreſſion of the octave, which is $\frac{1}{2}$, by 2, and we ſhall have $\frac{1}{4}$. He ſhowed me likewiſe, that the fourth of the whole ſtring ſounded the double octave.

After teaching me the manner of producing the fourth from the fourth, and the fifth from the fifth, I aſked him how he determined the proportion of the tone. That is done, ſaid he, by taking the difference between the fifth and the fourth, between *ſi* and *la* [h]: now the fourth, that is to ſay the fraction $\frac{3}{4}$, is to the fifth, or fraction $\frac{2}{3}$, as 9 is to 8.

In fine, added Philotimus, it is proved, by a ſeries of operations, that the ſemi-tone, or interval, for inſtance, from *mi* to *fa*, is in the proportion of 256 to 243 [l].

Below the ſemi-tone we make uſe of thirds and fourths of a tone [k], but without being able to fix their relations, or venturing to flatter ourſelves that we can attain a rigorous preciſion. I grant even that it is difficult for the moſt practiſed ear to diſcriminate them [l].

I aſked Philotimus whether, diſregarding theſe almoſt imperceptible ſounds, he could ſucceſſively produce from a monochord all thoſe of a determinate quantity, and which form the ſcale of the muſical ſyſtem. To effect that, ſaid he, would require a ſtring of an immoderate length; but we may ſupply that deficiency by calculation. Let us ſuppoſe one divided into 8192 equal parts [m], and which ſounds *ſi* †.

* To make myſelf underſtood, I am obliged to employ the ſyllables made uſe of in our gamut. Inſtead of *mi*, the Greeks would have ſaid either the *hypate*, or the *meſe*, or the *hypate of the meſes*.

[h] Ariſtox. Elem. Harm. lib. 1. p. 21.

[i] Theon. Smyrn. p. 102.

[k] Ariſtox. lib. 2. p. 46.

[l] Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 19.

[m] Euclid. p. 37. Ariſtid. Quintil. lib. 3. p. 116.

† See note at the end of the volume.

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The ratio of the ſemi-tone, as for example, that of *fi* to *ut* being ſuppoſed as 256 to 243, we ſhall find that 256 is to 8192, as 243 is to 7776, which laſt number conſequently ſhould give us the *ut*.

The ratio of the tone being, as we have ſaid, as 9 to 8, it is evident that, by ſubtracting the 9th of 7776, there will remain 6912 for *re*.

By continuing the ſame operation on the remaining numbers, either with reſpect to the tones or ſemi-tones, we ſhall eaſily carry our ſcale far beyond the reach both of the voice and inſtruments, and as high as the fifth octave of *fi*, whence we ſet out. It will be given us by 256, and the following *ut* by 243; and we ſhall thus have the proportion of the ſemi-tone, which I had only hypothetically aſſumed.

Philotimus worked all theſe calculations as he went on, and when he had finiſhed them: Hence it follows, ſaid he, that in this long ſcale the tones and ſemi-tones are all perfectly equal; you will find likewiſe that the intervals of the ſame nature are perfectly juſt; that the tone and a half, or minor third, for inſtance, is always in the proportion of 32 to 27; the ditone, or major third, in that of 81 to 64 [n].

But, ſaid I to him, how is this to be aſcertained in practice? Beſide long habit, anſwered he, we ſometimes employ, by way of greater accuracy, the combination of fourths and fifths, obtained by means of one or more monochords [o]. The difference between the fourth and the fifth having furniſhed me the tone, if I wiſh to procure the major third below any given tone, as *la*, I aſcend to the fourth *re*, then deſcend to the fifth *ſol*, riſe again to the fourth *ut*, and again ſinking to the fifth, I have *fa*, the major third below *la*.

Intervals are conſonant or diſſonant [p]. In the firſt claſs we rank the fourth, the fifth, the octave, the eleventh, the twelfth,

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[n] Rouſſier, Muſ. des Anc. p. 197 et 249.

[o] Ariſtox. lib. 2. p. 55.

[p] Id. ibid. p. 44. Euclid. Introd. Harm. p. 8.

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and the double octave; but the latter are only repetitions of the former. The other intervals, known by the name of diſſonant, have been gradually introduced into melody.

The octave is the moſt pleaſing, becauſe it is the moſt natural conſonance [q]. This is the concord produced by the voice of children, when mingled with that of men [r]. It is produced likewiſe by the twanging of a ſtring, the ſound in dying away giving its own octave [s].

Philotimus wiſhing to prove that the chords of the fourths and fifths [t] were not leſs conformable to nature, ſhowed me on his monochord, that in a continued declamation, as well as in familiar converſation, the voice more frequently expreſſes theſe intervals than others.

I only glide over them, ſaid I, in paſſing from one tone to another; but in ſinging are the ſounds that produce a concord never heard at the ſame time?

Singing, anſwered he, is but a ſucceſſion of ſounds. Voices always ſing either in uniſon or octaves, which are diſtinguiſhable from uniſons only, becauſe they are more pleaſing to the ear [u]. As for the other intervals, the ear only judges of their proportion, by a compariſon of the ſound which has juſt ceaſed to ſtrike it, with that which occupies it at the moment [x]. It is only in concerts, where the voice is accompanied by inſtruments, that we are able to diſtinguiſh different and ſimultaneous ſounds; for to correct the ſimplicity of ſong, the lyre and flute ſometimes throw in touches and variations, by which diſtinct parts reſult from the main ſubject; but they ſoon return from theſe deviations, not to offend the aſtoniſhed ear too long with ſuch licentiouſneſs [y].

You have determined, ſaid I, the proportions of intervals: I gueſs the uſe to which they are applied in melody; but I

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[q] Ariſtot. Problem. t. ii. p. 766.
[r] Id. ibid. 39. p. 768.
[s] Id. ibid. 24 et 32.
[t] Nicom. p. 16. Dionyſ. Halicarn. de Compoſ. ſect. 11.
[u] Ariſtot. Probl. 39. p. 763.
[x] Ariſtox. lib. 1. p. 39.
[y] Plat de Leg. lib. 7. p. 912. Ariſtot. Probl. 39. p. 763. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 89.

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ſhould wiſh to know what order you aſſign them on inſtruments. Caſt your eyes, ſaid he, on that tetrachord; you will there ſee in what manner intervals are diſtributed in our ſcale, and learn the ſyſtem of our muſic. The four ſtrings of this cithara are ſo diſpoſed, that the two extremes, which are always fixed, produce in aſcending the fourth, *mi, la* [z]. The two middle ſtrings, called moveable ones, from admitting of different degrees of tenſion, conſtitute three genera of harmony, the diatonic, the chromatic, and the enharmonic.

In the diatonic genus, the four ſtrings proceed by a ſemitone and two tones, *mi, fa, ſol, la;* in the chromatic, by two ſemitones and a minor third, *mi, fa, fa* ſharp, *la;* in the enharmonic, by two quarter tones and a major third, *mi, mi* quarter tone, *fa, la.*

As the moveable ſtrings are ſuſceptible of more or leſs tenſion, and may conſequently produce greater or leſs intervals, from hence reſults another ſpecies of diatonic, which admits the three quarter and five quarter tones, and two other ſpecies of chromatic, in one of which the tone, by dint of diviſions, reſolves itſelf, if I may ſo ſpeak, into particles [a]. As for the enharmonic, I have ſeen it ſometimes practiſed in my youth according to proportions, which varied in each ſpecies of harmony [b]: but it now ſeems to me determinate; accordingly we will adhere to the method I have pointed out to you, and which, notwithſtanding the criticiſms of ſome muſicians, is that moſt generally adopted [c].

To extend our ſyſtem of muſic, it was deemed ſufficient to multiply the tetrachords; but theſe additions were made gradually. The art encountered obſtacles in laws that preſcribed bounds to it, and in ignorance that impeded its advancement. Every where new experiments were tried. In ſome countries ſtrings were added to the lyre; in others they were taken a-

[z] Ariſtox. lib. 1. p. 22. Euclid. p. 6.
[a] Id. ibid. p. 24.
[b] Ariſtid. Quintil. lib. 1. p. 21.
[c] Ariſtox. ibid. p. 22 et 23.

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way[d]. At length the heptachord appeared, and for ſome time engaged general attention. It is this ſeven-ſtringed lyre. The four firſt ſtrings give us the ancient tetrachord, *mi, fa, ſol, la*; over this is a ſecond, *la, ſi* flat, *ut, re*, which proceeds by the ſame intervals, and the loweſt ſtring of which is the ſame with the higheſt of the former. Theſe two tetrachords are called *conjuncts*, from being united by the mean term *la*, which is equally removed from its two extremities by the interval of a fourth, *la, mi* in deſcending, and *la, re* in aſcending [e].

At length, Terpander the muſician, who lived about three hundred years ago, took away the fifth ſtring, the *ſi* flat, and ſubſtituting a new one a tone higher, obtained this ſeries of ſounds, *mi, fa, ſol, la, ut, re, mi*, the extremes of which ſound the octave [f]. This ſecond heptachord not giving two complete tetrachords, Pythagoras, according to ſome [g], or Lycaon of Samos, according to others [h], corrected its imperfection, by inſerting an eighth ſtring a tone above *la*.

Philotimus now took up an eight-ſtringed cithara. There, ſaid he, is the octachord reſulting from the additional eighth ſtring. It is compoſed of two tetrachords, but *disjuncts*, that is to ſay, the one ſeparated from the other, *mi, fa, ſol, la, ſi, ut, re, mi*. In the firſt heptachord, *mi, fa, ſol, la, ſi* flat, *ut, re*, all the homologous ſtrings ſounded the fourth, *mi la, fa ſi* flat, *ſol ut, la re*. In the octachord they give the fifth, *mi ſi, fa ut, ſol re, la mi* [i].

The octave was now called *harmony*, becauſe it compriſed the fourth and fifth, that is to ſay, all the concords [k]; and as theſe intervals more frequently occur in the octachord than in other inſtruments, the eight-ſtringed lyre was, and ſtill is, eſteemed the moſt perfect ſyſtem for the diatonic genus; and hence it is that Pythagoras [l], his diſciples, and the other phi-

[d] Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1144.
[e] Eraſtocl. ap. Ariſtox. lib. 1. p. 5.
[f] Ariſtot. Probl. 7 et 32. t. iv. p. 763.
[g] Nicom. Harmon. Man. l. 1. p. 9.
[h] Boeth. de Muſ. lib. 1. cap. 20.
[i] Nicom. Man. lib. 1. p. 14.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 17.
[l] Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1145.

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losophers of our day [m], confine the theory of music within the limits of an octave, or two tetrachords.

After various attempts to increase the number of strings [n], a third tetrachord was added below the first [o], and the endecachord was produced, composed of eleven strings [p], which gave this series of sounds, *si, ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si, ut, re, mi.* Other musicians begin to apply four, nay even as many as five, tetrachords to the lyres *.

Philotimus next showed me some citharas better calculated to execute certain airs than to form the model of a system. Such was the magadis sometimes made use of by Anacreon [q]: it was composed of twenty strings, which were reducible to ten, because each of them was accompanied by its octave. Such again was the epigonium, invented by Epigonus of Ambracia, the first who struck the strings with his fingers instead of making use of a bow [r]. As far as I can recollect, his forty strings, which for the same reason were in fact but twenty, presented only a triple heptachord, capable of being applied to the three genera, or to three different modes.

Have you ascertained, said I, the number of tones and semitones, grave or acute, within the compass of the voice and instruments? The voice, in general, said he, can only embrace two octaves and a fifth. Instruments have a more extensive compass [s]. We have flutes that reach beyond the third octave. Generally speaking, the changes daily introduced in our musical system will not allow us to fix the number of sounds employed in it. The two middle strings of each tetrachord being capable of different degrees of tension, produce, as some pretend, according to the difference of the three genera and

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[m] Philol. ap. Nicom. p. 17. Aristot. Probl. 19. t. ii. p. 763. Id. ap. Plut. de Mus. 1139.

[n] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 799. Suid. in Τμωλ. &c.

[o] Nicom. lib. 1. p. 21.

[p] Plut. de Mus. p. 1136. Pausan. lib. 3. p. 237. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xviii. p. 241.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[q] Anacr. ap. Athen. lib. 14. p. 634.

[r] Poll. lib. 4. cap. 9. § 59. Athen. lib. 4. p. 183.

[s] Aristox. lib. 1. p. 20. Euclid. p. 13.

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their ſpecies, the three fourths, the third, the fourth, and other minuter ſubdiviſions of the tone. Thus in each tetrachord, the ſecond ſtring gives four ſpecies of *ut* or *fa*, and the third ſix ſpecies of *re* or *fol*[t]. They would produce, as I may ſay, an infinity of ſounds, were we to attend to the licence muſicians allow themſelves, who, to vary their harmony, brace or relax the moveable ſtrings of the inſtrument at pleaſure, and expreſs ſhades of ſounds, the exact value of which it is impoſſible for the ear to aſcertain[u].

The diverſity of modes alſo produces new ſounds. Raiſe or let down the ſtrings of a lyre, a tone or ſemitone, and you paſs into another mode. The nations which, in remote ages, cultivated muſic, differed reſpecting the fundamental tone of the tetrachord, as we ſee ſome neighbouring nations ſtill begin to reckon the days of their months from different points of time[x]. The Dorians executed the ſame air a tone lower than the Phrygians; and the latter a tone ſtill lower than the Lydians. Hence the denomination of the Dorian, Phrygian, and Lydian modes. In the firſt, the loweſt ſtring of the tetrachord is *mi*, in the ſecond, *fa* ſharp, in the third, *ſol* ſharp. Other modes have been afterwards added to the former; all of them have more than once varied with reſpect to form[y]. We ſee new ones ſpring up[z] in proportion as the ſyſtem extends itſelf, or muſic experiences viciſſitudes; and as, in time of a revolution, it is difficult for the citizens to retain their reſpective ranks in the ſtate, the muſicians are endeavouring to bring the Phrygian and Lydian modes, which have always been ſeparated by the interval of a whole tone[a], nearer to each other by a quarter tone. Endleſs queſtions are perpetually ſtarted reſpecting the poſition, order, and number of the other modes. I wave many particulars, which would be equally tireſome to us both. The opinion which begins to be

[t] Id. lib. 2. p. 51.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 48 et 49.
[x] Id. ibid. p. 37.
[y] Id. lib. 1. p. 23.
[z] Plut. de Muſ. p. 1136.
[a] Ariſtox. lib. 2. p. 37.

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the prevailing one, admits thirteen modes [b], at the diſtance of a ſemi-tone from each other, ranged in the following order, and beginning with the hypodorian, which is the graveſt.

Hypodorian,	*ſi.*
Hypophrygian grave,	*ut.*
Hypophrygian acute,	*ut* ſharp.
Hypolydian grave,	*re.*
Hypolydian acute,	*re* ſharp.
Dorian,	*mi.*
Ionian,	*fa.*
Phrygian,	*fa* ſharp.
Eolian, or Lydian, grave,	*ſol.*
Lydian acute,	*ſol* ſharp.
Mixolydian grave,	*la.*
Mixolydian acute,	*la* ſharp.
Hypermixolydian,	*ſi.* *

All theſe modes have a peculiar character, which they receive not ſo much from the principal tone as from the ſpecies of poetry and meaſure, and the modulations and muſical variations annexed to them, which diſtinguiſh them as eſſentially as the difference of the proportions and ornaments denote the various orders of architecture.

The voice may paſs from one mode or genus to another; but as it is impoſſible to make theſe tranſitions on inſtruments bored or ſtrung only for certain genera or modes, muſicians have recourſe to two methods. Sometimes they have ſeveral citharas or flutes at hand, in order to ſubſtitute one immediately for the other [c]. But more frequently they ſtretch all the ſtrings requiſite for the various genera and modes † upon one lyre [d]. Not long ſince, a muſician fixed on the three faces

[b] Id. ap. Euclid. p. 19. Ariſtid. Quintil. lib. 1. p. 22.

* It ſeems ſcarcely neceſſary to inform the Engliſh muſician, that the French employ the ſyllables *ſi, ut, re, mi, fa, ſol, la,* to expreſs the ſame notes which we uſually denote by the letters B, C, D, E, F, G, A.

[c] Ariſtid. Quintil. de Muſ. lib. 2. p. 91.

† Plato ſays, that by baniſhing the greater part of the modes, the lyre will have fewer ſtrings. The ſtrings then were multiplied according to the number of the modes.

[d] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. p. 399.

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of a moveable tripod, three lyres, one ſtrung for the Dorian, another for the Phrygian, and the third for the Lydian mode. On the ſlighteſt touch, the tripod turned upon its axis, and enabled the performer to avail himſelf of the three modes, with the utmoſt facility, and without interruption. This inſtrument, which was much admired, ſunk into oblivion after the death of the inventor[e].

The tetrachords are diſtinguiſhed by names relative to their poſition in the muſical ſcale; and the ſtrings by names relative to their poſition in each tetrachord. The graveſt of all, the *ſi*, is called the *hypate*, or principal one; that which follows in aſcending, the *parhypate*, or that next to the principal one.

I muſt interrupt you, ſaid I, to aſk whether you have no ſhorter expreſſions for ſinging an air without words. Four vowels, anſwered he, the *e* ſhort, *a*, *e* long, and *o* long, preceded by the conſonant *t*, expreſs the four ſounds of each tetrachord[f], except when the firſt of theſe monoſyllables is retrenched on meeting with a ſound common to two tetrachords. I will explain myſelf. If I wiſh to ſol fa the ſeries of ſounds given by the two firſt tetrachords, *ſi*, *ut*, *re*, *mi*, *fa*, *ſol*, *la*, I ſhall ſay, *te*, *ta*, *tee*, *to*, *ta*, *tee*, *to*, and ſo on.

I have ſometimes, ſaid I, ſeen written muſic; but could never make out any thing but letters horizontally traced on the ſame line, correſponding with the ſyllables of the words ſtanding below, ſome whole or mutilated, and others placed in different directions. Notes, replied he, were abſolutely neceſſary for us, and we have choſen letters, a great number of which are requiſite on account of the diverſity of modes: to theſe letters we have given different poſitions and forms. This manner of notation is ſimple, but defective. Attention has not been paid to appropriate a letter to each ſound of the voice, and each ſtring of the lyre. Hence it happens, that

[e] Athen. lib. 14. p. 637.

[f] Ariſtid. Quintil. lib. 2. p. 94.

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the ſame character, being common to ſtrings belonging to different tetrachords, can never ſpecify their various degrees of elevation, and that the notes of the diatonic genus are the ſame with thoſe of the chromatic and enharmonic [g]. More will, no doubt, one day be added; but ſo great a number will be then neceſſary [h], as to be a burthen, it may be, to the memory of beginners *.

Philotimus, as he ſaid this, traced out on his tablets an air which I knew by rote. After examining it, I obſerved to him that theſe ſigns might indeed ſuffice to guide my voice in expreſſing the ſounds, but not to regulate the time it might employ in their expreſſion. That, ſaid he, is determined by the long and ſhort ſyllables which compoſe the words, and by the rhythm, which conſtitutes one of the moſt eſſential parts of muſic and poetry.

Rhythm is in general a ſucceſſive motion, ſubject to certain proportions [i]. We may perceive it in the flight of a bird, in the pulſations of the arteries, in the ſteps of a dancer, in the periods of a diſcourſe. In poetry, it is the relative duration of the moments employed in pronouncing the ſyllables of a verſe, and in muſic, the relative duration of the ſounds which enter into the compoſition of an air.

In the origin of muſic, its rhythm was exactly formed on the model of that of poetry. You know that in our language every ſyllable is ſhort or long. One inſtant is neceſſary to pronounce a ſhort ſyllable, two to articulate a long one. From the union of ſeveral long and ſhort ſyllables the foot is formed; and from the union of feet the meaſure of the verſe. Each foot has a movement, a rhythm, divided into two times, one for the ſinking of the hand or other inſtrument that by an equable motion denotes the time, and the other for its riſing.

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[g] Ariſtox. lib. 2. p. 40.

[h] Alyp. Introd. p. 3. Gaudent. p. 25. Bacch. p. 3. Ariſtid. Quintil. p. 26.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[i] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. v. p. 152. Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 664, 665.

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Homer, and the poets of his time, commonly employed the heroic verſe, conſiſting of ſix feet, each of them containing two long ſyllables, or a long one followed by two ſhort ones. Thus four ſyllabic inſtants conſtitute the duration of a foot, and four and twenty of theſe inſtants form a verſe.

It was then diſcovered that the meaſure of this verſe was regulated by too uniform a movement; that it excluded ſeveral ſonorous and expreſſive words, from the impoſſibility of ſubjecting them to its rhythm, and that in order to introduce others, it was neceſſary to make them reſt upon an adjoining word. Attempts were conſequently made to introduce ſome new rhythms into poetry [k]. The number of theſe has been ſince conſiderably increaſed by Archilochus, Alcæus, Sappho, and other poets. They are now claſſed under three principal ſpecies.

In the firſt, the riſing of the hand in marking the time of a foot is equal to the ſinking; it is the meaſure of two equal times. In the ſecond, the duration of the riſing is double that of the ſinking, and is the meaſure of two unequal, or of three equal times. In the third, the riſing is to the ſinking as 3 to 2; that is to ſay, ſuppoſing the notes equal, there muſt be 3 for one time, and 2 for the other. There is a fourth ſpecies, in which the proportion of time is as 3 to 4, but that is ſeldom uſed.

Beſides this variety in the ſpecies, a ſtill greater difference occurs from the number of ſyllables appropriated to each meaſure of a rhythm. Thus in the firſt ſpecies the two equal diviſions of the time of each foot may be each compoſed of a ſyllabic inſtant, or of a ſhort ſyllable; but they may likewiſe conſiſt of two, four, ſix, and even eight ſyllabic inſtants, which ſometimes gives for the whole meaſure a combination of long and ſhort ſyllables, equivalent to ſixteen ſyllabic inſtants. In the ſecond ſpecies, this combination may be formed

[k] Ariſtot. de Poet. t. ii. p. 654.

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of eighteen of these instants; and in the third, one of the times may contain from three to fifteen short ones, and the other from one to ten short ones, or their equivalents; so that the whole measure, comprising twenty-five syllabic instants, exceeds, by one of these instants, the extent of the epic verse, and may contain as many as eighteen long or short syllables.

If to the variety which this more or less rapid transition of syllabic instants introduces into the rhythm, you add that which arises from the intermingling of the different rhythms, as well as that dictated by the taste of the musician, when, according to the character of the passions which it is his object to express, he accelerates or retards the measure, yet without altering the proportions, you will conclude that our ear must in a concert be perpetually acted on by sudden movements, which at once excite its attention and astonishment.

The rhythm is marked by lines placed at the top of a piece of music, and the coryphæus signifies it to the dancers and musicians attentive to his gestures, from the most elevated part of the orchestra [l]. I have observed, said I, that the leaders of choruses beat time sometimes with the hand, and sometimes with the foot [m]. I have even seen some of them with sandals armed with iron; and must own that these noisy percussions interrupted my attention and my pleasure. Philotimus smiled and continued.

Plato compares poetry without music to a face deprived of its beauty by having lost the bloom of youth [n]. I should compare music without rhythm to regular features destitute of feeling and expression. By the aid of rhythm is it that music excites in us the emotions we experience. In this part of his art, the musician, as I may say, has only the merit of choice, for all rhythms possess distinct and inherent properties. Let the trumpet sound with redoubled blasts a lively impetuous rhythm, you will imagine you hear the shouts of the

[l] Id. Probl. t. ii. p. 770.
[m] Mem. de l' Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. v. p. 160.
[n] Plut. de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 600.

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combatants and the victors, and be reminded of our martial ſongs and warlike dances. Let ſeveral voices tranſmit to your ear a ſucceſſion of ſounds in a ſlow and pleaſing progreſſion, and you will be ſoothed into meditation: if their ſongs contain the praiſes of the gods, you will feel yourſelf diſpoſed to the awe and veneration inſpired by their preſence; and this is the effect produced by the rhythm of the hymns and dances at our religious ceremonies.

The character of the rhythm is ſo determinate, that the tranpoſition of a ſyllable ſuffices to change it. We often admit into verſification two feet, the iambic and the trochee, both compoſed of a long and ſhort ſyllable, with this difference, that the iambic begins with a ſhort, and the trochee with a long one. The latter is adapted to the ponderouſneſs of a ruſtic dance, the other to the vivacity of an animated dialogue [o]. As the iambic ſeems to redouble, and the trochee to loſe its ardour at every ſtep, ſatiric authors attack their enemies with the former, whilſt dramatic writers often employ the latter in their choruſes of aged men on the ſtage [p].

There is not a movement in nature, or in our paſſions, but what meets, in the various ſpecies of rhythms, with other movements which correſpond with it, and become its image [q]. Theſe affinities are ſo immutable, that an air loſes all its beauty when its time is imperfectly obſerved, and the mind is diſappointed at not receiving the periodical ſucceſſion of the ſenſations it expects at ſtated intervals. Accordingly the directors of our theatres and feſtivals are indefatigable in exerciſing the performers to whom they confide their fame. I am perſuaded even that muſic is in a great meaſure indebted for its ſucceſs to the beauty of execution, and eſpecially to the ſcrupulous attention with which the choruſes [r] obſerve the time that is given them.

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[o] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 4. Id. de Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 8.

[p] Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 203. Schol. ibid.

[q] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 455.

[r] Id. Probl. 22. p. 765.

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But, added Philotimus, it is time to conclude this converſation: we will reſume it to-morrow, if you think proper; I will call upon you before I wait on Apollodorus.

SECOND CONVERSATION.

On the Moral Part of Muſic.

THE next morning I roſe at the hour when the inhabitants of the country bring their proviſions to the market, and the citizens begin to diſperſe themſelves tumultuouſly in the ſtreets [s]. The ſky was calm and ſerene; a delicious coolneſs penetrated my raviſhed ſenſes: the eaſt ſparkled with fire, and the whole earth appeared to pant after the preſence of that luminiary by which it ſeems to be daily renovated. Enchanted with this ſpectacle, I did not perceive the arrival of Philotimus. I have ſurpriſed you, ſaid he, in a ſort of ecſtaſy. I have never ceaſed to experience it, anſwered I, ſince my arrival in Greece: the extreme purity of the air we breathe, and the lively colours which adorn every object I behold, ſeem to expand my ſoul and open it to new ſenſations. This led us to a converſation on the influence of climate [t]. Philotimus attributed to this cauſe the aſtoniſhing ſenſibility of the Greeks; a ſenſibility, ſaid he, which is an inexhauſtible ſource of pleaſure and of error, and ſeems to increaſe among that people from day to day. I thought, on the contrary, replied I, that it was beginning to diminiſh. If I am miſtaken, tell me then why muſic no longer effects the ſame prodigies which were heretofore attributed to it.

Becauſe, anſwered he, it formerly was of a ruder nature, and nations were then in their infancy. Should a voice, accompanied by ſome inſtrument, addreſs itſelf even in a very ſimple melody, ſubject however to certain rules, to men who could only teſtify their pleaſure by tumultuous exclamations, you would ſoon ſee them tranſported with delight, and expreſs their admiration by the moſt violent hyperboles. This is what the Greeks experienced before the Trojan war. Am-

[s] Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. v. 278.

[t] Hippocr. de Aer. p. 55, &c. Plut. in Tim. t. iii. p. 24.

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phion animated by his ſongs the workmen who built the fortreſs of Thebes (as has been ſince done during the rebuilding of the walls of Meſſina) [u]; and fame reported that the walls of Thebes ſprang up at the ſound of his lyre. Orpheus drew from his a ſmall number of pleaſing ſounds, and it was ſaid that tigers laid aſide their ferocity, and crouched at his feet.

I ſhall ſay nothing of thoſe remote ages, replied I: but have we not heard that the Lacedæmonians, when divided among themſelves, were ſuddenly reconciled by the harmonious modulations of Terpander [x]; that the Athenians were incited by the ſongs of Solon to invade and recover the iſle of Salamis, in defiance of a decree which condemned the orator to death, who ſhould dare even to propoſe the conqueſt of that iſland [y]; that the manners of the Arcadians were civilized by muſic [z]; and numberleſs other ſtories of the ſame kind which cannot have eſcaped your inquiries?

I am ſufficiently acquainted with them, ſaid he, to aſſure you that the marvellous diſappears when we conſider them properly [a]. Terpander and Solon owed their ſucceſſes to poetry rather than to muſic, and perhaps ſtill leſs to poetry than to peculiar circumſtances. The Lacedæmonians muſt have begun to be weary of their diviſions, when they conſented to liſten to Terpander. As for the revocation of the decree obtained by Solon, that never can aſtoniſh any man acquainted with Athenian levity.

The inſtance of the Arcadians is more ſtriking. That people had contracted in a rigorous climate, and amidſt ſevere labours, a ferocity that rendered them wretched. Their firſt legiſlators perceived the impreſſion produced on their minds by muſic, and deemed them capable of happineſs, ſince they were poſſeſſed of ſenſibility. Their children were taught to

[u] Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 27.
[x] Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1146. Diod. Sic. Fragm. t. ii. p. 639.
[y] Plut. in Solon t. i. p. 82.
[z] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 289. Athen. lib. 14. p. 626.
[a] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. v. p. 133.

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celebrate the gods and heroes of the country. Feſtivals, public ſacrifices, ſolemn proceſſions, and dances of boys and girls, were inſtituted; and theſe inſtitutions, which ſtill ſubſiſt, inſenſibly connected together this rude people. They became mild, humane, beneficent. But what a variety of cauſes contributed to this revolution! Poetry, ſong, dance, aſſemblies, feſtivals, and games, all of which, by alluring them by the attraction of pleaſure, were calculated to inſpire them with a taſte for the arts, and the ſpirit of ſocial life.

Such were nearly the effects to be expected from muſic while in ſtrict union with poetry, and grave and decent as that art, it was employed only to preſerve integrity of manners. But ſince it has made ſo rapid a progreſs, it has forfeited the noble privilege of inſtructing men, and rendering them better. It is not the firſt time, ſaid I, that I have heard theſe complaints, but I have more frequently ſeen them treated as chimerical. Some ſigh over the corruption of muſic, others rejoice in its perfection. You have ſtill ſome partizans of the ancient, but a greater number of the modern muſic. Legiſlators formerly conſidered it as an eſſential branch of education [b]; at preſent, philoſophers hardly look upon it in any other light than as an innocent amuſement [c]. How happens it that an art, which has ſuch influence on our minds, ſhould be leſs uſeful as it becomes more pleaſing?

You will comprehend that, perhaps, anſwered he, if you compare the ancient muſic with that which has been introduced almoſt in our days. Simple in its orign, afterwards more rich and varied, it ſucceſſively animated the verſes of Heſiod, Homer, Archilochus, Terpander, Simonides, and Pindar. Inſeparable as it was from poetry, it borrowed all its charms, or rather embelliſhed it with its own; for all its ambition was to lend new graces to its companion.

There is but one expreſſion which can render an image or a ſentiment in all its force. This expreſſion excites emotions

[b] Tim. Locr. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 104.

[c] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 451.

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in us the more lively, as it alone compels our hearts to liſten to the voice of nature. Whence is it that the wretched ſo eaſily diſcover the ſecret of moving our compaſſion, and exciting the tendereſt feelings in our ſouls, but becauſe their accents and their wailings form the appropriate language of affliction? In vocal muſic, ſimple expreſſion is the kind of intonation ſuited to every word and verſe [d]. Now, the ancient poets, who were at once muſicians, philoſophers, and legiſlators, obliged to diſtribute in their verſes the ſpecies of tune of which thoſe verſes were capable, never loſt ſight of this principle. Words, melody, rhythm, the three powerful agents employed by muſic in imitation [e], confided to the ſame hand, ſo directed their efforts, that all equally concurred in producing unity of expreſſion.

They were early acquainted with the diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic genera; and to each genus aſſigned the ſpecies of poetry the beſt adapted to it [f]. They employed our three principal modes, and applied them, in preference to the three kinds of ſubjects they were almoſt conſtantly obliged to treat. Was a warlike nation to be animated to combat, or entertained with the recital of its exploits, the Doric harmony lent them its force and majeſty [g]. Was it neceſſary to lay before them great examples of calamity and ſuffering, in order to inſtruct them in the ſcience of misfortune, elegies and plaintive ſongs borrowed the piercing and pathetic tones of Lydian harmony [h]. To inſpire them with awe and gratitude towards the gods, the Phrygian notes * were appropriated to the ſacred hymns [i].

The greater part of theſe hymns called *Nomi*, that is to ſay, laws or models [k], were generally divided into ſeveral parts,

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[d] Tartin. Tratt. di Muſ. p. 141.

[e] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 398. Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 652. Ariſtid. Quintil. lib. 1. p. 6.

[f] Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1142. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xv. p. 372.

[g] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 399. Plut. ibid. p. 1136 et 1137.

[h] Plut. ibid. p. 1136.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[i] Plat. de. Rep. ibid. Chonic. Par. Poll. lib. 4. cap. 9. § 66. Mem. de l'Academ. des. Bell. Lettr. t. x. p. 218.

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but containing only one action. As they were meant more especially to mark the immutable character of the particular deity to whom the homage was addressed, they were made subject to rules, from which they scarcely ever departed [l].

The air, rigorously subservient to the words, was accompanied and sustained by the kind of instrument best calculated to express them. This instrument was sounded in unison with the voice [m]; and when dancing accompanied the song, that also faithfully painted to the eye the sentiment or image transmitted by the latter to the ear.

The lyre expressed but a small number of sounds, and singing afforded but very little variety. The simplicity of the means employed by music secured the triumph of poetry; and poetry, more philosophical and more instructive than history, inasmuch as it selects sublimer models [n], delineated great characters, and held out illustrious lessons of courage, prudence, and honour. Philotimus here interrupted his discourse, to let me hear some passages of this ancient music, and especially some airs of a poet named Olympus, who lived about nine centuries ago. They turn only on a small number of chords [o], added he, yet are in some respects superior to those of our modern composers [*].

The art continued to make a progress; it acquired additional modes and rhythms, and the lyre was enriched with new strings. But the poets long rejected these novelties, or at least used them with moderation, always attached to their ancient principles, and extremely attentive, above all, not to deviate from that decency and dignity [p] which characterised the ancient music.

Of these two qualities, so essential to the fine arts when their effects are not limited to the pleasures of the senses, the

[l] Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1133. Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 700.
[m] Plut. ibid. p. 1141.
[n] Aristot. de Poet. cap. 9. Batt. ibid p. 248.
[o] Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1137.
[*] See note at the end of the volume.
[p] Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1140. Athen. lib. 14. p. 631.

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firſt is indiſpenſable to order, the ſecond to beauty. It is decency or fitneſs which eſtabliſhes a juſt proportion between the ſtyle and the ſubject, which give its true colour, tone, and movement to each object, each idea, and each paſſion [q], which conſequently rejects all unreaſonable beauties as defects, and is careful to prevent ornaments fortuitouſly ſcattered, from injuring the main intereſt. As dignity is inſeparable from elevation of ſentiment and ideas, the poet who bears the impreſſion of it in his ſoul, does not give way to ſervile imitations [r]. His conceptions are lofty, and his language that of a mediator, whoſe office it is to ſpeak to the gods, and to inſtruct men [s].

Such was the double function of which the firſt poets were ſo zealous to acquit themſelves as they ought. Their hymns inſpired piety, their poems the thirſt of glory, their elegies patience and firmneſs under misfortune. Examples as well as precepts were eaſily imprinted on the memory by ſimple airs of a noble and expreſſive character; and the youth, early accuſtomed to repeat them, imbibed with pleaſure the love of every duty, and the true idea of real excellence.

It ſeems to me, however, ſaid I to Philotimus, that ſo auſtere a muſic was but ill calculated to excite the paſſions. Do you think then, replied he ſmiling, that the paſſions of the Greeks were not of themſelves ſufficiently active? They were naturally high ſpirited and of delicate ſenſibility; by giving them too ſtrong emotions, there was a riſk of puſhing their vices and virtues to exceſs. It was accordingly one of the profound views of their legiſlators, to make muſic ſerve as an inſtrument to moderate their ardour in the purſuit of pleaſure, or in the heat of victory. Why have they admitted, from the remoteſt ages, the practice of ſinging the gods and heroes at banquets, but for the purpoſe of preventing the exceſs of wine [t], the

[q] Dionyſ. Halic. de Struct. Orat. ſect. 20.
[r] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 395. &c.
[s] Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 140.
[t] Plat. de Muſ. p. 1146. Athen. lib. 14. p. 627.

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more fatal in thoſe days, as men were more prone to violence? Why do the Lacedæmonian generals diſperſe among their troops a certain number of flute players, and make them march againſt the enemy to the ſound of that inſtrument, rather than to the noiſy clangour of the trumpet? Is it not to ſtay the impetuous courage of the Spartan youth, and oblige them to keep their ranks [u]?

Be not aſtoniſhed, therefore, that even before the birth of philoſophy, the moſt civilized ſtates ſhould have watched with ſo much care to prevent the introduction of innovations into their pure and ſimple muſic [x], and that, in later times, the wiſeſt men, convinced of the neceſſity of calming, rather than of exciting our paſſions, ſhould have acknowledged that muſic, under the guidance of philoſophy, is one of the ſublimeſt gifts of Heaven, and one of the nobleſt inventions of man [y].

At this day it is ſubſervient only to our pleaſures. You muſt have perceived that towards the end of its reign it was verging towards corruption, from acquiring new embelliſhments. Polymneſtes, by bracing or letting down at pleaſure the ſtrings of the lyre, had introduced notes before unknown [z]. Some muſicians employed themſelves in compoſing for the flute airs unaccompanied with words [a]; ſoon after, conteſts were ſeen at the Pythian games, in which nothing but the ſound of inſtruments was heard [b]: at length the poets, and above all the authors of that bold and turbulent poetry, known by the name of Dithyrambics, tortured at once language, melody, and rhythm, to bend them to their ridiculous enthuſiaſm [c]. The ancient taſte, nevertheleſs, ſtill predominated. Pindar, Pratinas, Lamprus, and other celebrated Lyric poets, upheld

[u] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 70. Aul. Gel. lib. 1. cap. 11. Ariſtot. ap. eumd. ibid. Plut. de Irâ. t. ii. p. 458. Polyb. lib. 4. p. 289. Athen. lib. 12. p. 517. Id. lib. 14. p. 627.

[x] Plut. de Muſ. p. 1146.

[y] Tim. Locr. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 104. Plat de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 440. Dicotogen ap. Stob. p. 251.

[z] Plut. de Muſ. p. 1141. Mem. de l'Acaſt. des Bell. Lettr. t. xv. p. 318.

[a] Plut. ibid. p. 1134 et 1141.

[b] Pauſan lib. 10. p. 813. Mem. de l'Acad. t. xxxii. p. 444.

[c] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 700. Shol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 332.

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it in its decline [d]. The former flouriſhed at the time of the expedition of Xerxes, about one hundred and twenty years ago. He lived long enough to witneſs the revolution, prepared by the innovation of his predeceſſors, and favoured by the ſpirit of independence we had acquired by our victories over the Perſians. But what moſt accelerated this revolution was the ungovernable paſſion that ſuddenly poſſeſſed the nation for inſtrumental muſic and dithyrambic poetry. The former taught us to diſpenſe with words; the latter to overlay them with a load of foreign ornaments.

Muſic, until then ſubjected to poetry [e], ſhook off the yoke with the audacioufneſs of a revolted ſlave. Muſicians no longer attempted to ſignalize themſelves but by ſuppoſed improvements. The more they multiplied the reſources of the art, the more did they deviate from nature [f]. The lyre and cithara produced a greater variety of ſounds. The properties of genera, modes, voices, and inſtruments, were confounded. Airs, formerly appropriated to different ſpecies of poetry, were indiſcriminately applied to each in particular [g]. Chords before unknown, unuſual modulations, and vocal inflexions, often devoid of harmony, were introduced every day [h]. The fundamental and precious law of rhythm was openly violated, and the ſame ſyllable aſſigned to different ſounds [i], an extravagance which ſhould be as offenſive in muſic as it inevitably would be in declamation.

At the ſight of ſo many rapid changes, Anaxilas ſaid, not long ago, in one of his comedies, that muſic, like Lybia, produced every year ſome new monſter [k].

The principal authors of theſe innovations were of the laſt century, or are ſtill living; as if it were the fate of muſic to loſe its influence over manners, at the very period in which

[d] Plut. ibid. p. 1143.
[e] Prat. ap. Athen. lib. 14. p. 617.
[f] Tartin. Tratt. di Muſ. p. 148.
[g] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 700.
[h] Pherecr. ap. Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1141
[i] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 1349. 1390. Schol. ibid.
[k] Athen. lib. 14. p. 623.

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we talk the moſt of philoſophy and morals. Many of them poſſeſſed great underſtanding and eminent abilities [l]. I ſhall name Melanippides, Cineſias, Phrynis [m], Polyidus [n], ſo celebrated for his tragedy of Iphigenia, and Timotheus of Miletus, who practiſed every ſpecies of poetry, and ſtill enjoys his glory in a very advanced age. He, above all, has done the moſt injury to the ancient muſic. At firſt he was checked by the fear of appearing an innovator [o]. He began by intermingling old airs in his early compoſitions, to elude the vigilance of the magiſtrates, and not too precipitately to ſhock the reigning taſte; but ſoon, emboldened by ſucceſs, he openly waged war with the old ſyſtem.

Beſides the licentiouſneſs I have mentioned, muſicians, not yet ſatisfied with novelties, are endeavouring to draw new ſounds from the tetrachord. Some labour to introduce a ſucceſſion of quarter tones in airs [p]; they weary the ſtrings, redouble the exertions of their bow, and apply the ear in order to ſurpriſe ſome paſſing ſhade of ſound which they conſider as the ſmalleſt commenſurate interval [q]. The ſame experiment confirms others in a diametrically oppoſite opinion. Great difference of opinion prevails reſpecting the nature of ſound [r], the conſonances to be made uſe of [s], the forms introduced into muſic, and the talents and works of the leaders of each party. Epigonus, Eraſtocles [t], Pythagoras of Zacynthus, Agenor of Mytilene, Antigenides, Dorion, and Timotheus [u], have pupils who are daily engaged in fierce contention, and are agreed only in the ſovereign contempt they entertain for ancient muſic, which they treat as ſuperannuated [x].

Do you know who have the moſt contributed to inſpire us with this contempt? The Ionians [y], that people who were

l Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 700.
m Pherecr. ap. Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1141.
n Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 16. t. ii. p. 664.
o Plut de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1132.
p Ariſtox. Harm. Elem. l. 2. p. 53.
q Plat. de Rep. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 531.
r Ariſtox. lib. 1. p. 3.
s Id. lib. 2. p. 36.
t Id. lib. 1. p. 5.
u Plut. de Muſ. p. 1138. &c.
x Id ibid. p. 1135.
y Ariſtid. Quintil. lib. 1. p. 37.

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unable to defend their liberty againſt the Perſians, and who, in a fertile country and under the fineſt ſky in the world [z], conſole themſelves for the loſs of it in the boſom of the arts and luxury. Their light and brilliant muſic, decked out with all the graces, partakes at the ſame time of the congenial ſoftneſs peculiar to that happy climate [a]. We had ſome difficulty to accuſtom ourſelves to its accents. Timotheus, one of thoſe Ionians I have mentioned, was at firſt hiſſed on our ſtage; but Euripides, who knew the genius of his nation, foretold that he would ſoon become the favourite of the public; and the event has juſtified his prediction [b]. Elated with this ſucceſs, he viſited the Lacedæmonians with his eleven ſtringed cithara, and his effeminate airs. They had already twice repreſſed the audacity of modern muſicians [c]; nay, even at this day, in the pieces offered for the competition, they require the modulation to be executed on a ſeven ſtringed inſtrument, and to turn only on one or two modes [d]. What then was their ſurpriſe at the accords of Timotheus! What was his aſtoniſhment at reading a decree iſſued by the kings and ephori! He was accuſed of having wounded the majeſty of the ancient muſic, and endeavoured to corrupt the Spartan youth by the indecency, the variety, and ſoftneſs of his performences. He was ordered to retrench four ſtrings from his lyre, with this obſervation, That ſuch an example ought forever to put an end to novelties which encroach on ſeverity of manners [e]. It deſerves to be remarked, that this decree paſſed about the time that the Lacedæmonians gained that celebrated victory at Ægos-Potamos, which rendered them maſters of Athens.

Among us, artiſans and hirelings decide on the fate of muſic; they fill the theatre, attend at muſical competitions, and

[z] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 142.
[a] Plut. in Lyc. t. i. p. 41. Lucian. Harm. t. i. p. 851. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xiii. p. 208.
[b] Plut. an Seni, &c. t. ii. p. 795.
[c] Athen. p. 628. Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 799. Id. in Lacon. Inſtit. p. 238.
[d] Plut de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1142.
[e] Boeth de Muſ. lib. 1. cap. 1. Not. Buliald. in Theon. Smyrn. p. 295.

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conſtitute themſelves ſovereign judges of taſte. Theſe men requiring ſhocks rather than emotions, the bolder, the more highly coloured, and more violent the muſic is, the more does it excite their tranſports [f]. In vain have philoſophers exclaimed [g], that to adopt ſuch innovations was to ſhake the foundations of the ſtate *; in vain have dramatic writers aimed a thouſand ſatirical ſtrokes againſt thoſe who ſtrove to introduce them [h]. As they cannot iſſue decrees in favour of the ancient muſic, the charms of its enemy have ultimately carried all before them. The fate of both has been ſimilar to that of virtue and voluptuouſneſs whenever they become the object of a ſtruggle.

Tell me honeſtly, ſaid I to Philotimus, whether you have not occaſionally been led away by the general ſeduction? Very often, replied he: I allow that modern muſic is ſuperior to the ancient for its richneſs and its beauties; but I maintain that it has no moral object. In the productions of the ancients I eſteem the poet who makes me love my duty. I admire in modern compoſitions the muſician who gives me pleaſure. And do not you think, ſaid I with warmth, that we ſhould judge of muſic by the pleaſure it affords us [i]?

No, doubtleſs, replied he, if that pleaſure be injurious, and takes place of others leſs lively, but of more utility. You are young, and ſtand in need of ſtrong and frequent emotions [k]; yet, as you would bluſh to reſign yourſelf to them, if not conſiſtent with good order, it is evident that you ought to ſubmit both your pleaſures and pains to the examination of reaſon, before you erect them into the ſtandard of your judgment and conduct.

I ſhall take upon me to lay down the following principle: An object is only worthy of our regard, when, beſides the

[f] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 8. p. 458 et 459.
[g] Plat. de Rep. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 424.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[h] Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 965. in Ran. v. 1339. Schol. ibid. Prat. ap. Athen. lib. 14. p. 617. Pherecr. ap. Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1141.
[i] Plat. de Leg. lib. ii. p. 668.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 664.

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beauties that embelliſh it in our eyes, it contains in itſelf ſome real utility and goodneſs [l]. Thus we ſee that Nature, who wiſhes to conduct us to her ends by the allurement of pleaſure, and who never limited the ſublimity of her views to merely procuring us agreeable ſenſations, has infuſed into the food neceſſary for our nouriſhment a flavour that attracts us, and a virtue requiſite to the conſervation of our ſpecies. Here pleaſure is a firſt effect, and becomes a means of connecting the cauſe to a ſecond effect more noble than the former. It may ſo happen, that the nutriment being equally ſalutary, and the pleaſure equally lively, the ultimate effect may ſtill be hurtful: in fine, if certain aliments, calculated to pleaſe the palate, produced neither good nor evil, the pleaſure would be tranſient and unproductive. Hence it reſults, that it is leſs by the firſt effect than by the ſecond, that we ſhould decide whether our pleaſures be uſeful, dangerous, or indifferent.

Let us apply this principle. Imitation, which is the object of the arts, affects us variouſly: ſuch is its firſt effect. There ſometimes exiſts a ſecond more eſſential, and frequently unknown to the ſpectator, and even to the artiſt: it modifies the ſoul [m], ſo as inſenſibly to bend it to habits which beautify or deform it. If you have never reflected on the prodigious power of imitation, conſider with what energy two of our ſenſes, ſight, and hearing, tranſmit into our ſouls the impreſſions they receive; with what facility a child ſurrounded by ſlaves copies their diſcourſe and geſtures, and appropriates to itſelf their inclinations and vulgarity [n].

Though painting is far from poſſeſſing the ſame power as reality, it is not the leſs true that its repreſentations are ſcenes at which I am preſent, and its images examples preſented to my view. Spectators in general ſeek only for fidelity of imi-

[l] Plat. de Leg. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 667.
[m] Ariſtot. de Rep. l. 8. t. ii. p. 455.
[n] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii p. 395.

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tation, and the charm of a momentary ſenſation in a picture; but philoſophers often diſcover in it, through the enchantment of the art, the ſeeds of a latent poiſon.' According to them, it ſhould ſeem as if our virtues were either ſo pure or feeble, that the ſlighteſt breath of contagion is ſufficient to tarniſh or deſtroy them. Thus, whilſt they permit young men to contemplate at leiſure the pictures of Dionyſius, they exhort them not to dwell on the paintings of Pauſon, but frequently to recur to thoſe of Polygnotus [o]. The firſt has painted men ſuch as we behold them; his is a faithful imitation, pleaſing to the eye, without danger as without utility to manners. The ſecond, by beſtowing on his perſonages ignoble characters and functions, has degraded man; he has painted him more diminutive than he is; his figures deprive heroiſm of its luſtre, and virtue of its dignity. Polygnotus, by repreſenting men larger and more virtuous than nature, elevates our thoughts and ſentiments towards ſublime models, and leaves the ſoul deeply impreſſed with the idea of moral beauty, and the love of propriety and order.

The impreſſions of muſic are more immediate, more profound, and more durable than thoſe of painting [p]; but its imitations, rarely in conformity with our real wants, have almoſt ceaſed to be inſtructive: and in fact, what edification do I receive from that flute player, who imitates on the ſtage the ſong of the nightingale [q], and at our games the hiſſing of the ſerpent [r]; or when, to ſhow his execution, he ſhocks my ear with a multitude of ſounds, rapidly accumulated on each other [s]? I have heard Plato aſk what this noiſe ſignified; and whilſt the ſpectators in general were applauding with tranſport the bold ſtrokes of the muſician [t], charge him with ignorance and oſtentation; with the former as having no idea

[o] Ariſtot. de Rep lib. 8. cap. 5. p. 455. Id. de Poet. cap. 2. t. ii. p 653.
[p] Id. ibid. t. ii. p. 455.
[q] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 223.
[r] Strab. lib. 9. p. 421.
[s] Plat. de Leg. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 669.
[t] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 457.

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of real beauty, and with the latter as placing his whole ambition in the vain glory of ſurmounting a difficulty *.

Beſides, what effect can be produced by words, which dragging after the air, broken in their texture, and croſſed in their progreſſion, can never claim any portion of that attention which the inflections and beauties of the voice fix ſolely on the melody? I allude more eſpecially to the muſic we hear in the theatre [u], and at our games; for it ſtill retains its ancient character in many of our religious ceremonies.

At this moment our ears were ſtruck with the ſound of melodious ſongs. This happened to be the day on which a feſtival was celebrated in honour of Theſeus [x]. Choruſes, conſiſting of the moſt diſtinguiſhed youth of Athens, were repairing to the temple of that hero. They ſang his victory over the minotaur, his arrival in Athens, and the return of the young Athenians whom he had freed from bondage. After liſtening to them attentively, I ſaid to Philotimus, I know not whether moſt to admire the poetry, the air, the preciſion of the rhythm, the merits of the ſubject, or the delightful harmony of the voices [y]. But it ſeems as if my ſoul were filled and elevated by this muſic. That, replied Philotimus with animation, is becauſe, inſtead of trifling to excite our petty paſſions, it penetrates to the very bottom of our hearts, there awakening ſentiments the moſt honourable to man, and the moſt uſeful to ſociety, ſuch as courage, gratitude, and devotion to our country; becauſe from its happy concurrence with poetry rhythm, and the other cauſes you have been mentioning, it receives an awful character of grandeur and nobility, a character which never fails to produce its effect, but operates more powerfully on thoſe ſo conſtituted as to feel it, by inſpiring them with a higher opinion of themſelves. And this it is which juſtifies the doctrine of Plato. He would wiſh

* See note at the end of the volume.
[u] Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1136.
[x] Id. in Theſ. t. i. p. 17.
[y] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 765.

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that the arts, games, ſpectacles, and all external objects, if poſſible, ſhould furniſh us with images calculated inceſſantly to fix our attention on real beauty. The habit of contemplating it would thus become to us a kind of inſtinct, and our ſouls would be as it were conſtrained to act agreeably to the order and harmony which ſhine forth in this divine model [z].

Alas! how far are our artiſts from attaining to the ſublimity of theſe ideas! Not ſatisfied with annihilating the peculiar properties of the different parts of muſic, they violate even the moſt ordinary rules of fitneſs. Already does dancing, which ought to be grave and decent, become tumultuous and violent when ſubjected to their whims; already do we ſee fragments of poetry and muſic foreign to the pieces introduced between the acts of our tragedies, and the choruſes no longer are connected with the action [a].

I do not pretend to ſay that ſuch deviations from the ancient practice are the immediate cauſe of the corruption of our manners; but they certainly contribute to maintain and fortify it. They who conſider them as indifferent, are not aware that regularity is upheld as much by rites and faſhions as by principles; that manners have their forms as well as laws, and that the contempt of forms gradually deſtroys all the bonds which unite men together in ſociety.

Modern muſic may be reproached likewiſe with that effeminate ſoftneſs, thoſe enchanting ſounds which charm the multitude, and which, by having no determinate object of expreſſion, are always interpreted in favour of the ruling paſſion. Their ſole effect is more and more to enervate people whoſe minds, deſtitute of vigour and of character, are diſtinguiſhed only by different degrees of puſillanimity.

But, ſaid I to Philotimus, ſince ancient muſic poſſeſſes ſuch eminent advantages, and the modern ſuch great beauties, why have there been no attempts to reconcile them? I know a

[z] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 401. [a] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 18. t. ii. p. 666.

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muſician named Teleſias, anſwered he, who did form ſuch a project a few years ago [b]. In his youth he had been trained up in an admiration of the rigid beauties of Pindar and other lyric poets. Seduced afterwards by the productions of Philoxenus, Timotheus, and the modern poets, he attempted to combine theſe different manners: but, notwithſtanding all his efforts, he continually fell back into that of his firſt maſters, reaping no other fruit from all his labours than the mortification of diſpleaſing both parties.

No, muſic never will recover from the degradation into which it is fallen, without a total change in our ideas, and a reſtoration of our virtues. Now, it is more difficult to reform than to civilize a nation. We have no longer any morals, added he, but we ſhall have pleaſures. The ancient muſic ſuited the Athenian conquerors at Marathon; the modern is well adapted to Athenians vanquiſhed at Ægos-Potamos.

I have only one more queſtion to aſk you, ſaid I: Why do you inſtruct your pupil in ſo pernicious an art? what purpoſe can it anſwer? What purpoſe! replied he laughing; the purpoſe of a play-thing for children of all ages, which keeps them from breaking the furniture of the houſe [c]. It employs thoſe whoſe idleneſs might be dangerous to ſuch a government as ours, and it amuſes others who, formidable only from the liſtleſſneſs to which they are perpetually a prey, are at a loſs how to employ their time.

Lyſis ſhall learn muſic, becauſe, deſtined as he is to fill the firſt offices of the republic, he ſhould enable himſelf to give an opinion on the pieces preſented for the prize at the theatre, or muſical competitions. He ſhall be verſed in every ſpecies of harmony, but eſteem ſuch only as may have an influence on his manners [d]. For, notwithſtanding its depravation, mu-

[b] Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1142.
[c] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 456.
[d] Id. ibid. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 458.

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ſic is ſtill capable of giving us ſome uſeful leſſons [e]. Thoſe laboured performances, thoſe ſongs, the merit of which conſiſts only in difficulty of execution, and which formerly were mere matter of admiration at our exhibitions, but now form the conſtant exerciſe of our children [f], ſhall never fatigue my pupil. I will put ſome inſtruments into his hands, on condition of his never becoming ſuch a proficient as his maſters. I wiſh his leiſure moments, if he has any, to be agreeably filled up by a ſelect muſic, which may prove a recreation from his labours, inſtead of increaſing them, and moderate his paſſions, ſhould he be poſſeſſed of too much ſenſibility [g]. I wiſh him, in a word, always to retain in mind this maxim, That muſic calls us to pleaſure; philoſophy to virtue; but that it is by pleaſure and virtue conjointly that nature invites us to happineſs [h].

CHAP. XXVIII.

Manners of the Athenians continued.

I HAVE already ſaid * that at certain hours of the day, the Athenians aſſemble in the forum, or the ſhops by which it is ſurrounded. I often went thither, either to hear the news, or ſtudy the character of the people.

I one day met there one of the principal men of the city walking with haſty ſtrides. His vanity could only be equalled by his hatred of the democracy; of all Homer's verſes he had retained only this ſentence: "Nothing is ſo dangerous as to have many chiefs [i]."

He had juſt received a ſlight affront: No, ſaid he in a rage, either this man or I muſt quit the city, for it is impoſſible to remain in it any longer. If I take my place on any of the

[e] Id. ibid. cap. 6. p. 456.
[f] Id. ibid. p. 457.
[g] Id. ibid. cap. 7. p. 458.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 454.
* See Chap. XX of this work.
[i] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 204.

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tribunals, I am haraſſed by the crowd of plaintiffs, or the clamours of the lawyers. At the general aſſembly, ſome low perſon, ſome dirty and ill dreſſed fellow, has the inſolence to ſeat himſelf beſide me [k]. Our orators are ſold to this people, who every day commit the buſineſs of the ſtate to the management of perſons whom I ſhould be ſorry to intruſt with my private affairs [l]. But the other day, when a general was to be elected, I roſe, recounted the poſts I had filled in the army, and ſhowed my wounds, yet the choice fell upon a man without either experience or abilities [m]. Theſeus, by eſtabliſhing equality, was the author of all theſe miſchiefs. Homer had more reaſon when he ſaid, Nothing is ſo dangerous as to have many chiefs. Pronouncing theſe words, he diſdainfully puſhed aſide every body he found in his way, ſcarcely deigning to ſalute any one; and if he permitted any of his clients to accoſt him, it was only loudly to make a boaſt of the ſervices he had rendered him [n].

At this moment, one of his friends approaching him, Well, cried he, will the public ſtill continue to ſay that I am ſurly, moroſe, and ill-tempered? I have juſt gained my cauſe, unanimouſly it is true; but, would you believe it, my lawyer, in his pleadings, omitted the ſtrongeſt arguments in my behalf? My wife yeſterday brought me a ſon, and I am congratulated on the event, as if this increaſe of my family was not a real diminution of my eſtate. One of my friends, after the warmeſt ſolicitations, conſents to let me have one of his ſlaves. I refer the purchaſe-money to himſelf. What do you think he does? He gives him to me at a price greatly below that I expected to pay. Undoubtedly this ſlave muſt have ſome hidden defect [o]. I know not what ſecret poiſon is perpetually mixing with my happineſs.

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[k] Theophr. Charact. cap. 26.
[l] Iſocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 388.
[m] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 765.
[n] Theophr. Charact. cap. 24.
[o] Id. ibid. cap. 17.

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I left this man to bewail his misfortunes, and mixed with the different circles I saw around the place. They were composed of persons of all ages and conditions, and protected from the heat of the sun by awnings.

I sat down by a rich Athenian, called Philander. His parasite Crito was endeavouring to secure his favour by extravagant flattery, and to entertain him by censorious ridicule and slander. He imposed silence; he applauded with transport, whenever Philander opened his lips, and applied the skirt of his robe to his mouth, as if to suppress his laughter at every insipid jest that escaped Philander. Only observe, said he to him, how all eyes are fixed on you. Yesterday in the portico I thought they never would have ended praising you; the question was, who was the most honest man in Athens; though we were more than thirty in company, every voice declared loudly in your favour [p]. That man I see there, said Philander, clad in that elegant robe, and followed by three slaves, is, if I mistake not, Apollodorus, son of Pasion, the rich banker. The very same, replied the parasite. His ostentation is insufferable; he forgets that his father was a slave [q]. And who is that other, resumed Philander, who is walking beside him, and who holds his head so high? His father first went by the name of Sosia, said Crito, and as he had been in the army, assumed that of Sosistratus [r] *. He was afterwards enrolled in the register of citizens. His mother is a Thracian, and no doubt of an illustrious origin; for the women who come from that remote country have as valid claims to birth as to facility of manners. The son is a knave; not quite so much so however as Hermogenes, Corax, and Thersites, who are talking together a few yards from us. The first is so great a miser, that his wife can only get cold water to bathe in, even in winter [s]; the second so capricious,

[p] Id. ibid. cap. 2.
[q] Demosth. pro Phorm. p. 965.
[r] Theophr. Charact. cap. 28.
* Sosia is the name of a slave; Sosistratus that of a free man. Στρατος (*Stratos*) signifies an army.
[s] Id. ibid.

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as to assume twenty different characters in the same day; and the third so vain, that he stands single in the praises he bestows on himself, and is without a rival in the love he has for his own person.

Whilst I was turning round to look at a party of dice, a man came up to me with an anxious air. Have you heard the news? said he. No, answered I.—What! do you know nothing of it? I am delighted to hear it. I have it from Nicerates, who is just arrived from Macedon. King Philip is beaten by the Illyrians; he is taken prisoner; he is dead.—Indeed! is it possible?—Nothing is more certain. I have this instant met two of our archons; I saw joy painted in their faces. But do not say a word of it to any creature; and, above all, take care not to name me as your author. Having said this, he immediately left me to communicate his secret to every person he met [t].

That man passes his whole life in forging news, said a fat Athenian who was sitting by me. He attends to nothing but what does not concern him. As for me, my domestic affairs find me sufficient employment. I have a wife whom I am very fond of; upon which he immediately gave me a long eulogium on his wife [u]. Yesterday I was not able to sup with her, having received an invitation from a friend; and he now launched out into a minute description of the entertainment. I got home, however, continued he, not dissatisfied; but I had a dream that gives me a good deal of uneasiness; and he then proceeded to tell me all his dream: he afterward observed that the city swarmed with foreigners; that the men of the present generation were not like those of former days; that provisions were very cheap; that we might hope for a good crop, if we had a few showers; and, after asking me what was the day of the month [x], rose to go to supper with his wife.

[t] Id. ibid. cap. 8.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 3.
[x] Id. ibid.

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Bleſs me! ſaid an Athenian who came up at the moment, and whom I had long been looking for, how can you have the patience to liſten to that tireſome mortal! Why did not you follow the example of Ariſtotle? A great talker had got hold of him, and, after wearying him with ſtrange ſtories, What! ſaid he to him, are you not aſtoniſhed? What aſtoniſhes me, anſwered Ariſtotle, is, that any man ſhould uſe his ears to liſten to you, when he can uſe his legs to eſcape from you [y]. I now told him that I had ſomething to communicate to him, which I wiſhed for an opportunity of explaining. But he interrupted me at every word. Yes, yes, I know what you mean; I could give you a complete account of the whole affair; go on, do not omit a ſingle circumſtance; very well; now you have it; that is the very thing; you ſee how neceſſary it was to talk it over. At length I was obliged to tell him, that he broke in upon my narrative. I know it, replied he; but I have a wonderful deſire of talking. I am not like the man, however, who has juſt quitted you. He ſpeaks without reflection, a reproach, I think, which cannot be thrown on me; witneſs the ſpeech I made lately at the aſſembly: you were not there; I'll tell you what it was. At theſe words I attempted to profit by the advice of Ariſtotle; but he ſtill followed me, continually talking and declaiming [z].

I puſhed forward into the midſt of a company aſſembled round a foothſayer, who was complaining of the incredulity of the Athenians. He exclaimed, When I talk to you of divine ſubjects, and unveil futurity to you in the general aſſembly, you laugh at me as if I were a madman, yet events have always juſtified my predictions. But you are envious of thoſe who poſſeſs knowledge ſuperior to your own [a].

He was going to proceed, when we ſaw Diogenes appear, who had juſt arrived from Lacedæmon. Whence come you?

[y] Plut. de Garrul. t. ii. p. 503.
[z] Theophr. Charact. cap. 7.
[a] Plat. in Eutyphr. t. i. p. 3.

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ſaid ſome perſon to him. From the apartment of the men to that of the women, anſwered he [b]. Were there many people at the Olympic games? inquired another.—A great number of ſpectators, but very few men [c]. Theſe anſwers were applauded; and drew together a crowd of Athenians, who endeavoured to provoke him to repartees. Why, ſaid one, do you eat in the market? Becauſe I am hungry in the market, replied he [d]. Another put this queſtion to him. How can I revenge myſelf of my enemy?—By becoming more virtuous [e]. Diogenes, ſaid a third, the world fathers many ridiculous ſtories on you.—But I adopt none [f]. A foreigner, born at Myndus, wiſhed to know what he thought of that town. I adviſed the inhabitants, anſwered he, to ſhut their gates, that the city might not run out at them [g]. It is to be obſerved that this city, which is very ſmall, has remarkably large gates. Crito the paraſite, now mounting on a chair, aſked him why the public had given him the name of Dog. Becauſe, anſwered he, I careſs thoſe who give me neceſſaries, bark at thoſe who refuſe me, and bite the miſchievous [h]. And what, reſumed the paraſite, is the moſt dangerous animal?—Among wild animals, the ſlanderer; among tame ones, the flatterer [i].

At theſe words every one burſt into a laugh; the paraſite went off, and the attacks continued with redoubled warmth. Diogenes, what countryman are you? ſaid ſome one. I am a citizen of the world, anſwered he [k]. No, no, replied another, he is of Sinope; the inhabitants condemned him to leave their city. And I have condemned them to remain in it, replied he [l]. A handſome young man advancing, made uſe of an expreſſion ſo indecent as to bring a bluſh into the cheeks of one of his friends of the ſame age; upon which

[b] Diog. Laert. lib. 6. § 59.
[c] Id. ibid. § 60.
[d] Id. ibid. § 58.
[e] Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 21.
[f] Diog. Laert. lib. 6. § 54.
[g] Id. ibid. § 57.
[h] Id. ibid. § 60.
[i] Id. ibid. § 51.
[k] Id. ibid. § 63.
[l] Id. ibid. § 49.

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Diogenes says to the latter: Courage, my boy; those are the colours of virtue [m]. And turning to the former, Are you not ashamed, said he, to draw a leaden blade from out an ivory sheath [n]? The young man in a rage gave him a blow on the ear. Be it so, resumed he, without the smallest emotion; you teach me at least one thing, which is that I want a helmet [o]. What advantage, said some one to him immediately, have you derived from your philosophy? Why, do not you see? said he; to be prepared for every event [p]."

At this moment Diogenes, who would not stir from his place, received on his head some water which fell from the top of a house. Some of the company seeming to pity him, Plato, who was accidentally passing, said to them, If you wish your pity to be useful to him, appear not to see him [q].

I one day found, in the portico of Jupiter, some Athenians engaged in philosophical discussions. No, sorrowfully exclaimed an old disciple of Heraclitus, I can never contemplate nature without a secret horror. All living creatures are only in a state of war or ruin; the inhabitants of the air, the waters, and the earth, are endowed with force or cunning only for the purpose of mutual persecution and destruction: I myself murder and devour the animal which I have fed with my own hands, until I shall be devoured in my turn by vile insects.

I fix my attention on more pleasing objects, replied a young follower of Democritus. The flow and ebb of generations afflicts me no more than the periodical succession of the waves of the ocean, or of the leaves of trees [r]. What matters it that such and such individuals appear or disappear? The earth is a theatre changing its scenery every moment. Is it not annually clothed with new flowers and new fruits? The atoms

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[m] Id. ibid. § 54.
[n] Id. ibid. § 65.
[o] Id. ibid. § 41.
[p] Id. ibid. § 63.
[q] Id. ibid. § 41.
[r] Mimner. ap. Stob. serm. 96. p. 528. Simonid. ap. eumd. p. 530.

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of which I am compoſed will one day reunite after their ſeparation, and I ſhall revive in another form [s].

Alas! ſaid a third, the degree of love or hatred, of joy or grief, with which we are affected, has but too much influence on our judgments [t]. When ſick, I ſee nothing in nature but a ſyſtem of deſtruction; but when in health, I behold only a ſyſtem of reproduction.

It is in reality both, obſerved a fourth; when the univerſe emerged from chaos, intelligent beings had reaſon to flatter themſelves that the ſupreme Wiſdom would deign to unveil to them the motive of their exiſtence; but this ſecret he reſerved to himſelf alone, and addreſſing himſelf to ſecond cauſes, pronounced only theſe two words: Deſtroy; Reproduce [u]: words which have for ever fixed the deſtiny of the world.

I know not, reſumed the firſt, whether it be for their diverſion, or with a ſerious deſign, that the gods have formed us [x]; but this I know, that it is the greateſt of misfortunes to be born, and the greateſt happineſs to die [y]. Life, ſaid Pindar, is but the dream of a ſhadow [z]; a ſublime image, and which paints with a ſingle ſtroke all the nothingneſs of man. Life, ſaid Socrates, ſhould only be meditation on death [a]; a ſingular paradox, to ſuppoſe that we are compelled to live only to learn to die.

Man is born, lives, and dies in the ſame inſtant; and in that inſtant ſo fugitive, what a complication of ſufferings! His entrance into life is proclaimed by cries and tears; in infancy and adoleſcence come maſters to tyrannize over him, and duties which exhauſt his ſtrength [b]; next follows a terrific

[s] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. 7. cap. 55. t. i. p. 411. Bruck. Hiſt. Philoſ. t. i. p. 1195.

[t] Ariſtot. de Rhet. lib. 1 cap. 2. t. ii p 515

[u] Æſop. ap. Stob. ſerm. 104. p. 564

[x] Plat. de Leg. lib 1. t. ii. p. 644.

[y] Sophocl. in Ædip. colon. 5. 1289. Bacchyl et alii ap. Stob. ſerm. 96. p. 530 et 531. Cicer. Tuſcul, lib. 1. cap. 48. t. ii. p. 273.

[z] Pind. in Pythic. od. 8. v. 136.

[a] Plat. in Phædon. t i. p. 64. et 67. Id ap. Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. 5. p. 686.

[b] Sophocl. in Ædip. colon. v. 1290. &c. Axioch ap Plat. t. iii. p. 366. Teleſ. ap. Stob. p. 535.

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ſucceſſion of arduous labours, overwhelming cares, bitter afflictions, and conflicts of every kind; and all this is terminated by an old age which renders him an object of contempt, and a tomb that conſigns him to oblivion.

You have but to ſtudy him. His virtues are only the barter for his vices; if he refrains from one, it is only to obey the other [c]. If he avails not himſelf of his experience, he is a child beginning every day to live; if he makes uſe of it, he is an old man who has lived only too long.

He poſſeſſed two ſignal advantages over other animals, foreſight and hope. What has Nature done? She has cruelly empoiſoned them with fear.

What a void in every thing he does! What varieties and incongruities in all his propenſities and projects! I would aſk you; what is man?

I will tell you, anſwered a giddy youth who entered at the moment. Then drawing from under his robe a little figure of wood or paſteboard, of which the limbs might be moved by certain ſtrings that he ſtretched and relaxed at pleaſure [d]: Theſe threads, ſaid he, are the paſſions, which hurry us ſometimes to the one ſide, and ſometimes to the other [d]. This is all I know of the matter; and having ſo ſaid, he immediately walked away.

Our life, ſaid a diſciple of Plato, is at once a comedy and tragedy; in the former point of view it can have no other plot than our folly, nor in the latter any cataſtrophe but death; and as it partakes of the nature of both theſe dramas, it is interſperſed with pleaſures and with pains [f].

The converſation was perpetually varying. One denied the exiſtence of motion; another that of the objects by which we appear ſurrounded. Every thing external, ſaid they, is only deceit and falſehood; every thing internal, only error and illuſion. Our ſenſes, our paſſions, and reaſon, lead us aſtray;

[c] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 69.
[d] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 48. Lib. de Mund. ap. Ariſtot. cap. 6. t. i. p. 611. Lucian. de Dea Syr. cap. 16. t. iii. p. 463. Apul. de Mund. &c.
[e] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 644.
[f] Id. in Phileb. t. ii. p. 50.

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ſciences, or rather idle opinions, force us from the repoſe of ignorance, to abandon us to all the torment of incertitude; and the pleaſures of the mind have contraſts a thouſand times more painful than thoſe of the ſenſes.

I ventured to ſay a word on the ſubject. Men, ſaid I, are becoming more and more enlightened. May we not preſume that, after exhauſting all their errors, they will at length diſcover the ſecret of thoſe myſteries which occaſion them ſuch anxiety? And do you know what happens then? anſwered ſome one. When this ſecret is on the point of being diſcovered, nature is ſuddenly attacked by ſome dreadful diſeaſe [g]. A deluge or a conflagration deſtroys the nations, with all the monuments of their intelligence and vanity. Theſe fearful calamities have often deſolated our globe. The torch of ſcience has been more than once extinguiſhed and rekindled. At each revolution, a few individuals, who have eſcaped by accident, reunite the thread of generations; and behold a new race of wretches laborioufly employed for a long ſeries of ages in forming themſelves into ſocieties, making laws, inventing arts, and bringing their diſcoveries to perfection [h], till a new cataſtrophe ſwallows them up likewiſe in the gulf of oblivion!

Unable any longer to ſuſtain a converſation to me ſo extraordinary and novel, I precipitately left the portico, and, without knowing whither I directed my ſteps, preſently found myſelf on the banks of the Iliſſus. My mind was violently agitated with the moſt melancholy and afflicting reflections. Was it to acquire ſuch odious knowledge, then, that I had quitted my country and relations! And do all the efforts of human underſtanding only ſerve to ſhow us that we are the moſt miſerable of beings! But whence happens it that theſe beings exiſt; whence does it happen that they periſh? What

[g] Id. in Tim. t. iii. p. 22. Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 2. cap. 14. t. i. p. 548. Polyb. lib. 6. p. 453. Heraclit. ap. Clem. Alex. lib. 5. p. 711. Not. Potter. ibid.

[h] Ariſtot. Metaph. lib. 14. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 1003.

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mean thoſe periodical changes which eternally take place on the theatre of the world? For whom is this dreadful ſpectacle intended? Is it for the gods, who have no need of it? Is it for men, who are its victims? And why am I myſelf compelled to act a part on this ſtage? Why was I drawn from nonentity without my knowledge, and rendered wretched without being aſked whether I conſented to be ſo? I interrogate the heavens, the earth, and the whole univerſe. What anſwer can they give? They ſilently execute orders without any knowledge of their motives. I queſtion the ſages: cruel men! They have anſwered me. They have taught me to know myſelf! They have ſtripped me of all the claims I had to my own eſteem! Already I am unjuſt towards the gods, and ere long perhaps I ſhall be barbarous towards men!

To what a height of violence and enthuſiaſm does a heated imagination tranſport us! At a ſingle glance, I had run over all the conſequences of theſe fatal opinions; the ſlighteſt appearances were become to me realities; the moſt groundleſs apprehenſions were converted into torments: my ideas, like frightful phantoms, maintained a conflict in my mind with the violence of contending waves agitated by the tempeſt.

In the midſt of this ſtorm of warring paſſions, I had thrown myſelf, without perceiving it, at the foot of a plane tree, under which Socrates uſed ſometimes to converſe with his diſciples [i]. The recollection of this wiſe and happy man ſerved only to increaſe my anxiety and delirium. I called on him aloud, and bathed with my tears the ſpot where he had once ſitten, when I diſcovered at a diſtance Phocus, the ſon of Phocion, and Cteſippus, the ſon of Chabrias [k], accompanied by ſome young men of my acquaintance. I had barely time to recover the uſe of my ſenſes, before they approached, and obliged me to follow them.

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[i] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 229.

[k] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 744 et 750.

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We went to the forum, where we were ſhown epigrams and ſongs againſt perſons at the head of adminiſtration [l], and it was agreed that the beſt government was that of Lacedæmon [m]. We next repaired to the theatre, where new pieces were performing, which we hiſſed [n]; yet they ſucceeded. We then took a ride, and, after bathing, ſupped, on our return, with ſome ſinging girls and female flute-players [o]. I forgot the portico, the plane tree, and Socrates, and reſigned myſelf, without reſerve, to pleaſure and licentiouſneſs. Part of the night we ſpent in drinking, and the remainder in ſcouring the ſtreets, to inſult the paſſengers [p].

When I awoke, peace reigned in my ſoul, and I eaſily diſcovered the ſource of thoſe terrors which had agitated me the preceding day. Not yet innured to the uncertainties of ſcience, my fears had been thoſe of a child on finding himſelf alone for the firſt time in the dark. From this moment I reſolved to acquire fixed ideas on the opinions diſcuſſed in the portico, to frequent the library of one of my Athenian friends, and avail myſelf of that opportunity to become maſter of the various branches of Grecian literature.

CHAP. XXIX.

Library of an Athenian.—Claſs of Philoſophy.

PISISTRATUS, two centuries ago, had collected a library, open to the public, which was carried away by Xerxes into Perſia [q]. In my time, ſeveral Athenians had collections of books; the moſt conſiderable was the library of Euclid, who had received it from his anceſtors [r], and who deſerved to poſſeſs it, ſince he underſtood its value.

[l] Id. in Pericl. t. i. p. 170.
[m] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 363.
[n] Demoſth. de Falſ. Legat. p. 346.
[o] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 347.
[p] Demoſth in Conon p. 1110.
[q] Aul. Gell. lib. 6. cap. 17.
[r] Athen. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 3. Caſaub. ibid. p. 6.

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On entering this library, I was ſtruck with ſurpriſe and pleaſure. I found myſelf in the midſt of the fineſt geniuſes of Greece, living and breathing in their works, with which I was ſurrounded. Even their ſilence increaſed my reſpect. An aſſembly of the ſovereigns of all the nations on earth would have appeared to me leſs awful. A few moments after, I could not help exclaiming, Alas! how much knowledge is here, which is denied the Scythians! I have ſince ſaid, more than once, how much knowledge uſeleſs to man!

I ſhall not here ſpeak of all the different kinds of ſubſtances which have been uſed to write on. The ſkins of ſheep and goats [s], and various ſorts of linen cloth, were ſucceſſively employed [t]; paper has ſince come into uſe, made from the interior filaments of the ſtalk of a plant which grows in the marſhes of Egypt, or amid the ſtagnant waters left by the Nile after its inundation [u]. It is formed into rolls, at the extremity of which is ſuſpended a ticket, containing the title of the book. Each roll is only written on one ſide, and, to accommodate the reader, is divided into ſeveral compartments or pages *.

Copyiſts by profeſſion [x] paſs their lives in tranſcribing the works which fall into their hands; and other individuals, for the ſake of information, take this trouble on themſelves. Demoſthenes told me one day, that, in order to form his ſtyle, he had eight times tranſcribed the hiſtory of Thucydides with his own hand [y]. Copies are multiplied by this means, but are ſeldom very common, on account of the expence †, a circumſtance which greatly retards the progreſs of knowledge.

[s] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 58.

[t] Plin. lib. 13. cap. 11. t. i. p. 689. Caylus, Rec. d'Antiq. t. v. p. 76.

[u] Theophr. Hiſtor. Plant. lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 423. Plin. ibid. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxvi. p. 276.

* See the manuſcripts of Herculaneum.

[x] Poll. lib. 7. cap. 33. § 211.

[y] Lucian. adv. Ind. § 4. t. iii. p. 102.

† After the death of Speuſippus, Plato's diſciple, Ariſtotle bought his books, which were few in number, and paid three talents, or 16,200 livres (675 l.) for them. (Diogen. Laert. in Speuſ. lib. 4. § 5. Aul. Gell. lib. 3. cap. 17).

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A book becomes ſtill more rare when it appears in a foreign country, and treats of ſubjects not underſtood by the generality of readers. I have known Plato, notwithſtanding the extenſive correſpondence he had in Italy, obtain with difficulty certain philoſophical works [z], and pay a hundred minæ * for three ſmall treatiſes by Philolaus [a].

The Athenian bookſellers can neither take the ſame pains, nor make ſimilar advances. Their ſtock generally conſiſts of books of mere amuſement, part of which they ſend to the adjacent countries, and ſometimes even to the Greek colonies on the coaſt of the Euxine [b]. The paſſion for writing is perpetually furniſhing freſh articles for this commerce. The Greeks are verſed in every ſpecies of literature. Of this we ſhall be able to judge from the account I am about to give of the library of Euclid.

I ſhall begin by the claſs of philoſophy. The works of this claſs date no higher than the age of Solon, who flouriſhed about two hundred and fifty years ago. Prior to that period, the Greeks had theologians, but no philoſophers. Little anxious to ſtudy nature, the poets collected, and by their works gave a ſanction to the reigning falſehoods and ſuperſtitions of the people. But, in the time of this legiſlator, and towards the 50th Olympiad †, an aſtoniſhing revolution ſuddenly took place in the minds of men. Thales and Pythagoras laid the foundations of their philoſophy; Cadmus of Miletus wrote hiſtory in proſe; Theſpis firſt gave a ſettled form to tragedy; as did Sufarion to comedy.

Thales of Miletus in Ionia, one of the ſeven ſages of Greece, was born in the firſt year of the 35th Olympiad [c] ‡. In his early years, he filled with diſtinction the employments to which he was called by his birth and wiſdom. A thirſt

[z] Diog. Laert. in Archyt. lib. 8. § 90.

* 9000 livres (375 l.)

[a] Id. in Plat. lib. 3. § 9; lib. 8. § 85. Aul. Gell. lib. 3. cap. 17.

[b] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. l. 7. p. 412.

† Towards the year 580 before J.C.

[c] Apollod. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 1. § 38. Corſin. Faſt. Attic. t. iii. p. 56.

‡ Towards the year 640 before J. C.

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for knowledge soon incited him to travel into foreign countries. On his return, devoting himself exclusively to the study of nature, he astonished Greece by predicting a solar eclipse[d]; and instructed it, by communicating the knowledge of geometry and astronomy which he had acquired in Egypt[e]. He lived independent, enjoyed his reputation in peace, and died without regret[*]. In his youth, his mother pressed him to marry, and repeated her solicitations several years after. The first time he said, It is too soon. The second time, It is too late[f].

Many of his replies are still remembered, which I shall repeat, as they may give an idea of his philosophy, and show with what precision the sages of that age endeavoured to answer the questions propounded to them.

What is it that is most beautiful?—The universe; for it is the work of God.—What most immense?—Space; because it contains every thing.—What most powerful?—Necessity; because it triumphs over all things.—What most difficult?—To know one's self.—What most easy?—To give advice.—What most rare?—A tyrant who arrives at old age.—What difference is there between living and dying?—They are equally indifferent.—Why do you not die, then?—Because they are equally indifferent.—What is there that can console us in misfortune?—The sight of an enemy more wretched than ourselves.—What method must we take to lead an irreproachable life?—Do nothing which we should condemn in others.—What is necessary to happiness?—A sound body, an easy fortune, and an enlightened mind[g], &c. &c.

Nothing is so celebrated as the name of Pythagoras, nothing so little known as the particulars of his life[h]. It ap-

[d] Herodot lib. 1. cap. 74. Cicer. de Divin. lib 1 c. 49. t. iii p. 41. Plin. lib. 2. cap. 12. t. i. p. 78.

[e] Diog. Laert. in Thal. lib. 1. § 14 et 27. Bailly, Hist. de l'Astron. Anc. p. 196 et 439.

[*] Towards the year 548 before J.C.

[f] Id. ibid. § 26.

[g] Id. in Thal lib. 1. § 35, 36, &c.

[h] Id. ibid. lib. 8. § 1. Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. t. i. p. 455. Bruck. Histor. Philos. t. i. p. 994

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pears, that in his youth he took leſſons from Thales and Pherecydes of Syros; that he afterwards reſided a long time in Egypt; and that, if he did not actually viſit the kingdoms of Upper Aſia, he had at leaſt ſome knowledge of the ſciences cultivated in thoſe countries. The profundity of the Egyptian myſteries, the deep meditations of the ſages of the Eaſt, were as well adapted to inflame his ardent imagination, as the auſtere mode of life which the greater part of them had embraced was congenial with his firm character.

On his return, finding his country enſlaved by a tyrant [i], he went, far from ſervitude, to ſettle at Crotona in Italy. This city was then in a deplorable ſituation. The inhabitants, vanquiſhed by the Locrians, had loſt all ſenſe of their native powers, and ſought no other reſource under their misfortunes than in the exceſs of pleaſure. Pythagoras undertook to re-animate their courage, by inſpiring them with their ancient virtues. His inſtructions and example ſo haſtened the progreſs of reformation, that the Crotonian women, excited by his eloquence, were ſeen to dedicate in a temple the precious ornaments in which it was their pride to deck themſelves [k].

Not ſatisfied with this triumph, he endeavoured to render the good he had effected permanent, by educating the youth in the principles to which he owed his ſucceſs. Well knowing, that, in a ſtate, nothing inſpires more energy than wiſdom of manners, nor in an individual than perfect ſelf-denial, he planned a ſyſtem of education, which, to render the mind capable of receiving truth, taught it to be independent of the ſenſes. On this occaſion was it that he founded that celebrated inſtitution, which ſtill ſtands pre-eminent, even in theſe later times, among all other philoſophical ſects [l].

Towards the end of his life, and in extreme old age, he had the affliction to ſee almoſt all that he had done rendered

i Strab. lib. 14. p. 638. Diogen. Laert. lib. 8. § 3.

k Juſtin. lib. 20. cap. 4.

l Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 600.

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of no effect, by the jealouſy[l] of the leading citizens of Crotona. Obliged to take to flight, he wandered from town to town[m], until the moment when death, terminating his misfortunes, reduced envy to ſilence, and procured honours to his memory, which were carried to an extravagant length from the remembrance of the perſecution he had ſuffered.

The Ionian ſchool owes its origin to Thales; the Italian to Pythagoras: both of theſe ſchools have given birth to others, which have all of them produced great men. Euclid, when collecting their productions, had been attentive to diſtribute them relatively to the different ſyſtems of philoſophy.

After ſome treatiſes, falſely perhaps attributed to Thales[n], were ranged the works of thoſe who have taught his doctrine, and were ſucceſſively at the head of his ſchool. Theſe are Anaximander[o], Anaximenes[p], Anaxagoras, who firſt taught philoſophy at Athens[q]; and Archelaus, who was the maſter of Socrates[r]. Their writings treat of the formation of the univerſe, of the nature of things, and of geometry and aſtronomy.

The following treatiſes were much more cloſely connected with morals; for Socrates and his diſciples beſtowed their attention leſs on nature in general, than on man in particular. Socrates has left nothing in writing but a hymn in honour of Apollo, and ſome fables of Æſop, which he put into verſe whilſt he was in priſon[s]. I found both theſe little pieces, and the works that have proceeded from his ſchool in the library of Euclid. The latter are almoſt all in the form of dialogues, in which Socrates is the principal interlocutor, it be-

[l] Porph. de Vit. Pyth. p. 51.
[m] Plut. de Orac. t. ii. p. 403. Diogen. Laert. lib. 1. § 23.
[n] Diogen. Laert. lib. 2. § 2. Suid. in Ἀναξίμ.
[o] Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. t. i. p. 814.
[p] Ariſtot. de Anim. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. i. p. 620. Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib. 1. p. 352.
[q] Diogen. Laert. lib. 2. § 16.
[r] Plut. de Fort. Alex. t. ii. p. 328. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 16. t. i. p. 294. Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 60. Diogen. Laert. lib. 2. § 42.

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ing their object to record his converſations. I ſaw the dialogues of Plato; thoſe of Alexamenes prior to thoſe of Plato [t]; thoſe of Xenophon, of Æſchines [u], of Crito [x], of Simon [y], of Glaucon [z], of Simmias [a], of Cebes [b], of Phædon [c], and of Euclid [d], who founded the ſchool of Megara, at preſent under the direction of Eubulides his diſciple.

The Italian ſchool has produced a much greater number of authors than the Ionian [e]. Beſides ſome treatiſes aſcribed to Pythagoras, and which do not appear to be authentic [f], Euclid was in poſſeſſion of almoſt all the writings of the philoſophers who have followed or modified his doctrine.

Such was Empedocles of Agrigentum, to whom the inhabitants of that great city offered the crown, but who preferred the glory of eſtabliſhing among them an equal government [g]. With a genius comparable even to that of Homer, he lent the charms of poetry to the moſt abſtract ſubjects [h], and acquired ſo great a degree of celebrity as to attract the attention of all the Greeks aſſembled at the Olympic games [i]. He ſaid to the Agrigentines: "You eagerly purſue pleaſures as if you were to die to-morrow, and you build houſes as if you were to live for ever [k]."

Such again were Epicharmus, a man of wit, like moſt of the Sicilians [l], who incurred the diſpleaſure of king Hiero, by making uſe of an indecent expreſſion in preſence of the wife of that prince [m], and the ill will of the other philoſophers, by revealing the ſecret of their dogmas in his come-

[t] Ariſtot. ap. Athen. lib. 11. cap. 15. p. 505.
[u] Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 61. Athen. lib. 13. p. 611.
[x] Id. ibid. § 121.
[y] Id. ibid. § 122.
[z] Id. ibid. § 124.
[a] Id. ibid.
[b] Id. ibid. § 125.
[c] Id. ibid. § 105.
[d] Id. ibid. § 108.
[e] Jambl. Vita. Pythag. p. 215.
[f] Heracl. ap. Diogen. Laert. lib. 8. § 6. Plut. de Fort. Alex. t. i. p. 328. Lucian. pro. Lapſu in Salut. t. i. p. 729. Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. t. i. p. 460.
[g] Diogen. Laert. lib. 8. § 72. Ariſtot. ap. eumd. § 63.
[h] Ariſtot. ibid. lib. 8. § 57.
[i] Diog. Laert. ibid. § 66.
[k] Id. ibid. § 63.
[l] Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 1. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 238. Id. de Clar. Orat. cap. 12. t. i. p. 345.
[m] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 175.

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dies [n]; Ocellus of Lucania, Timæus of Locris, authors less splendid but more profound and more correct than the former; Archytas of Tarentum, celebrated for his important discoveries in mechanics [o]; Philolaus of Crotona, one of the first among the Greeks who made the earth move round the centre of the universe [p]; Eudoxus, whom I have often seen at Plato's, and who was at once a geometrician, astronomer, physician, and legislator [q]; not to mention an Ecphantus an Alcmæon, an Hippasus, and a multitude of others, as well ancient as modern, who lived in obscurity, and have become celebrated after their deaths.

One of the shelves particularly attracted my attention; it was filled with a series of philosophical books, all written by women, which were generally in favour of the Pythogorean doctrine [r]. I there found the Treatise on Wisdom of Perictione [s], a work abounding in perspicuous metaphysics. Euclid told me that Aristotle held it in high estimation, and intended to borrow some ideas from it on the nature of existence and its accidents [t].

He added, that the Italian school had diffused more knowledge over the world than the Ionian, but that it had committed errors from which its rival was necessarily exempt. The two great men, in fact, who founded them, stamped the character of their genius on their works. Thales, distinguished by profound sense, had for his disciples sages who studied nature in the simplest manner. His school at length produced Anaxagoras, and the soundest theology; Socrates, and the purest morals. Pythagoras, perpetually under the influence of a lively imagination, established a sect of pious enthusiasts, who at first beheld nothing in nature but harmonies

[n] Jambl. Vita Pythagor. cap. 36. p. 215.
[o] Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 83.
[p] Id. ibid. § 85.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 86.
[r] Jambl. Vita Pythag. p. 218. Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 524. Menag. Histor. Mul. Philos.
[s] Stob. de Virt. serm. 1. p. 6. Phot. Biblioth. p. 373.
[t] Franc. Patric. Discuss. Peripath. t. ii. lib. 2. p. 197. Ant. Conti, illustr. del Parmen. p. 20.

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and proportions; but paſſing from one ſpecies of fictions to another, gave birth to the Elean ſchool, and the moſt abſtract metaphyſics.

The philoſophers of the latter ſchool may be divided into two claſſes. Some, a Xenophanes, Parmenides, Meliſſus, and Zeno, confined themſelves to metaphyſics; while others, as Leucippus, Democritus, Protagoras, &c. beſtowed their chief attention on phyſics [u].

The Elean ſchool owes its origin to Xenophanes, of Colophon in Ionia *. Exiled from his country, whom he had celebrated by his verſes, he went to ſettle in Sicily, where he could find no means to maintain his family but by ſinging his poetry in public [x], after the manner of the firſt philoſophers. He condemned all games of chance, and ſome one treating him in conſequence as a man of a weak mind, and full of prejudices, he anſwered: "I am indeed the weakeſt of men reſpecting actions at which I could not but bluſh [y]."

Parmenides, his diſciple, was one of the moſt ancient and richeſt families of Elea [z]. He beſtowed on his country ſo excellent a code of laws, that the magiſtrates oblige every citizen annually to ſwear he will obſerve them [a]. Diſguſted, at laſt, with influence and authority, he reſigned himſelf wholly to philoſophy, and paſſed the remainder of his days in ſilence and meditation. Moſt of his writings are in verſe [b].

Zeno of Elea, who was his diſciple, and adopted by him [c], ſaw a tyrant gradually eſtabliſhing himſelf in a free city, conſpired againſt him, and died, refuſing to give up his acomplices [d]. This philoſopher loved the public as much as he eſteemed himſelf. His ſoul, ſo unſhaken in the hour of dan-

[u] Bruck. Hiſtor. Philoſ. t. ii. p. 1143.

* Born about the year 556 before J. C. (Bruck. Hiſt. Philoſ. p. 1144).

[x] Diogen. Laert. lib. 9. § 18.

[y] Plut. de Vitioſ. Pud. t. ii p. 530.

[z] Bruck. Hiſt. Phil. t. i. p. 1157.

[a] Plut. adv. Colot. t. ii. p. 1127. Speuſipp. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 9. § 28.

[b] Diogen. Laert. ibid. § 22.

[c] Id. ibid. in Zen. ibid. § 25.

[d] Id. ibid. § 26. Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 2. cap. 22. t. ii. p. 294. Val. Max. lib. 3. cap. 3.

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ger, was not proof againſt the ſhafts of calumny. He ſaid, "To be inſenſible to the evil that is ſpoken of me, I muſt be ſo likewiſe to the good [e]."

Among the philoſophers, and particularly among thoſe of the Elean ſchool, we find men who took part in the adminiſtration of the ſtate, ſuch as Parmenides and Zeno [f]. We ſee others who have commanded armies. Archytas gained ſeveral advantages at the head of the Tarentine troops [g]. Meliſſus, a ſcholar of Parmenides, vanquiſhed the Athenians in a ſea fight [h]. But theſe examples, and others which might be mentioned, by no means prove that philoſophy is calculated to form ſtateſman or great generals; they only ſhow that a ſtateſman or great general may cultivate philoſophy.

Leucippus deviated from the principles of his maſter Zeno [i], and communicated his own to Democritus of Abdera in Thrace.

The latter was born in opulence [k]; but he reſerved only a part of his fortune, to travel, after the example of Pythagoras, among the nations whom the Greeks treated as barbarians, but who were in fact the guardians of the ſciences. On his return, one of his brothers, who had enriched himſelf by what he had abandoned, provided for his wants, which were confined to mere neceſſaries; and to ward off the operation of a law which denied ſepulture to the citizen convicted of having diſſipated the inheritance of his fathers, Democritus read to an aſſembly of the inhabitants of Abdera, a work which completely gained their eſteem and admiration [l]. He paſſed the remainder of his life in profound retirement; fortunate in poſſeſſing an ardent paſſion, which it was always in his power to gratify, that of edifying himſelf by his meditations, and others by his writings.

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[e] Id. ibid. § 29.
[f] Id. in Parm. et Zen.
[g] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 7. cap. 14. Ariſtox. ap. Diogen. Laert. l. 8. § 82.
[h] Id ibid. Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 166; et adv. Colot. t. ii. p. 1126.
[i] Bruck. Hiſt. Philoſ. t. i. p. 1171.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 1177. Diog. Laert. lib. 9. § 36.
[l] Diogen. Laert. lib. 9. § 39.

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Protagoras [m], born of poor parents, and employed in ſervile occupations, was diſcovered and brought up by Democritus, who directed and expanded his genius. This is the ſame Protagoras who became one of the moſt illuſtrious ſophiſts of Athens, in which city he took up his reſidence. He compiled laws for the Thurians in Italy [n], wrote on philoſophy, was accuſed of atheiſm, and baniſhed Attica. His works were rigorouſly ſought after in private houſes, and burnt in the market place [o].

I know not whether we ſhould attribute to the circumſtances of the times, or the nature of the human mind, a certain ſingularity which I have frequently obſerved with admiration. No ſooner does a man of abilities and genius make his appearance in a city, than other men of genius emerge from obſcurity, who, but for him, might poſſibly never have been able to diſplay themſelves. Cadmus and Thales in Miletus, Pythagoras in Italy, Parmenides in the city of Elea, Æſchylus and Socrates in Athens, have created, if I may ſo ſpeak, in theſe different countries, generations of emulous minds, eager to equal or ſurpaſs their models. Even Abdera, that little town, heretofore ſo celebrated for the ſtupidity of its inhabitants [p], had ſcarcely produced Democritus before Protagoras appeared; and he again will be ſucceeded by a citizen of the ſame place, by Anaxarchus, who has already given the moſt unequivocal preſages of future excellence [q].

Among the authors who have written on philoſophy, I muſt not omit the dark Heraclitus of Epheſus; for he has merited this epithet by the obſcurity of his ſtyle [r]. This man, of the moſt gloomy character and intolerable pride, be-

[m] Bruck. Hiſt. Philoſ. t. i. p. 1200.
[n] Heracl. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 9. § 50.
[o] Diogen. Laert. lib. 9. § 52. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 23. p. 426. Suid. in Πρω. αγ.
[p] Cicer. ibid. cap. 43. t. ii. p. 433. Juven. Sat. 10. v. 50.
[q] Diogen. Laert. in Anaxarch. lib. 9. § 58.
[r] Cicer. de Finib. lib. 2. cap. 5. Senec. Epiſt. 12. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 5. p. 676.

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gan by acknowledging that he knew nothing, and ended by declaring that he knew every thing [s]. The Epheſians wiſhed to place him at the head of their republic, which he refuſed, being offended at their having exiled his friend Hermodorus [t]. They aſked him for a code of laws. He anſwered, that they were too corrupt [u]. Having rendered himſelf univerſally odious, he quitted Epheſus, and retired into the neighbouring mountains, feeding only on wild herbs, and deriving no other ſatisfaction from his meditations than what aroſe from his increaſed hatred of mankind.

Socrates having finiſhed reading a work of Heraclitus, ſaid to Euripides who lent it him, "What I underſtood of it is excellent; I make no doubt but the remainder is ſo likewiſe: but you riſk drowning yourſelf in it, if you are nót as ſkilful as a Delian diver [x]."

The works of theſe celebrated writers were accompanied by many others, the authors of which are leſs generally known. Whilſt I was congratulating Euclid on poſſeſſing ſo valuable a collection, I ſaw a man, venerable from his countenance, his age, and deportment, enter the library. His hair flowed upon his ſhoulders, and his brow was bound with a diadem and a crown of myrtle. This was Callias the Hierophant, or high prieſt of Ceres, the intimate friend of Euclid, who was ſo attentive as to introduce me to him, and prepoſſeſs him in my favour. After ſome moments converſation, I returned to my books, examining them with an eagerneſs which did not eſcape Callias. He aſked me whether it would give me pleaſure to acquire ſome idea of the doctrines they contained. I will anſwer you, ſaid I with vivacity, as one of my anceſtors formerly did Solon [y]: "I have quitted Scythia, I have traverſed immenſe countries, and braved the tempeſts of the Euxine ſea, only to come and ſeek inſtruction among

[s] Diogen. Laert. lib. 9. § 5.
[t] Id. ibid. § 2 et 6.
[u] Id. ibid. § 2.
[x] Id. in Socr. lib. 2. § 22. Id. in Heracl. lib. 9. § 11. Suid in Δᾶλ.
[y] Lucian. de Gymnaſ. § 14. t. ii. p. 892.

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you." My reſolution is taken, I will never leave this place: I am going to devour the writings of your ſages; for, from their labours, we muſt undoubtedly learn ſublime truths eſſential to the happineſs of man. Callias ſmiled at my determination, perhaps with a mixture of compaſſion: we ſhall ſee by the following diſcourſe.

CHAP. XXX.

CONTINUATION OF THE PRECEDING CHAPTER.

Diſcourſe of the High Prieſt of Ceres on Firſt Cauſes.

I ONCE dreamed, ſaid Callias, that I was ſuddenly tranſported into an high road, in the midſt of an immenſe multitude, compoſed of perſons of all ages, ſexes, and conditions. We preſſed forward with rapid ſteps, each with a bandage over his eyes; ſome uttering ſhouts of joy, but the greater part oppreſſed with chagrin and liſtleſſneſs. I knew not whence I came nor whither I was going. I interrogated thoſe around me. Some anſwered: We are as ignorant as yourſelf, but we follow thoſe who precede us, and precede thoſe who follow us. Others replied: What ſignify theſe queſtions to us? Look at theſe people who are preſſing us; we muſt repulſe them in our turn. Others, again, more rational, ſaid to me, The gods have ordained us to run this race, and we obey their commands without either participating in the idle joy, or ſharing in the fruitleſs ſorrow of this multitude. I was ſuffering myſelf to be hurried away by the crowd, when I heard a voice exclaiming, This is the path of knowledge and of truth. I turned and haſtily followed, when a man ſeizing me by the hand, took off my bandage and led me into a foreſt, where I could ſee no more than when I was blinded. We ſoon loſt all traces of the path in which we before were, and met with a great number of perſons who had loſt themſelves like

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us. Their guides never fell in with each other without coming to blows, for it was the intereſt of each to ſeduce as many followers as poſſible from the reſt: they bore torches, and kept ſhaking them in order to dazzle us with the ſparks. I often changed my conductor, and often fell among precipices; frequently too I found myſelf ſtopped by an impenetrable wall, in which caſes my guides diſappeared, leaving me in all the horror of deſpair. Exhauſted by fatigue, I regretted that I had ever quitted the road followed by the multitude, and awaked full of this regret.

O my ſon, men lived for many ages in a ſtate of ignorance which left their reaſon at peace! Contented with the confuſed traditions tranſmitted to them concerning the origin of things, they lived happy, without ſeeking to enlarge their ſphere of knowledge. But for theſe laſt two hundred years, agitated by a ſecret inquietude, they have endeavoured to penetrate the myſteries of nature, on which they formerly beſtowed no attention; and this new malady of the human mind has ſubſtituted great errors for violent prejudices.

When it was diſcovered that God, the univerſe, and man, were ſublime objects of meditation, the mind of the obſerver ſeemed to acquire new elevation; for nothing inſpires more elevated ideas or more extenſive views than the ſtudy of nature; and, as the ambition of the mind is as active and inſatiable as that of the heart, men wiſhed to meaſure ſpace, fathom infinity, and purſue the windings of that chain which, in the immenſity of its folds, embraces all beings.

The works of the firſt philoſophers are didactic and unornamented. They proceed only on principles and conſequences, like thoſe of geometricians [z]; but the grandeur of the ſubject diffuſes a majeſty over them, which not unfrequently inſpires an intereſt and reſpect from their very title. The author announces that he is about to treat *of Nature, of Heaven, of the World, of the Soul of the World.* Democritus begins one

[z] See Ocellus Lucanus and Timæus of Locris.

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of his treatiſes in theſe important words: *I ſpeak of the Univerſe* [a].

In examining this enormous collection, where the moſt vivid light flaſhes forth from amidſt the moſt profound obſcurity, where exceſs of delirium is joined to the depth of wiſdom; where man has at once diſplayed the ſtrength and weakneſs of his reaſon, remember, O my ſon, that Nature is concealed under a brazen veil, that the united efforts of men and ages never can lift up the extremity of this covering, and that the ſcience of philoſophy conſiſts in decerning the point where myſtery begins, and its wiſdom in revering it.

In our days we have ſeen the exiſtence of the Deity either totally denied, or called in queſtion, that exiſtence ſo long and uniformly atteſted by the conſent of all nations [b]. Some philoſophers formally reject it [c]; others overturn it by their principles. But all thoſe reaſoners who attempt to fathom the eſſence of that infinite being, or to account for his operations, neceſſarily loſe themſelves in the incomprehenſibility of their ſubject.

Aſk them, What is God? they will anſwer, That which has neither beginning nor end [d];—a pure ſpirit [e];—an extremely ſubtle matter, air [f];—a fire endowed with intelligence [g];—the world [h]. No; the ſoul of the world to which it is united, as the ſoul is to the body [i].—He is the ſingle principle of all things [k].—He is the principle of good; matter is the principle of evil [l].—Every thing is executed by his command and under his eye [m]. No; every thing is performed

[a] Cicer. Acad. cap. 23. t. ii. p. 31.
[b] Ariſtot. de Cœl. lib. 1. cap. 3 t. i. p. 434.
[c] Plut. de Plac. Philoſ. lib. 1. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 880.
[d] Thal. ap. Diog. Laert l. 1. § 36.
[e] Anaxag. ap. Ariſtot. de Anim. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. i. p. 621. ap. Cicer de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 405.
[f] Diogen. Apoll. ap. Cicer. ibid. c. 12. Anaxim. ap. Cicer. ibid. cap. 10.
[g] Pythag. ap. Bruck. t. i. p. 1077. Democr ap. Plut de Plac Philoſ. lib 1. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 881.
[h] Ariſtot. ap. Cic ibid. cap. 13. Heracl. Pont. ap. Cicer. ibid.
[i] Thales ap. Plut. ibid. Pythag. ap. Cicer. ibid. cap. 11.
[k] Xenophan. ap. Cicer. Acad. 11. cap. 37. t. ii p. 49
[l] Tim. Locr. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 93. Plat. in Tim p. 47. Id. de Rep. t. ii. p. 273.
[m] Plat. ibid.

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by ſubordinate agents .... O my ſon! adore God, and ſeek not to know him.

Aſk them, What is the univerſe? they will anſwer, Whatever is, has always been; the world therefore is eternal [n].—No; it is not eternal, but matter is [o].—This matter, ſuſceptible of every form, poſſeſſed none in particular [p],—It had a form, it had ſeveral, it had an unlimited number of forms; for it is nothing but water [q], but air [r], but fire [s], but the elements [t], but an aſſemblage of atoms [u], but an infinite number of incorruptible elements, of ſimilar particles, which form every ſpecies of being by their combination. This matter ſubſiſted motionleſs in chaos; intelligence communicated to it its activity, and the world appeared [x]. No; it had an irregular motion; God communicated regularity to it by infuſing into it a portion of his eſſence, and the world was made [y]. —No; the atoms were floating in the void, and the univerſe was the reſult of their fortuitous concourſe [z].—No; in nature there are but two elements, which have produced and preſerved every thing; earth, and fire which animates earth [a]. —No; to the four elements we muſt add love that unites their parts, and hatred that ſeparates them [b]..... O my ſon! waſte not your days in ſtudying the nature of the univerſe, but employ them in filling, as becomes you, the little ſpace you occupy in it.

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[n] Ocell. Lucan. in init. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 6. Hiſt. des Cauſes Prem. t. i. p. 387.

[o] Ariſtot. de Cœlo, lib. 1. cap. 10. t. i. p. 447.

[p] Tim. Locr. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 94. Plat. in Tim ibid. p. 51, &c.

[q] Thales ap. Ariſtot. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 842. Plut. de Plac. Philoſ. lib. 1. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 875.

[r] Anaxim. et Diogen. ap. Ariſtot. ibid. Plut. ibid.

[s] Hipp. et Heracl. ap. Ariſtot. ibid.

[t] Emped. ap. Ariſtot. ibid.

[u] Dem. ap. Diogen. Laert. lib. 9. § 44. Plut. ibid. p. 877.

[x] Anaxag. ap. Ariſtot. de Cœlo, lib. 3 et 4. t. i. p. 477, &c.; ap. Plut. de Plac. Philoſ. lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 876; ap. Diog. Laert. in Anaxag. lib. 2. § 6.

[y] Tim. Locr. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 95. Plat. in Tim. p. 34.

[z] Plut. de Plac. Philoſ. lib. 1. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 878.

[a] Parmen. ap. Ariſtot. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 847.

[b] Emped. ap. Ariſtot. ibid. cap. 4. p. 844.

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Ask them, in fine, What is man? they will answer, Man exhibits the same phænomena and the same contradictions as the universe of which he is the abstract [c]. The principle which has at all times been distinguished by the name of soul and intelligence, is a nature perpetually in motion [d].—It is a number which moves of itself [e].—It is a pure spirit, say they, which has nothing in common with bodies.—But if so, how can it be acquainted with them [f]?—It is rather a very subtle air [g]—a very active fire [h]—a flame emanating from the sun [i]—a portion of æther [k]—a very light water [l]—a mixture of several elements [m].—It is an assemblage of igneous and spherical atoms, similar to those subtle particles of matter which we see floating in the rays of the sun [n]. It is a simple being.—No; it is a compound being; it is composed of several principles, it is composed of several opposite qualities [o].—It is the blood circulating in our veins [p]. This soul is diffused through our whole body; it resides only in the brain, in the heart [q], in the diaphragm [r]. It perishes with us.—No; it is unperishable; but it animates other bodies;—but it reunites with the soul of the universe [s] . . . . . O my son! regulate the emotions and passions of your soul, and seek not to comprehend its essence.

Such is the general picture of the opinions which men have invented on the most important subjects of philosophy. This

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[c] Vita Pythagor. ap. Photium, p. 1317.
[d] Thales ap. Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib 4. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 898.
[e] Pythag. ap. Plut. ibid. Xenocr. ap. eumd. de Procr. Anim. t. ii. p. 1012. Aristot. Topic. lib. 6. cap. 3. t. i. p. 243.
[f] Aristot. de Anim. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. i. p. 621.
[g] Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 4. cap. 3.
[h] Aristot. ibid.
[i] Epicharm. ap. Varr. de Ling. Lat. lib. 4. p. 17.
[k] Pythag. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 38.
[l] Hippon. ap. Aristot. ibid. p. 620.
[m] Emped. ap. Id. ibid. p. 619.
[n] Democr. et Leucipp. ap. Aristot. ibid. p. 619; ap. Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. p. 93. Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 4. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 898.
[o] Aristot. ibid. Plut. ibid. cap. 3 et 4.
[p] Critias ap. Aristot. ibid. p. 621. Macrob. de Somn. Scip. lib. 1. cap. 14.
[q] Emped. ap. Cicer. Tusc. cap. 9. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 439.
[r] Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 4. cap. 5. p. 899.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 7. Cicer. Tusc. cap. 9. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 239.

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abundance of ideas is in effect a real dearth; and that pile of learning you have before your eyes, that pretended treasure of sublime knowledge, no other than a wretched heap of errors and contradictions. Look not there for systems uniform and correct in all their parts, for clear expositions, and solutions applicable to every phænomena of nature. Almost all these authors are unintelligible, because they are too concise; they are so, because they fear to shock the opinions of the multitude. They envelope their doctrine in expressions either metaphorical or contrary to their real principles; in fine, they are unintelligible, because they affect to be so. to elude difficulties they had not foreseen, or which they find themselves unable to resolve.

If, nevertheless, dissatisfied with the conclusions you have just heard, you wish to acquire a cursory knowledge of their principal systems, you will be terrified at the nature of the questions which they presum to discuss at the very outset. Is there but one principle in the universe? Ought we to admit several? If there be but one, is it moveable or immoveable? If there be several, are they finite or infinite [t]?

But the great question is, to explain the formation of the universe, and to assign the cause of that astonishing number of species and individual beings which nature presents to our eyes. The forms and qualities of bodies vary, and are in a perpetual state of destruction and reproduction; but the matter of which they are composed eternally subsists; and the imagination is able to pursue it through all its numberless divisions and subdivisions, until it at length arrives at a simple being, the first principle of the universe and of all individual bodies [u]. The founders of the Ionian school, and some philosophers of other schools, applied themselves to discover this simple and indivisible being. Some imagined it to be the

[t] Aristot de Nat. Auscult. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. i. p. 316.

[u] Id. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 842.

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element of water [x]; others air; others again, combined earth and fire with these two elements; and a fourth sect supposed, that from all eternity there had existed, in the primitive mass, an immense number of motionless parts, determinate in form and kind; and that nothing more was requisite than to collect all the scattered particles of air, in order to form that element; all the atoms of gold to compose that metal, and so on with every other species of matter [y].

The sole object of these differet systems was the material and passive principle of things; but it was soon discovered that a second principle was necessary to bestow activity on the former. Fire appeared, in general, to be an agent equal to the composition and decomposition of bodies; whilst others imagined they perceived in the particles of crude matter a sort of sympathy and antipathy capable of alternately separating and uniting them [z]. These, and other hypotheses since substituted for them, being inapplicable to all the varieties of nature, their authors were often under the necessity of recurring to other principles, or of sinking under the weight of difficulties, like those wrestlers who, entering the lists without being sufficiently inured to discipline proper for their exercise, owe the petty successes on which they pride themselves to chance [a].

The order and beauty which are apparent through the whole universe, compelled men at length to refer them to an intelligent cause. This the early philosophers of the Ionian school had acknowledged [b]; but Anaxagoras, possibly following Hermotimus, was the first who distinguished it from matter, and positively pronounced that all things existed from eternity in the primitive mass, and that intelligence imparted its activity to this mass, and brought it into order.

[x] Id. ibid. p. 842. Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 1. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 875.
[y] Aristot. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 3 t. ii. p. 843.
[z] Emped. ap. Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 1. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 878.
[a] Aristot. Metaph. lib 1. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 844.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 843. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 405.

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Before the Ionian school had attained to this elevated truth, which, after all, was no more than the ancient tradition of all nations, Pythagoras, or rather his disciples; for, notwithstanding we are so near the time in which he lived, it is impossible to learn the genuine opinions of this extraordinary man; some Pythagoreans, I say, considered the universe as matter animated by an intelligence which sets the whole in motion, and is so intimately diffused through all its parts, as to be incapable of separation from it [c]. This intelligence may be considered as the author of all things, as a very subtle fire, a most pure flame, or as the force which has subdued matter, and still holds it enchained [d]. As its essence cannot be an object of the senses, to express it let us borrow, not the language of the senses, but that of the mind. Let us give to intelligence, or the active principle of the universe, the name of monad or unity because it must be always the same; to matter, or the passive principle, that of dyad or multiplicity, because it is subject to every kind of change; and to the world, that of triad, since it was the result of intelligence and matter.

Several of the disciples of Pythagoras have occasionally annexed other ideas to these expressions, but they have almost universally sought for properties, by the knowledge of which they might attain that of nature, in the science of numbers; properties which to them seemed to be indicated in the phænomena of sonorous bodies [e].

If we take a string, and divide it successively into two, three, and four parts, in each half we shall have the octave of the whole; in the three fourth its fourth; in the two thirds its fifth. The octave then will be as 1 to 2; the fourth, as 3 to 4; and the fifth, as 2 to 3. The importance

[c] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 405.
[d] Justin. Mart. Orat. ad Gent. p. 10.
[e] Aristot. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 845.

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of this obſervation made them give to the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, the name of the *ſacred quaternary*.

Such were the proportions of Pythagoras [f], ſuch the principles on which was founded the muſical ſyſtem of all nations, and particularly of that which this philoſopher found among the Greeks, and which he improved by his diſcoveries.

In conſequence of theſe diſcoveries, which are to be aſcribed to the Egyptians, it was eaſy to conclude, that the laws of harmony are invariable, and that Nature herſelf has irrevocably fixed the value and the intervals of tones. But as ſhe is always uniform in her works, why may not ſhe have obſerved the ſame laws in the general ſyſtem of the univerſe? This idea was a new ray of light to active minds, prepared for enthuſiaſm by retirement, abſtinence, and meditation; to men who religiouſly dedicate every day ſome hours to muſic, and eſpecially to the acquiring of a juſt intonation [g].

Preſently it was diſcovered that the numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4 [h], not only contain one of the principles of the muſical ſyſtem, but alſo thoſe of phyſics, and even of morals. Every thing was conſidered as proportion and harmony; time, juſtice, friendſhip, and intelligence, were no other than the relations of numbers [i].

Empedocles admitted four elements, water, air, earth, and fire. Other Pythagoreans diſcovered four faculties in the ſoul [k]; all our virtues proceeded from four principal virtues. As the numbers which compoſe the ſacred quaternary produce, when combined, the number 10, the moſt perfect of all; from this very combination [l] ten ſpheres were to be admitted in the heavens, though they contain but nine [m].

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[f] Rouſſier, Mem. ſur la Muſique des Anciens, p. 39.

[g] Plut. de Virtut. Mor. t. ii. p. 441. Ariſtid. Quintil. de Muſic. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 116. Boeth. de Muſ. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 1373.

[h] Sext. Empir. adv. Arithm. lib. 4. § 2. p. 331.

[i] Ariſtot. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 845. Diogen. Laert. in Pythag. lib. 8. § 33.

[k] Plut. de Plac. Philoſ. lib. 1. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 877.

[l] Id. ibid. p. 876.

[m] Ariſtot. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 845.

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Such of the Pythagoreans, in fine, as ſuppoſed the univerſe to be animated by a ſoul, were unable to give any more ſatisfactory ſolution of the motion of the heavens, and the diſtance of the celeſtial bodies from the earth, than by eſtimating the degrees of activity poſſeſſed by this ſoul from the centre to the circumference of the univerſe [n]. Now, if we divide this immenſe ſpace into thirty-ſix intervals, or rather imagine a line extending from the centre of the earth to the extremeties of the planetary world, and divided into thirty-ſix parts, at the diſtance of a tone or ſemitone from each other, we ſhall have the muſical ſcale of the univerſal ſoul [o]. The celeſtial bodies are placed at different degrees of this ſcale, at diſtances relatively proportionate to each other, as in the ratios of the fifth and the other conſonances. Their motions, directed after the ſame proportions, produce a delightful and divine harmony. The Muſes, like ſo many ſyrens, have placed their thrones upon the ſtars; they regulate the cadenced motions of the celeſtial ſpheres, and preſide over thoſe eternal and raviſhing concerts which can be heard only in the ſilence of the paſſions [p], and which are ſaid to have filled the ſoul of Pythagoras with the pureſt delight [q].

The proportions which ſome wiſhed to eſtabliſh between the diſtances and motions of the celeſtial ſpheres, others pretended to diſcover in the magnitude of the planets, or in the diameters of their orbits [r].

This theory is overthrown by the laws of nature; but when it made its appearance, thoſe laws were ſcarcely known; and had they been better underſtood, men would not have had the courage to renounce the illuſions of a ſyſtem originating in, and embelliſhed by, imagination.

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[n] Tim. Locr. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 36. Plat. in Tim. p. 36.

[o] Batt. Remarq. ſur Timée, dans l'Hiſtoire des Cauſes Premieres, t. ii. p. 97.

[p] Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 617. Ariſtot. de Cœlo, lib. 2. cap. 9. t. i. p. 463. Plut. de Anim. Procr. t. ii. p. 1029.

[q] Empedocl. ap. Porphyr. de Vitâ Pythag. p. 35. Jambl. cap. 15. p. 52.

[r] Plut. ibid. p. 1028.

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Not leſs chimerical, but ſtill more unintelligible, is another principle admitted by many Pythagoreans. According to the obſervations of Heraclitus of Epheſus [s], bodies are in a continual ſtate of evaporation and fluidity: the particles of matter of which they are compoſed are perpetually eſcaping, in order to give place to others, which will fly off in their turn, until the moment of the diſſolution of the whole formed by their combination [t]. This imperceptible motion, but which is real and common to all ſenſible beings, is every inſtant altering their qualities, and transforming them into other beings which retain only an apparent conformity with the former. We are not to-day what we were yeſterday: to-morrow we ſhall no longer be what we are to-day [u]. It is with us as with the ſhip of Theſeus, which we ſtill preſerve, though the component parts of it have been frequently renewed.

Now, what certain and permanent ideas can reſult from this fluctuation of all things; from this impetuous current, this flowing and ebbing of the fugitive particles of all beings? What inſtant would you ſeize to meaſure an object which is inceſſantly increaſing and decreaſing [x]? Our knowledge of every kind, variable as the object it embraces, could therefore poſſeſs nothing fixed and ſtable; for us there could be neither truth nor wiſdom, did not Nature herſelf lay open to us the foundations of ſcience and of virtue.

It is Nature which, by withholding from us the faculty of diſcovering all the individuals of a ſpecies, and permitting us to arrange them under certain claſſes, raiſes our minds to the contemplation of the primitive ideas of things [y]. Senſible objects are indeed ſubject to changes; but the general idea of

[s] Ariſtot. de Cœlo, lib. 3 cap. 1. t. i. p. 473. Id. Metaph. lib 1. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 847. Ibid. lib. 11. cap. 4. p. 957.

[t] Plat. in Conv. t. iii. p. 207.

[u] Epicharm. ap. Diog. Laert. in Plat. lib. 3. § 11.

[x] Id. ibid. § 10. Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 152 Jambl. cap. 29. p. 136.

[y] Plut. de Plac. Philoſ. lib. 1. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 877.

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a man, a tree, of genera and ſpecies, admits of none. Theſe ideas then are immutable; and far from being regarded as ſimple abſtractions of the mind, ſhould be conſidered as actual beings, as the genuine eſſences of things [z]. Thus the tree and the cube you have before your eyes are but the copy and image of the cube and tree which have exiſted from all eternity in the intellectual world, in that pure and glorious abode where juſtice, beauty, virtue, and all the prototypes of every ſubſtance and every form, have eternally reſided.

But what influence can ideas and the proportions between numbers have on the univerſe? Intelligence which, according to Pythagoras, penetrates the parts of matter, is continually employed in reducing to order and modelling theſe parts, ſometimes in one way, ſometimes in another, preſiding over the rapid and ſucceſſive renovation of generations, deſtroying individuals, preſerving ſpecies, but conſtantly obliged, as ſome affirm, to regulate its ſtupendous operations by the eternal proportions of numbers; and, as others ſay, to conſult the eternal ideas of things, which are to it what a model is to an artiſt.

After the example of this divine intelligence, the ſage ſhould conſtantly have his eyes fixed on one of theſe two principles; either to produce in his ſoul the harmony he admires in the univerſe, or to imitate in his own perſon the virtues, the divine eſſence of which has been the object of his contemplation.

By thus bringing into a cloſer point of view a few of the ſcattered outlines of the works you have before you, I have endeavoured to explain the particular ſyſtems of ſome of the Pythagoreans. But the doctrine of numbers is ſo obſcure, ſo profound, and ſo engaging to minds of little reflection, that it has given birth to a multitude of opinions.

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[z] Plat. in Parmen. t. iii. p. 132, 135. Cicer. Orat. cap. 3. t. i. p. 422.

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Some have diſtinguiſhed numbers from ideas or ſpecies [a]; others have confounded them with ſpecies, as they, in fact, contain a certain quantity of individuals [b]. It has been ſaid that numbers exiſt ſeparately from bodies; it has been alleged too that they exiſt in bodies themſelves [c]. Sometimes number ſeems to deſignate the element of extent; it is the ſubſtance, or principle, and laſt term of bodies, as points are of lines, ſurfaces, and all magnitude [d]; ſometimes it expreſſes only the form of the primitive elements [e]. Thus the terreſtrial element has the form of a ſquare; fire, air, and water, have that of the different ſpecies of triangles, and theſe various configurations ſuffice to explain all the effects of nature [f]. This myſterious term, in a word, is in general no more than an arbitrary ſign to expreſs either nature and the eſſence of the firſt elements, or their forms, their proportions, their ideas, or the eternal models of all things.

We muſt here obſerve that Pythagoras did not affirm that all things were formed by the virtue of numbers, but according to the proportions of numbers [g]. If, in contempt of his expreſs words, ſome of his diſciples [h], imputing a real exiſtence and ſecret virtue to numbers, have conſidered them as the conſtituent principles of the univerſe, they have ſo groſsly neglected to unfold and explain their ſyſtem, that we muſt be obliged to leave them to their impenetrable profundity.

The obſcurity and contradictions the reader meets with in peruſing theſe productions, ariſe, 1ſt, from the abſtruſeneſs with which the queſtions are treated by their authors; 2dly, from the diverſity of acceptations in which the words *being*, *principle*, *cauſe*, *element*, *ſubſtance*, and all the terms made uſe

[a] Ariſtot. Metaphyſ. lib. 11. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 953.
[b] Plat. in Phileb. t. ii. p. 18.
[c] Ariſtot. ibid. cap. 2. p. 953.
[d] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 1 et 8; lib. 12. cap. 3.
[e] Id. ibid. lib. 12. cap. 5.
[f] Tim. Locr. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 98.
[g] Thean. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. lib. 1. p. 27.
[h] Ariſtot. de Cœlo, lib. 3. cap. 1. t. i. p. 474. Id. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 5 et 6. t. ii. p. 845 et 848.

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of in philoſophic language, may be taken [j]; 3dly, from the ornaments with which the early interpreters of nature embelliſhed their dogmas, for, writing in verſe, they addreſſed themſelves more frequently to the imagination than to reaſon [k]; 4thly, from the variety of methods introduced into certain ſchools. Several diſciples of Pythagoras, while examining into the principles of beings, fixed their attention on the nature of our ideas, and paſſed, almoſt without perceiving it, from the ſenſible to the intellectual world. The infant ſcience of metaphyſics now obtained the preference over that of natural philoſophy, and as thoſe laws of rigid dialectics which check the mind in its deviations were not yet formed [l], reaſon imperiouſly ſubſtituted her teſtimony for that of the ſenſes. Nature, which uniformly tends to ſingle operations [m], preſents nothing but multitude and changes: reaſon, which ever attempts to generalize, beholds nothing but unity and immobility; and, ſoaring on the wings of enthuſiaſm and imagination [n], roſe from abſtraction to abſtraction, and reached a height of theory, at which the moſt attentive mind is ſcarcely able to ſuſtain itſelf.

It was more particularly in the Elean ſchool that the art or licentiouſneſs of reaſoning diſplayed all its reſources. There two orders of ideas were eſtabliſhed: the firſt having bodies and their ſenſible qualities for their object; the ſecond conſidering being purely in itſelf, and unconnected with exiſtence. Hence reſulted two methods: the one founded, as was pretended, on the evidence of reaſon and truth; the other on that of the ſenſes and opinion [o]. Both proceeded nearly in the ſame ſteps. Hitherto the philoſophers who availed themſelves of the authority of the ſenſes, imagined they had diſ-

[j] Id. Metaph. lib. 5. cap. 1, &c. t. ii. p. 883, &c. Id. de Anim. lib. 1. cap. 7. t. i. p. 627.
[k] Id. Meteorol. lib. 2. cap. 3. t. i. p. 555.
[l] Id. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 6. p. 848. Id. ibid. lib. 11 cap. 4. p. 957.
[m] Id. ibid lib. 7 cap 16 p. 924.
[n] Parmenid. ap. Sext. Empiric. adv. Logic lib 7. p. 392.
[o] Ariſtot. Nat. Auſcult. lib. 1. cap. 6. t. i. p. 322.

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covered, that to produce an effect, Nature employed two oppoſite principles, as earth and fire. In like manner, the philoſophers who only conſulted reaſon, employed their meditations on entity and non-entity, on finite and infinite, on unity and multiplicity, on equals and unequals [p].

An immeaſurable difficulty was ſtill to be ſurmounted in the application of theſe abſtractions, and the combination of phyſics and metaphyſics. But if ſome have attempted to reconcile theſe, they have effected it with ſo little perſpicuity, as generally to leave their readers ignorant whether they are ſpeaking as natural philoſophers or metaphyſicians. Sometimes we ſhall find Parmenides ſuppoſing neither production nor deſtruction in nature [q]; ſometimes pretending that earth and fire are the principles of all generation [r]. We ſhall ſee others who admit no kind of harmony between the ſenſes and reaſon, and, attentive only to internal knowledge, regard external objects but as ſo many fallacious appearances, and as the inexhauſtible ſources of error and impoſture. Nothing really exiſts, exclaims one of them: if any thing did exiſt, it would be impoſſible to know it; if we could know it, it would be impoſſible to render it ſenſible [s]. Another, who was intimately perſuaded that we ought neither poſitively to deny nor affirm any thing, was doubtful of his words, and explained himſelf only by ſigns [t].

I muſt give you an example of the mode of reaſoning of theſe philoſophers: I ſhall borrow it from Xenophanes, the leader of the Elean ſchool.

Nothing can proceed from nothing [u]. From this principle, adopted by all his diſciples, it follows, that what exiſts muſt

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[p] Ariſtot. Metaph. lib 1. cap. 5. p. 846; lib. 12. cap. 1. p. 971.

[q] Id. de Cœlo, lib. 3. cap. 1. t. i. p. 473

[r] Id. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 5. p. 847; Nat. Auſcult. lib. 1. cap. 6. t. i. p. 321.

[s] Gorgias, ap. Ariſtot. t. i. p. 1248. Iſocr. Helen. Laud. t. ii. p. 115.

[t] Ariſtot. Metaph. lib. 4. cap. 5. t. i. p. 878.

[u] Id. de Xenophan. t. i. p. 1241. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 406. Batt. Hiſt. des Cauſ. Prem. t. i. p. 231.

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be eternal; that what is eternal is infinite, ſince it has neither beginning nor end; what is infinite muſt be ſingle, for if it were otherwiſe it would be ſeveral; one part would be a limit to the other, and it would ceaſe to be infinite; what is ſingle is always ſimilar to itſelf. Now a ſingle, eternal, and always ſimilar being muſt be immoveable, ſince it can neither paſs into the *vacuum* which is nothing, nor into the *plenum* which it already occupies. It muſt be immoveable; for if it were ſubject to the leaſt change, ſomething would happen in it which was not there before, and overthrow the fundamental principle: nothing can proceed from nothing [x].

In this infinite being, therefore, which compriſes all things, and the idea of which is inſeparable from intelligence and eternity [y], there is neither any mingling of parts nor diverſity of forms, nor generation, nor deſtruction [z]. But how can this immutability be reconciled with the ſucceſſive revolutions we behold in nature? They are but an illuſion, anſwers Xenophanes: the univerſe exhibits to us but one moving ſcene; the ſcenery exiſts; but the motion is the work of our ſenſes. No, ſaid Zeno, motion is impoſſible. He ſaid, and proved it ſo as to aſtoniſh his antagoniſts, and reduce them to ſilence [a].

Oh! my ſon, what ſtrange knowledge have theſe celebrated men, who pretend to have brought nature under ſubjection, introduced into the world [b]! and how humiliating were the ſtudy of philoſophy, if, after beginning in doubt [c], it muſt terminate in ſuch paradoxes! Let us do juſtice to thoſe who have advanced them. In general they loved truth, and thinking to diſcover it by means of abſtract ideas, they were led aſtray by implicitly following reaſon, with whoſe boundaries

[x] Bruck. Hiſt. Philoſ. t. i. p. 1148.

[y] Ariſt. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 5. p. 847. Diogen. Laert. in Xenoph. lib. 9. § 19. Sext. Empir. Pyrrhon. Hypot. lib 1. cap. 33. p. 59.

[z] Id. de Cœlo, lib. 3. cap. 1. t. i. p. 473.

[a] Ariſt. Nat. Auſcult. lib. 6. cap. 14. t. i. p. 395. Id. Topic. lib. 8. cap. 8. t. i. p. 274.

[b] Id. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 841.

[c] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 858.

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they were unacquainted. When, after having run the circle of error, they became better informed, they ſtill gave themſelves up with no leſs ardour to the ſame diſcuſſions, eſteeming them proper to fix the mind, and to acquire a greater preciſion of ideas. It muſt not be denied too, that many of theſe philoſophers, little worthy of ſo reſpectable a name, entered the liſts merely to try their ſtrength, and to ſignalize themſelves by triumphs as diſgraceful to the victor as to the vanquiſhed. As reaſon, or rather the art of reaſoning, has had its infancy as well as the other arts, inaccurate definitions, and the frequent abuſe of words, never failed to furniſh new weapons to ſkilful or vigorous diſputants. We have almoſt ſeen the time when, in order to prove that the words one and ſeveral may denote the ſame object, cavillers might be found to maintain that a perſon might be but one in quality of man, but that he might be two in quality of man and muſician [d]. Theſe abſurd puerilities at preſent inſpire only contempt, and are wholly abandoned to the ſophiſts.

It ſtill remains for me to mention to you a ſyſtem as remarkable from its ſingularity as from the reputation of its authors.

The vulgar ſee nothing around the globe which they inhabit but a vault ſhining with light during the day, and ſparkling with ſtars during the night. Theſe are the limits of their univerſe. That of ſome philoſophers has no bounds, and has been enlarged almoſt in our time to a degree that overawes and terrifies the imagination.

The firſt idea was, that the moon was inhabited; then that the ſtars were ſo many worlds, and that the number of theſe worlds muſt be infinite, ſince none of them could ſerve as a boundary or circumference to the others [e]. What an exten-

[d] Plat. in Phileb t. ii. p. 14.

[e] Xenoph. ap. Diogen. Laert. lib. 9. § 19. Plut. de Plac. Philoſ. lib. 1. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 875; cap. 5. p. 879, lib. 2 cap. 13. p. 888. Cicer. de Finib. lib. 2. c. 31. t. ii. p. 136. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. ix. p. 10.

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ſive view did this open at once to the human mind! Though we employ eternity itſelf to traverſe the immeaſurable ſpace; borrow the wings of Aurora; fly to the planet of Saturn, into the heavens which extend above that planet, ſtill ſhall we continually find new ſpheres, and worlds accumulating on each other! ſtill ſhall we find infinity throughout, in matter, in ſpace, in motion, in the number of worlds and ſtars that embelliſh them; and, after millions of years, ſcarcely ſhall we be acquainted with a few points of the vaſt empire of Nature! Oh! how has this ſublime theory aggrandized the univerſe in our eyes! And if it be true that our ſoul expands with our ideas, and aſſimilates in ſome meaſure with the objects which it penetrates, how greatly ſhould man pride himſelf in having fathomed what is in itſelf ſo inconceivably profound!

Pride himſelf! exclaimed I with ſurpriſe; and wherefore, moſt venerable Callias? My mind is overwhelmed at the very idea of this boundleſs greatneſs, before which all other greatneſs is annihilated. You, myſelf, all men, are no more in my eyes than inſects in an immenſe ocean, in which kings and conquerors are diſtinguiſhed only becauſe they agitate a little more than others the particles of water that ſurround them. At theſe words Callias ſurveyed me, and, after a moment's reflection, ſeizing my hand, replied, My ſon, an inſect that obtains a glimpſe of infinity, partakes of that greatneſs which aſtoniſhes you. He then reſumed his diſcourſe.

Among the artiſts who have paſſed their lives in compoſing and decompoſing worlds, Leucippus and Democritus, rejecting numbers, ideas, harmonical proportions, and that ſcaffolding till then erected by metaphyſics, admitted, after the example of ſome philoſophers, only a vacuum and atoms as the principles of all things; but they deprived thoſe atoms of the qualities aſcribed to them, leaving them only figure and motion [f]. Let us hear Leucippus and Demoeritus.

[f] Moſhem. in Cudworth, cap. 1. §1 | 18. t. i. p. 30. Bruck. Hiſt. Philoſ. t. i. p. 1173.

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The univerſe is infinite: It contains an infinity of worlds and vortices which are perpetually producing [g], periſhing, and reproducing: but no ſupreme intelligence preſides over theſe ſtupendous revolutions; every thing in nature is effected by mechanical and ſimple laws. Do you wiſh to know how one of theſe worlds is formed? Imagine an infinity of eternal, indiviſible, unalterable atoms, of every form and ſize, hurried into an immenſe void by a blind and rapid motion [h]. After multiplied and violent ſhocks, the moſt unwieldy are detruded and compreſſed into a point of ſpace which becomes the centre of a vortex; the moſt ſubtle fly off on every ſide, and ſhoot to different diſtances. In a ſeries of ages the former compoſe earth and water, the latter air and fire. This laſt element, conſiſting of active and light globules, extends itſelf like a luminous dome around the earth: the air agitated by this perpetual flux of corpuſcles, which riſe from the inferior regions, becomes an impetuous current; and this current hurries along the ſtars which were ſucceſſively formed within its boſom [i].

Every thing in phyſics as well as morals may be explained by this mechaniſm, and without the intervention of an intelligent cauſe. It is from the union of atoms that the ſubſtance of all bodies is formed; it is from their figure and arrangement that cold, heat, colours, and all the varieties of nature are derived [k]; it is their motion which inceſſantly produces, alters, and deſtroys beings; and as this motion is neceſſary, we have given it the name of deſtiny and fatality [l]. Our ſenſations, our ideas, are produced by thin images of every object, which are continually detaching themſelves to affect

[g] Diog. Laert. in Leucipp. lib. 9. § 30, &c. Id. in Democr. ibid. § 44. Bruck. ibid. p. 1175 et 1187. Hiſt. des Cauſes Premieres, p. 363.

[h] Ariſtot. de Gener. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. i. p. 493. Id. de Cœlo, lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 478. Plut. de Plac. Philoſ. lib. 1. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 877. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 24. t. ii. p. 416.

[i] Plut. de Plac. Phil. l. 1. c. 4. t. ii. p. 878.

[k] Ariſtot. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 845. Diogen. Laert. in Pyrrh. lib. 9. § 72.

[l] Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. lib. 1. cap. 8. p. 10.

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our organs [m]. Our ſoul periſhes with the body [n], becauſe, like fire, it is only compoſed of ſubtile globules, the continuity of which is broken by death [o]; and ſince there is nothing real in nature, except atoms and the void [p], we are compelled by a ſeries of inductions to admit that opinion conſtitutes the only difference between vice and virtue [q].

Oh! my ſon, proſtrate thyſelf before the Deity [r]; deplore in his preſence the wanderings of the human mind, and vow to be at leaſt as virtuous as thoſe philoſophers in general were whoſe principles tended to deſtroy virtue; for it is not in writings unknown to the multitude, in ſyſtems generated in a heated imagination, or produced by a reſtleſſneſs of mind, or by the deſire of celebrity, that you muſt ſtudy the ideas entertained of morals by their authors: it is in their conduct, it is in thoſe works where, attentive only to truth and public utility, they render that homage to morals and to virtue which has been conſtantly paid to them in all ages, and in every nation.

CHAP. XXXI.

Continuation of the Library. Aſtronomy.

CALLIAS departed after he had finiſhed his diſcourſe; and Euclid addreſſing me, ſaid, I have been long endeavouring to find in Sicily the work of Petron of Himera, who not only admitted the plurality of worlds, but ventured even to aſcertain their number [s]. How many do you think he reckoned? One hundred and eighty-three. Like the Egyptians, he com-

[m] Diogen. Laert. in Democr. lib. 9. § 44. Plut. de Plac. Philoſ. lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 899. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 38. t. ii. p. 429.

[n] Plut. ibid. cap. 7.

[o] Ariſtot. de Anim. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. i. p. 619.

[p] Sext. Empir. Pyrrh. Hypot. lib. 1. cap. 30. p. 54. Id. adv. Log. lib. 7. p. 399.

[q] Cudworth. de Juſt. et Honeſt. Notit. ad. Calc. Syſt. Intell. § 2. t. ii. p. 629. Bruck. Hiſt. Philoſ. t. i. p. 1199.

[r] Plut. de Orac. Defect. t. ii. p. 422.

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pared the univerſe to a triangle [s]: ſixty worlds are ranged on each of its ſides; and the three others on the three angles. Governed by the peaceful movement which regulates certain dances among us, theſe worlds keep gradually approaching and changing places. The middle of the triangle is the ſeat of truth; there, in a ſtate of profound repoſe, the affinities and models of all that has been, or is to be, reſide. Around theſe pure eſſences is eternity, from the depth of which time proceeds, and, like an inexhauſtible ſtream, flows and is diſtributed among this multitude of worlds [t].

Theſe ideas were not very remote from the Pythagorean ſyſtem of numbers, and I conjecture—Here I interrupted Euclid. Before your philoſophers had gone ſo far in ſearch of a number of worlds, they were acquainted, doubtleſs, with the moſt minute particulars reſpecting that which we inhabit. I ſuppoſe that there is not a ſingle body in our heavens, whoſe nature, magnitude, figure, and motion, they have left undetermined.

That you ſhall judge of, anſwered Euclid. Imagine a circle, or ſort of wheel, the circumference of which, twenty-eight times larger than that of the earth, contains an immenſe body of fire in its concavity. From the nave, the diameter of which is equal to that of the earth, torrents of light are continually eſcaping that illumine our world [u]. Such is the idea we may form of the ſun. We may obtain one of the moon, by ſuppoſing its circumference nineteen times larger than that of our globe [x]. Shall I explain myſelf more ſimply? The igneous particles which ariſe from the earth fly off in the day, and collect in a ſingle point of the heavens to form the ſun; in the night they collect in ſeveral points, and are converted into ſtars. But as theſe exhalations are quickly conſumed, they are perpetually renewed to procure us every day

[s] Id. de Iſid. et Oſir. t. ii. p. 373.
[t] Plut. de Orac. Defect. t. ii. p. 422.
[u] Id. de Plac. Philoſ. lib. 2. cap. 20. t. ii. p. 889 Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. lib. 1. p. 55. Achill. Tat. Iſag. ap. Petav. t. iii. p. 81.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 25. p. 891.

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a new ſun, and every night new ſtars [y]. Nay, it has ſometimes happened that, for want of aliment, the ſun has not been lighted for a whole month [z]. It is for this reaſon that the ſun is obliged to turn round the earth, for if it were ſtationary, it would ſoon expend the vapours by which it is maintained [a].

I liſtened to Euclid; I looked at him with amazement, and at length ſaid to him: I have been told of a people in Thrace, ſo groſsly ignorant as not to be able to reckon beyond the number four [b]: can it be of this people that you relate ſuch abſurd opinions? No, anſwered he; this is the theory of many of our moſt celebrated philoſophers, and, among others, of Anaximander and Heraclitus, the moſt ancient of whom lived but two centuries ago. Hypotheſes leſs extravagant indeed, but equally uncertain, have been ſince maintained, ſome of which have even produced popular inſurrections. Anaxagoras having advanced, in the time of our fathers, that the moon was a globe of earth nearly ſimilar to our own, and the ſun an ignited ſtone, was ſuſpected of impiety, and compelled to leave Athens [c]. The people wiſhed to have theſe bodies placed in the rank of deities; and our latter philoſophers, by occaſionally conforming to their language [d], have diſarmed ſuperſtition, which pardons every thing, provided it be not attacked.

How has it been proved, ſaid I, that the moon reſembles our earth? It has not been proved, anſwered he: it is only preſumed. Somebody had obſerved, that if there were mountains in the moon, the projection of their ſhade might poſſibly produce the ſpots we ſee on its ſurface. An inference

[y] Plat. de Rep. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 498. Plut. ibid. cap. 24. p. 890. Xenoph. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. lib. 1. p. 54. Buck. Hiſt. Philoſ. t. i. p. 1154.

[z] Plut. ibid. cap. 24. Stob. ibid. p. 55.

[a] Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 2. cap. 2. t. i. p. 551.

[b] Id. Probl. ſect. 15. t. ii. p. 752.

[c] Xenophon. Memor. lib. 4. p 815. Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 26. Plut. de Superſt. t. ii. p. 169. Diogen. Laert. in Anaxag. lib. 2. § 8.

[d] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 821, &c.

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was instantly drawn that there were mountains, valleys, rivers plains, and cities in the moon [e]. The next step was to become acquainted with its inhabitants. According to Xenophanes, these live in the same manner as we do on earth [f]. According to some disciples of Pythagoras, the plants in the moon are more beautiful, the animals fifteen times larger, and the days fifteen times longer than ours [g]. And the men, no doubt, said I, fifteen times wiser than those on our globe. This idea pleases my imagination. As nature is still richer in the variety than in the number of different species, I imagine, at pleasure, in the different planets, inhabitants with one, two, three, or four senses more than we possess. I then compare their men of genius with those to whom Greece has given birth; and I own to you that Homer and Pythagoras make but an indifferent appearance in my eyes. Democritus, answered Euclid, has rescued the honour of the human race from this humiliating comparison. Impressed, perhaps, with an opinion of the excellence of our species, he has decided that men are every where individually the same. According to him we exist at once, and in the same manner on our globe, on that of the moon, and in all the worlds of the universe [h].

We frequently represent the deities who preside over the planets in chariots, that being with us the most honourable mode of conveyance. The Egyptians place theirs in boats, their journeys being generally made on the Nile [i]. Hence it was that Heraclitus assigned to the sun and moon the form of a boat [k]. I wave troubling you with the detail of other con-

[e] Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 2. cap. 13 et 25. t. ii. p. 888 et 891. Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. p. 60. Achill. Tat. Isag. ap. Petav. t. iii. p. 83. Cicer. Acad. 2. c. 39. t. ii. p. 51. Procl. in Tim. lib. 4. p. 283.

[f] Xenophan. ap. Lactant. Inst. lib. 3. cap. 23. t. i. p. 253.

[g] Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 2. cap. 30. t. ii. p. 892. Stob. ibid p. 60. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 15. p. 849.

[h] Cicer. Acad. 2. cap. 17. t. ii. p. 25.

[i] Cuper. Harpocr. p. 14. Caylus, Recuiel d'Antiq. t. i. pl. 9. Montfauc. Antiquit. Expliq. Suppl. t. i. pl. 17.

[k] Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 2. cap. 22 et 27. Tat. Isag. cap. 19. ap. Petav. t. iii. p. 82.

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jectures, no less frivolous, which men have hazarded on the figure of the stars. At this day it is pretty generally admitted that their form is spherical [l]. As for their magnitude, it is not long since Anaxagoras asserted that the sun was much larger than Peloponnesus; and Heraclitus that it was really no more than a foot in diameter [m].

You render it unnecessary for me, said I, to interrogate you respecting the dimensions of the other planets; but you have at least assigned them their stations in the heavens?

That arrangement, replied Euclid, has cost much labour, and occasioned many disputes to our philosophers. Some place the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, above the earth: such is the ancient system of the Egyptians [n] and Chaldeans [o]; and such the system Pythagoras introduced into Greece [p].

The opinion most generally received at present arranges the planets in the following order: The Moon, the Sun, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn [q]. The names of Plato, Eudoxus, and Aristotle [r], have given a sanction to this system, which differs only in appearance from the former.

This difference arises from a discovery made in Egypt, and which the Greeks wish, in some measure, to appropriate to themselves. The Egyptian astronomers perceived that the planets Mercury and Venus, the inseparable companions of the sun [s], are carried with the same motion as that luminary, and are incessantly turning round him [t]. The Greeks pretend that Pythagoras first discovered that the star of Juno or Venus,

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l Aristot de Cælo, lib. 2. cap. 8. t. i. p. 461; cap. 11. p. 463.

m Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 2. cap. 21. t. ii. p. 89c.

n Dion. Hist. Rom lib. 37. p. Ricciol. Almag. lib. 9. p. 280.

o Macrob. Somn. Scip cap 19. 124.

p Plin. lib. 2. cap 22. t. i. p. 86. Censor. de Die Nat cap 13. Plut. de Creat. Anim. t. ii. p. 1028. Ricciol. Almag. lib. 9. cap 2. p. 277.

q Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 38. Id de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 616. Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 2. cap. 15. De Mund. ap. Aristot. t. i. p. 602.

r Proc. in Tim. lib. 4. p. 257.

s Tim. Locr. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 96. Cicer. Somn. Scip. t. iii. p. 412.

t Macrob. Somn. Scip. cap. 19.

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that brilliant ſtar which ſometimes appears after the ſetting of the ſun, is the ſame that at other times precedes his riſing [u]. As the Pythagoreans aſcribe the ſame phænomenon to other ſtars and other planets, it does not appear that they have concluded that Venus makes her revolution round the ſun from the obſervation of which they give the honour to Pythagoras. But it follows from the diſcovery of the Egyptian prieſts, that Venus and Mercury ſhould appear, ſometimes above, and ſometimes below the ſun; and that we may, without being guilty of an error, aſſign them theſe different poſitions [x]. Accordingly the Egyptians have not changed the ancient order of the planets in their celeſtial planiſpheres [y].

Singular opinions have been broached in the Pythagorean ſchool. In that work of Hicetas of Syracuſe, it is maintained that the heavens, the ſtars, the ſun, and even the moon are at reſt. The earth alone, by a rapid motion round its axis, produces all the appearances with which thoſe bodies preſent us [z]. But, in the firſt place, the immobility of the moon cannot be reconciled with its phænomena. Beſides, if the earth revolved upon itſelf, a body thrown to a great height would not fall back on the ſame point from which it ſet out; yet experience proves the contrary [a]. And how ſhall we dare to diſturb, with a ſacrilegious hand [b], the repoſe of the earth, ſo long conſidered as the centre of the univerſe, the ſanctuary of the gods, the altar, the knot and unity of nature [c]? In this other treatiſe, Philolaus begins by transferring to fire the ſacred privileges of which he deprives the earth. This celeſtial fire, become the pabulum of the univerſe, occupies its centre. Around it roll uninterruptedly ten ſpheres; thoſe

[u] Diogen. Laert. lib. 3 § 14 Phavor. ap. eumd. lib. 9. § 23. Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. lib. 1. p. 55. Plin lib. 2. cap. 8. p. 75. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr t 14. p. 379 et 478.

[x] Macrob. Somn. Scip. cap. 19. Bailly, Aſtron. Ancien. p. 170.

[y] Mem. de l'Acad. des Sciences. annee 1708. Hiſt. p. 110.

[z] Theophr. ap. Cicer. Acad. 2. cap. 39. t. ii. p. 5. Diogen. Laert. lib. 8. § 85.

[a] Ariſtot. de Cælo, lib. 2. cap. 14. t. i. p. 470.

[b] Plut. de Fac. in Orb. Lun. t. ii. p. 923.

[c] Tim Locr ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 97. Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. lib. 1. p. 51.

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of the ſun, the moon, the five planets *, that of our globe, and that of another earth inviſible to our optics, though adjoining to us [d]. The ſun ſhines only with a borrowed luſtre; he is no other than a kind of mirror or cryſtal globe, which reflects back on us the light of the celeſtial fire [e].

This ſyſtem, which Plato ſometimes regrets not having adopted in his works [f], is not founded on obſervations, but ſolely on ideas of fitneſs. The ſubſtance of fire, ſay its partizans, being purer than that of earth, muſt neceſſarily repoſe in the centre of the univerſe, as the moſt honourable ſtation [g].

It was not thought ſufficient to aſſign to the planets their reſpective places; the diſtances at which they revolve muſt likewiſe be aſcertained; and in this reſearch Pythagoras and his diſciples have exhauſted their imaginations.

The planets, including the ſun and moon, are ſeven in number; an obſervation which inſtantly reminded theſe philoſophers of the heptachord or ſeven-ſtringed lyre. You well know that this lyre compriſes two tetrachords, united by one common ſound, and which, in the diatonic genus, give the following ſeries of tones: *ſi, ut, re, mi, fa, ſol, la*. Let us ſuppoſe the Moon to be repreſented by *ſi*, Mercury will then be repreſented by *ut*, Venus by *re*, the Sun by *mi*, Mars by *fa*, Jupiter by *ſol*, and Saturn by *la*; thus, the diſtance of the Moon *ſi* to Mercury *ut*, will be a ſemitone; that of Mercury *ut* to Venus *re*, will be a tone; that is to ſay, the diſtance from Venus to Mercury will be double that of Mercury to the Moon. Such was the firſt celeſtial lyre.

Two ſtrings were afterwards added, to deſignate the interval between the Earth and the Moon, and the diſtance from

* Prior to Plato, and in his time, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, were underſtood by the word planets.

[d] Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. lib. 1. p. 51. Plut. de Plac. Philoſ. lib. 3. cap. 11. et 13. p. 895.

[e] Plut. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 20. p. 890. Stob. ibid. p. 56. Achill. Tat. Iſag. cap. 19. ap. Petav. t. iii. p. 81.

[f] Plut. in Num. t. i. p. 67. Id. in Plat. Quæſt. t. ii. p. 1006.

[g] Ariſtot. de Cælo, lib. 2. cap. 13. t. i. p. 466.

[h] Plin. lib. 2. cap. 22.

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Saturn to the fixed ſtars. The two tetrachords compriſed in this new lyre were ſometimes ſuppoſed disjunct, and ſtrung according to the chromatic genus, which gives proportions between the ſeries of tones, different from thoſe of the diatonic. Here is an example of this new lyre [k].

FIRST TETRACHORD.

From the Earth to the Moon . . a tone.
From the Moon to Mercury . . a half tone.
From Mercury to Venus . . . . a half tone.
From Venus to the Sun . . . . . a tone and a half.

SECOND TETRACHORD.

From the Sun to Mars . . . . . a tone.
From Mars to Jupiter . . . . . a half tone.
From Jupiter to Saturn . . . . . a half tone.
From Saturn to the fixed ſtars . . . a tone and a half.

As this ſcale gives ſeven tones inſtead of ſix, which completes the octave, the interval from Saturn to the fixed ſtars [i], and that from Venus to the Sun, is ſometimes diminiſhed by a tone, in order to obtain the moſt perfect of conſonances. Other variations have been introduced into the ſcale, by placing the Sun below [k], inſtead of above, Venus and Mercury.

To apply theſe proportions to the diſtances of the heavenly bodies, each tone is ſuppoſed to be equivalent to 126,000 ſtadia [i] *; and aſſuming this for an element, there was no difficulty in meaſuring the ſpace between the earth and the ſtarry heavens. This ſpace increaſes or diminiſhes as the calculator is more or leſs attached to certain harmonical proportions.

[i] Cenſor. de Die Nat. cap. 13.
[k] Achill. Tat. iſag. cap. 17. ap. Petav. t. iii. p. 80.
[i] Plin. lib. 2. cap. 21. t. i. p. 86.
* 4762 leagues.

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In the preceding ſcale, the diſtance from the ſtars to the ſun, and that of the ſun from the earth, are in the ratio of a fifth, or of three tones and a half; but according to another eſtimate, both theſe intervals will only make three tones, or three times 126,000 ſtadia [m].

Euclid, perceiving that I hardly liſtened to him with patience, ſaid laughing, You are not ſatisfied? No, anſwered I. What, muſt Nature be obliged to change her laws in compliance with your caprices? Some of your philoſophers pretend that fire is purer than earth, and our globe forſooth muſt inſtantly reſign her ſtation, and remove from the centre of the univerſe. Should other theoriſts prefer the chromatic or diatonic genus in muſic, the celeſtial bodies muſt, to gratify them, recede from or approach each other. In what light do men of real knowledge view ſuch extravagant reveries? Sometimes, ſaid Euclid, as ſports of the imagination [n]; ſometimes as the only reſource of men, who, inſtead of ſtudying Nature, attempt to gueſs at her operations. As for myſelf, I only wiſhed to ſhow you by this ſpecimen, that our aſtronomy was yet in its infancy in the days of our forefathers [o]; nor is its progreſs much advanced even in the preſent age. But, ſaid I to him, you no doubt have mathematicians who inceſſantly watch over all the revolutions of the planets, and endeavour to diſcover their diſtances from the earth [p]; you have certainly had ſuch obſervers in the earlieſt ages: what has become of the fruit of all their labours?

We have, it muſt be confeſſed, anſwered he, long reaſoned on the ſubject; but we have made very few obſervations, and ſtill fewer diſcoveries. If we do poſſeſs ſome accurate notions reſpecting the courſe of the ſtars, we owe them to the

[m] Plin. lib. 2. cap. 21. t. i. p. 86.
[n] Ariſtot. de Cælo, lib. 2. cap. 9. t. i. p. 462.
[o] Ricciol. Almag. lib. 7. p. 493.
[p] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 814. Ariſtot. de Cælo, lib. 2. cap. 14. t. i. p. 470.

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Egyptians and Chaldeans [q], who taught us to form tables which fix the periods of our public ſolemnities, and of our ruſtic labours. The nations I have mentioned are thoſe who have paid attention to mark the riſing and ſetting of the principal ſtars, the points of the ſolſtices, as well as of the equinoxes, and prognoſtics which denote the variations of the weather [r]. I have collected ſeveral of their calendars, ſome of which are of a very high antiquity; others contain obſervations not applicable to our climate. A ſingular circumſtance is remarkable in them all, which is, that they do not always fix the ſolſtitial and equinoctial points to the ſame degree of the ſame ſigns of the zodiac; an error which ariſes perhaps from ſome motions in the ſtars hitherto not underſtood [s], or it may be from the ignorance of the obſervers.

Our aſtronomers have been employed for the two laſt centuries in the conſtruction of theſe tables. Such has been the employment of Cleoſtratus of Tenedos, who made his obſervations on Mount Ida; of Matricetas of Methymna, on Mount Lepetymna; of Phainus, the Athenian, on Mount Lycabettus [t]; of Doſytheus, Euctemon [u], Democritus [x], and others whom it is unneceſſary to name. The greateſt difficulty, or rather the only problem they had to ſolve, was to bring back our feſtivals to the ſame ſeaſons and terms preſcribed by oracles and the laws [y]. For this purpoſe it was neceſſary to fix, as far as poſſible, the preciſe duration both of the ſolar and lunar year, and ſo to reconcile them, as that the new moons which regulate our ſolemnities ſhould fall near the

[q] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 109. Epin. ap. Plat. t. ii. p. 987. Ariſtot. de Cœlo, lib. 2. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 464. Strab. lib. 17. p. 806.

[r] Theon. Smyrn. ad Arat. p. 93. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 94. Petav. Uranol. t. iii.

[s] Freret. Defenſe de la Chron. p. 483. Bailly, Aſtronom. Ancien. p. 191. et 421.

[t] Theophr. περὶ Σημ. ap. Scalig. de Emend. lib 2. p. 72.

[u] Ptolem. de Appar. in Uranol p. 53.

[x] Diogen. Laert. in Democr. lib. 9. § 48. Cenſor de Die Nat. cap. 18. Scalig. ibid. p. 167.

[y] Gemin. Elem. Aſtron. cap. 6. ap. Petav. t. iii. p. 18.

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cardinal points that mark the commencement of the ſeaſons.

Various unſucceſsful attempts prepared the way for the ſucceſs of Meton of Athens. In the firſt year of the 87th Olympiad *, about ten years before the beginning of the Peloponneſian war [z], Meton, jointly with Euctemon, whom I have before mentioned [a], having obſerved the ſummer ſolſtice, imagined a period of 19 ſolar years, containing 235 lunations, and in which the ſun and moon returned to nearly the ſame point in the heavens.

Notwithſtanding the ſarcaſms of the comic authors [b], his labours [c], or perhaps his plagiariſms, were crowned with moſt ſignal ſucceſs; I ſay plagiariſms, for it is ſuppoſed that he had found this period already in uſe among nations more verſed in aſtronomy than we then were. Be that as it may, the Athenians cauſed the equinoctial and ſolſtitial points to be ſculptured on the walls of the Pnyx [d]. The beginning of their year correſponded, before this, with the new moon which happens after the winter ſolſtice; it was now invariably fixed to that which follows the ſummer ſolſtice [e], and it was not until this time that their archons or chief magiſtrates entered into office [f]. Nor were the other people of Greece, in general, leſs ready to adopt the invention of Meton [g]; it is at this day made uſe of in forming the tables, which are ſuſpended on columns in many cities, and which ſerve for nineteen years to repreſent in ſome meaſure the ſtate of the heavens and the hiſtory of the year: for the points at which the ſeaſons commence are marked on them for each year; as are predictions of the various changes of the air for every day [h].

* The year 432 before Chriſt. See note at the end of the volume.

[z] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 2.

[a] Ptolem. Magn. Conſtruct. lib. 3. p. 63.

[b] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 998.

[c] Arat. in Διοσημ. p. 92. Schol. ibid.

[d] Philoch. ap. Schol. Ariſtoph. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 10. cap. 7. Suid. in Μίτων.

[e] Plat. de leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 767. Avien. Arat. Prognoſt. p. 114.

[f] Dodwel. de Cycl. diſſert. 3. § 35.

[g] Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 94.

[h] Pheon. Smyrn. in Arat. Phænom. p. 93. Salmaſ. Exerc. Plin. p. 740.

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Hitherto the obſervations of the Grecian aſtronomers were limited to fixing the cardinal points and the riſing and ſetting of the ſtars: but this alone deſerves not the name of aſtronomy; the object of which is, by long obſervation, to attain a knowledge of the revolutions of the heavenly bodies [i].

Eudoxus, who died a few years ago, opened a new field. A long reſidence in Egypt had enabled him to obtain a part of the ſecrets of the Egyptian prieſts: and he brought home with him the theory of the planetary motions [k], which he publiſhed in ſeveral of his works. You will find on that ſhelf his treatiſe entitled Mirror, another on the velocity of the celeſtial bodies [l], another on the circumference of the earth, and his Phænomena [m]. I was intimately acquainted with him; but he never ſpoke to me of aſtronomy but in the language of enthuſiaſm. I could wiſh, ſaid he, one day, to approach near enough the ſun to be certain of the figure and magnitude of that luminary, though it were at the riſk of experiencing the fate of Phaeton [n].

I teſtified my ſurpriſe to Euclid that the Greeks, poſſeſſed of ſo much genius as they were, ſhould be obliged to go in queſt of information to diſtant countries. Perhaps, ſaid he, we are not endowed with the talent of diſcovery, and our excellence may conſiſt in embelliſhing and improving the inventions of others. We are not certain but imagination may be the moſt potent obſtacle to the progreſs of the ſciences. Beſides, it is but lately that we have turned our attention towards the heavens, whilſt the Egyptians and the Chaldeans have perſevered in calculating their motions for an incredible number of ages. But the deciſions of aſtronomy muſt be founded on obſervations. In this, as well as in other ſciences, truth ariſes out of a multitude of errors, and perhaps it

[i] Epin. ap. Plat. t. ii. p. 990.
[k] Senec. Quæſt. Nat. lib. 7. cap. 3.
[l] Simpl. lib. 2. p. 120. fol. verſo.
[m] Hipparch. ad Phænom. in Uranol. p. 98.
[n] Plut. t. ii. p. 1094.

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is better that it ſhould be preceded by them, that, aſhamed of their defeat, they may not again venture to make their appearance. Muſt I, in fine, to gratify your curioſity, betray the ſecret of our vanity? No ſooner are the diſcoveries of other nations tranſplanted into Greece, than we receive them like thoſe adopted children whom we treat with the ſame kindneſs as our own legitimate offspring, and to whom we ſometimes give the preference.

I did not imagine, ſaid I, that it was permitted to extend ſo far the privilege of adoption; but from whatever ſource you have your knowledge, may I be permitted to requeſt you to give me a general idea of the preſent ſtate of your aſtronomy?

Euclid then took a ſphere, and reminded me of the uſe of the different circles of which it was compoſed: he ſhowed me a celeſtial planiſphere, on which I diſcovered the principal ſtars diſtributed into different conſtellations. All the ſtars, added he, revolve in the ſpace of one day from eaſt to weſt, round the poles of the world. Beſides this motion, the ſun, the moon, and the five planets, have another which carries them from weſt to eaſt in certain intervals of time.

The ſun paſſes through the 360 degrees of the ecliptic in one year, which contains, according to the calculations of Meton [o], 365 days and $\frac{5}{19}$ of a day [*].

Each revolution of the moon contains 29 days, 12 hours, 45 minutes. The twelve lunations conſequently give 354 days, and ſomething more than the third of a day [p]. In our civil, which is the ſame as the lunar year, we neglect this fraction, and ſuppoſe only 12 months, ſome of 30, others of 29, in all 354 days. We next make our civil agree with our ſolar year, by means of ſeven intercalary months, which, in

[o] Gemin. Elem. Aſtron. ap. Petav. t. iii p. 23. Cenſor de Die Nat. cap. 19. Dodwei. de Cycl. differt. 1. p. 5.

[*] See note at the end of the volume.

[p] Petav. de Doct. Temp. lib. 2. cap. 10 et 13. p. 58 et 62.

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the ſpace of 19 years, we add to the 3d, 5th, 8th, 11th, 13th, 16th, and 19th years [q].

You have yet ſaid nothing, ſaid I, of a kind of year, which being in general compoſed only of 360 days, is ſhorter than the ſolar, and longer than the lunar one. Yet we find it in uſe among the moſt ancient nations, and mentioned in your beſt authors [r]: How was it eſtabliſhed? why is it ſtill ſuffered to ſubſiſt [s]? It was firſt uſed by the Egyptians, replied Euclid, and founded on the annual revolution of the ſun, which they at firſt made too ſhort [t]; with us it received its origin from the duration of twelve lunations, which we made all equally to conſiſt of 30 days [u]. In proceſs of time, the Egyptians added 5 days and 6 hours to their ſolar year; and we, by retrenching 6 days from our lunar year, reduced it to 354, and ſometimes to 355 days. I replied, You ſhould have laid aſide this kind of year as ſoon as you had diſcovered that it was defective. We never make uſe of it, ſaid he, in affairs relative to the adminiſtration of the ſtate, or the intereſts of individuals On leſs important occaſions, cuſtom ſometimes obliges us to prefer brevity to accuracy of calculation, and no perſon is deceived by it.

I omit the queſtions which I propoſed to Euclid reſpecting the calendar of the Athenians, and ſhall only relate what he ſaid to me concerning the diviſions of the day. We learned from the Babylonians, reſumed he, to divide the day into twelve parts [x], varying in length according to the difference of the ſeaſons. Theſe parts or hours, which name we now begin to give them [y], are marked, for every month, on dials, with the length of the ſhadow correſponding to each of them [z].

[q] Dodwel. de Cycl. diſſert. 1. § 35.
[r] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 32.
[s] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 6. cap. 20. t. i. p. 877. Plin. lib. 34. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 644.
[t] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 4.
[u] Petav. de Doct. Temp. lib. 1. cap. 6 et 7. Dodwel ibid. § 14.
[x] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 109.
[y] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 800.
[z] Scalig. de Emend. Temp. lib. 1. p. 5. Petav. Var. Diſſert. lib. 7. cap. 9. t. iii. p. 145.

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You know that, for any given month, the ſhade of the gnomon, when a certain number of feet in length, gives ſuch or ſuch a time of day before or after noon *; and that when any buſineſs is fixed for the morning or evening, we appoint the time by referring to the tenth or twelfth foot of the ſhadow [a], and this is the origin of the expreſſion: What ſhade is it [b]? You know likewiſe that our ſlaves are ſent from time to time to conſult the public dial, to inform us of the hour [c]. However ſimple this mode may be, attempts are making to procure us a more commodious method, and artiſts have already begun to invent and make portable dials [d].

Though the cycle of Meton be more accurate than any preceding one, our modern aſtronomers have diſcovered that it ſtands in need of correction. Eudoxus has proved, after the Egyptians, that the ſolar year conſiſts of 365 $\frac{1}{4}$ days, and is conſequently ſhorter than that of Meton by the $\frac{1}{76}$ of a day [e].

It has been remarked, that at the time of the ſolſtices, the ſun does not riſe preciſely in the ſame point of the horizon [f]; from whence it has been concluded, that he has a latitude, as well as the moon and planets [g]; and that in his annual revolution he deviates on each ſide of the plane of the ecliptic, which is inclined to the equator, in an angle of about 24 degrees [h].

The planets have celerities peculiar to themſelves, and unequal years [i]. Eudoxus, on his return from Egypt, threw

* See note at the end of the volume.

[a] Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. v. 648. Menand. ap. Athen. l. 6. cap. 10. p. 243. Caſaub. ibid. Eubul. ap. Athen. lib. 1. cap. 7. p. 8. Heſych in Δωδεκ. Id. et Suid. in Δεκάπ. Poll. lib. 6. cap. 8. § 44.

[b] Ariſtoph. ap. Poll. lib. 9. cap 5. p. 46.

[c] Athen. lib. 9. cap. 17. p. 406. Caſaub. ibid. Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 24. p. 1349. Heſych. in Περάτρ.

[d] Athen. lib. 4. cap. 17. p. 163. Caſaub. ibid. Paciaud. Monum. Pelopon. t. i. p. 50.

[e] Gemin. Elem. Aſtron. ap. Petav. t. iii. p. 23. Strab. lib. 17. p. 806. Bailly. Hiſt. de l'Aſtron. Ancien. p. 237.

[f] Simpl. de Cœlo. lib. 2. p 120.

[g] Ariſtot. Metaph. lib. 14. p. 1002.

[h] Eudem Rhod. ap. Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. t. ii. p. 277. Bailly, Hiſt. de l'Aſtron. Anc. p. 242 et 466.

[i] Tim. Locr. ap. Plat. p. 97. Plat. in Tim. p. 39.

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new light on the periods of their revolutions [k]. Mercury and Venus complete theirs in the same time with the sun, Mars finishes his in two years, Jupiter in twelve, and Saturn his in thirty [l].

The stars which wander in the zodiac have no motion of themselves, but are carried along by the superior spheres, or by those to which they are attached [m]. Astronomers formerly admitted of but eight of these spheres; that of the fixed stars, and those of the sun, the moon, and the five planets [n]. These have been multiplied since motions have been discovered in the celestial bodies which had hitherto escaped observation.

I shall not observe to you, that it is supposed the stars must necessarily move in circles [o], solely because the circle is the most perfect of figures: this would be instructing you in the opinions of men, and not in the laws of nature.

The moon borrows her light from the sun [p]; she hides from us that luminary, when she is between him and us; and she loses her own light when we are between her and him [q]. Eclipses of the sun and moon no longer terrify the people, since our astronomers are now able to predict them.

It is demonstrated in astronomy, that some of the heavenly bodies are larger than the earth [r]; but I know not whether the diameter of the sun be nine times greater than that of the moon, as Eudoxus has asserted [s]. I asked Euclid why comets were not classed in the number of planets or wandering stars. They are, replied he, by many philosophers; among others,

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[k] Senec. Quæst. Nat. lib. 7. cap. 3.

[l] Arist. ap. Simpl. p. 120. fol. vers. De Mund. ap. Aristot. t. i. p. 612.

[m] Id. de Cœlo, lib. 2. cap. 8. t. i. p. 461.

[n] Tim. Locr. de Anim. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 96.

[o] Simpl. de Cœlo, p. 120.

[p] Pythag ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 27. Parmen. ap. Plut. in Colot. t. ii. p. 1116. Anaxag. ap. Plat. in Crat. t. i. p. 409. Id. de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 616.

[q] Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. 2. cap. 13. t. i. p. 466.

[r] Id. ibid. lib. 1. Id. Meteor. cap. 3. t. i. p. 529.

[s] Archim. in Aran. p. 451. Bailly, Hist. de l'Astron. Anc. p. 238.

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Anaxagoras, Democritus, and certain Pythagoreans [t]: but the hypothesis does more honour to their ingenuity than their science; the gross errors it involves sufficiently prove that it is not the fruit of observation. Anaxagoras and Democritus suppose that a comet is no other than two planets which by their contiguity seem to form only one body; and the latter adduces as a proof of this, that when they separate, they continue to shine in the heavens, and present to view stars before unknown to us. As for the Pythagoreans, they seem to admit only of one comet, which appears at intervals, after having been some time absorbed in the rays of the sun [u].

But what will you reply, said I, to the Chaldeans [x] and Egyptians [y], who are indisputably very accurate observers? Do not they both concur in admitting the periodical return of comets? Among the Chaldean astronomers, said he, some boast a knowledge of their course, others consider them as vortices, which take fire by the rapidity of their motion [z]. The opinion of the former can only be an hypothesis, since it suffers that of the latter to subsist.

If the Egyptian astronomers have entertained the same idea, they have concealed it as a mystery from such of our philosophers as have consulted them. Eudoxus has never said a word of it, either in conversation, or in his works [a]. Is it probable that the Egyptian priests would have exclusively reserved to themselves the knowledge of the path of comets?

I proposed several other questions to Euclid, and learned from him that the astronomers were divided on almost all of them, consequently possessed but little certain knowledge [b]. I interrogated him respecting the Milky Way: he told me that, according to Anaxagoras, it was a collection of stars, whose

[t] Aristot. Meteor. lib. 1. cap. 6. t. i. p. 534. Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib 3. cap. 2. p. 893.
[u] d. ibid.
[x] Senec. Quæst. Nat. lib. 7. cap. 3. Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 2. p. 63.
[y] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 73.
[z] Senec. ibid.
[a] Senec. Quæst. Nat. lib. 7. cap. 3.
[b] Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. p. 62.

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light was partially obſcured by the ſhadow of the earth, as if this ſhadow could reach the ſtars; that, according to Democritus, there exiſts in that part of the heavens a multitude of very minute ſtars near to each other, which, by mingling their feeble rays, produce that whitiſh glimmering which we obſerve there [c].

After long travelling in the ſky, we returned to the earth. I obſerved to Euclid that we had not brought back with us many important truths after ſo long a journey: we ſhall be more fortunate, no doubt, continued I, by confining ourſelves to the globe we inhabit; for men muſt certainly be perfectly well acquainted with the place of their reſidence.

Euclid aſked me how ſo ponderous a maſs as the earth could maintain its equilibrium in air? I have never attended to this difficulty, anſwered I. It is the ſame with the earth, perhaps, as with the ſtars and planets. But, ſaid he, precautions have been taken to hinder them from falling, by attaching them to ſpheres extremely ſolid, but as tranſparent as cryſtal: theſe ſpheres turn, and the heavenly bodies revolve with them; but we ſee nothing around us by which the earth can be ſuſpended. Why therefore does it not plunge into the depth of the ſurrounding fluid? Some ſay the reaſon is, becauſe it is not on every ſide environed by air. The earth is like a mountain, the foundations or roots of which extend themſelves into the infinite profundity of ſpace [d]. We occupy the ſummit of this mountain, and may ſleep on it in ſafety.

Others flatten the under part of it, that it may reſt on a greater number of columns of air, or float upon the waters. But in the firſt place it is almoſt proved to be of a ſpherical form [e]. Beſides, if we make choice of air to ſuſtain it, that

[c] Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 1 cap. 8. t. i. p. 538. Plut. de Plac. Philoſ. lib. 3. cap. 1. t. ii p. 893.
[d] Ariſtot. de Cælo. lib. 2. cap. 13. t. i p. 467.
[e] Ariſt. Meteor. lib 2 cap. 7. t. i p. 566. Id. de Cœlo. lib. 2. cap. 14. t. i. p. 471.

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is too weak; if of water, it may be aſked what does that reſt upon [f]? Our natural philoſophers have lately diſcovered a more ſimple method of calming our apprehenſions. By virtue of a general law, ſay they, all heavy bodies tend towards one given point, which point is the centre of the univerſe, the centre of the earth [g]. All the conſtituent parts of the earth, therefore, inſtead of flying off from this centre, are continually preſſing againſt each other to approach it [h].

Hence it is eaſy to conceive that the inhabitants of this globe, and particularly thoſe named Antipodes [i], may adhere to it without difficulty, whatever poſition we aſſign them. And do you really believe, ſaid I, that there are men with their feet oppoſite to ours? On that ſubject I know not what to ſay, anſwered he. Though ſeveral authors have given us deſcriptions of the earth [k], it is certain that no man has ever yet travelled over it, and that our knowledge is confined to a very inconſiderable portion of its ſurface. It is impoſſible to refrain from laughter, when we hear ſome philoſophers advance, without the ſmalleſt proof, that the earth is every where ſurrounded by the ocean, and that Europe is as large as Aſia [l].

When I inquired of Euclid what were the countries known to the Greeks, he wiſhed to refer me to the hiſtorians I had read; but I urged him with ſo much earneſtneſs, that he at length continued as follows: Pythagoras and Thales firſt divided the heavens into five zones; two frozen, two temperate, and one extending to a certain diſtance on each ſide of the equator [m]. In the laſt century, Parmenides transferred the ſame diviſion to the earth [n]: it is marked on the ſphere you have before you.

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f Id de Cœlo. ibid. p. 467.
g Ariſtot. de Cœlo. lib. 2. cap. 14. t. i. p. 470.
h Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 109.
i Diogen. Laert. lib. 3. cap. 24; lib. 8. cap. 26.
k Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 1. cap. 13. t. i. p. 545.
l Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 8 et 36.
m Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. lib. 1. p. 53.
n Strab. lib. 1. p. 94.

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Men can only ſubſiſt on a ſmall part of the ſurface of the terraqueous globe, the extremes of heat and cold not allowing them to inhabit the regions near the poles, or thoſe adjoining to the equinoctial line [o]; they have multiplied only in temperate climates: but many geographical maps have erroneouſly given a circular form to the portion of the earth which they occupy; the habitable world ſtretches to a much leſs diſtance from ſouth to north, than from eaſt to weſt [p].

To the north of the Euxine ſea we find the Scythian nations; ſome of which cultivate the earth, and others wander over their vaſt domains. The countries ſtill farther are inhabited by different nations and tribes, and among others by the anthropophagi. . . . Who are not Scythians, ſaid I haſtily. I know it, replied he; and our hiſtorians have properly diſtinguiſhed them from them [q]. Beyond this barbarous people, we ſuppoſe there are immenſe deſerts [r].

To the eaſt, the conqueſts of Darius have made us acquainted with the nations which reach as far as the Indus. It is ſaid that beyond that river there is another country as extenſive as all the reſt of Aſia [s]. It is India, a very ſmall part of which is ſubject to the kings of Perſia, who annually draw from it a conſiderable tribute in gold duſt [t]. Of the remainder we have no knowledge.

Towards the north-eaſt, beyond the Caſpian ſea, dwell ſeveral nations, the names of which have been tranſmitted to us, with the additional circumſtance that ſome of them ſleep ſix months together [u], that others have only one eye [x], and others again the feet of goats [y]; you will judge from theſe ſtories of our geographical knowledge.

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[o] Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 2. cap. 5. t. i. p. 562. Diogen. ef. Anaxag. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. lib. 1. p. 34.
[p] Ariſtot. ibid.
[q] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 18.
[r] Id. ibid cap. 17.
[s] Cteſias ap. Strab. lib. 15. p. 689.
[t] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 94.
[u] Id. lib. 4. cap. 25.
[x] Id. lib. 3. cap 116.
[y] Id. lib. 4. cap. 25.

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To the weſtward, we have penetrated as far as the pillars of Hercules, and have a confuſed idea of the nations inhabiting the coaſts of Iberia; but to the interior parts of the country we are utter ſtrangers [z]. Beyond theſe pillars is a ſea, called the Atlantic, which, from appearances, extends as far as the eaſtern parts of India [a]; it is frequented only by the ſhips of Tyre and Carthage, which are afraid even to venture out of ſight of land; for after paſſing the ſtrait, ſome deſcend towards the ſouth, and ſail along the coaſts of Africa; others turn to the northward, and go to barter their merchandiſe for the tin of the Caſſiterides iſlands, the poſition of which is unknown to the Greeks [b].

Several attempts have been made to extend geography to the ſouthward. It is pretended that, by order of Nechos, who reigned about two hundred and fifty years in Egypt, ſome veſſels, manned with Phœnicians, took their departure from the Arabian gulf, made the circuit of Africa, and returned, after a voyage of two years, to Egypt, by the ſtraits of Cadir * [c]. It is further alleged, that other navigators have doubled this part of the world [d]; but theſe enterpriſes, ſuppoſing the accounts we have of them to be true, have been no farther proſecuted. Commerce was unable to repeat ſuch long and dangerous voyages, in the hope of precarious advantage. Merchants have ſince contented themſelves with frequenting the eaſtern and weſtern coaſts of Africa; and on the latter the Carthaginians have eſtabliſhed a conſiderable number of colonies [e]. As for the interior parts of that vaſt country, we have heard of a route that entirely croſſes it

[z] Strab. lib. 1. p. 93.
[a] Ariſtot. de Cœlo. lib. 2. cap. 14. p. 472.
[b] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 115. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell Lettr. t. xix. p. 158.
* The modern *Cadiz*.
[c] Id. lib. 4. cap. 42. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxviii. p. 309.
[d] Strab. lib. 2. p. 98.
[e] Hann. Peripl. p. 2. Scyl. Caryand. p. 53. ap. Geograph. Min. t. i. Strab. lib. 1. p. 48.

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from the city of Thebes in Egypt to the pillars of Hercules [f]. It is aſſerted likewiſe that ſeveral great nations exiſt in that part of the earth; but, we are not told their names; and you will naturally imagine, after what I have ſaid, that they do not inhabit the torrid zone.

Our mathematicians pretend that the circumference of the earth contains four hundred thouſand ſtadia [g]: I know not whether this eſtimate be juſt, but I am very ſure that we are ſcarcely acquainted with one quarter of that circumference.

CHAP. XXXII.

Ariſtippus.

THE day following my converſation with Euclid, it was reported that Ariſtippus of Cyrene, whom I had never ſeen, was juſt arrived at Athens. After the death of his maſter Socrates, he travelled into different countries, where he obtained the moſt illuſtrious reputation [h]. Many conſidered him as an innovator in philoſophy, and accuſed him of attempting to eſtabliſh a monſtrous alliance between virtue and voluptuouſneſs; yet he was every where ſpoken of as a man of ſuperior underſtanding.

No ſooner was he arrived than he opened his ſchool [i]; I introduced myſelf among the crowd; and in a private converſation which I had with him, he gave me nearly the following account of his ſyſtem and his conduct [k].

When young, the reputation of Socrates drew me to hear him [l], and the ſublimity of his doctrine retained me near his perſon; but as it exacted ſacrifices of which I found myſelf

[f] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 181. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxviii. p. 303.

[g] Ariſtot. de Cœlo. lib. 2. cap. 14. t. i. p. 472.

[h] Diogen. Laert. in Ariſtipp. lib. 2. § 79, &c. Vitruv. in Præf. l. 6, p. 102.

[i] Id. in Æſchin. lib. 2. § 62.

[k] Menſies in Ariſtipp. Bruck. Hiſt. Philoſ. t. i. p. 584. Mem. de l'Academ. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxvi. p. 1.

[l] Plut. de Curioſ. t. ii. p. 516. Diogen. Laert. in Ariſtipp. lib. 2. § 65.

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incapable, I conceived that, without deviating from his principles, I might discover a more commodious path within my reach, by which I might attain the summit of all my wishes.

He would frequently say to us, that as we are unable to comprehend the essence and qualities of things external to us, we are continually liable to mistake good for evil, and evil for good [m]. This reflection astonished my indolent mind; placed between the objects of my hopes and fears, I was obliged to make a choice, without having it in my power to confide, either in the appearances of these objects, from their uncertainty, or in the testimony of my senses, which are so deceitful.

I examined my own mind, and was struck with that propensity to pleasure, and that aversion to pain, which Nature had implanted in my heart, as infallible and manifest tokens to signify to me her intentions [n]. For if these affections be criminal, why has she bestowed them on me? If they be not, why should they not serve to direct me in my choice?

I had just seen, it may be, a picture of Parrhasius, or heard an air of Timotheus: Was it necessary to know wherein colours and sounds consist, to justify the delight I had experienced [o]? and might I not justly conclude that this music and this painting possessed, for me at least, real merit?

Thus did I accustom myself to judge of all objects by the impressions of joy or sorrow which they made upon my mind, to seek as useful such as procured me agreeable sensations [p], and to avoid as injurious whatever produced a contrary effect. But remember, that while I exclude both the sensations which afflict the soul, and those which transport it beyond itself, I make happiness solely to consist in a series of pleasing emotions, which agitate without fatiguing it; and

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[m] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 777; lib. 4. p. 798. Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 88.

[n] Diogen. Aristipp. lib. 2. § 88.

[o] Cicer. Acad. t. ii. p. 2. cap. 24. 32.

[p] Diogen. Laert. in Aristip. lib. 2. § 86.

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that to expreſs the charms of ſuch a ſituation, I call it pleaſure [q].

Taking for the rule of my conduct this internal feeling, theſe two ſpecies of emotions I have mentioned, I refer every thing to ſelf: I am connected with the reſt of the univerſe by the ſole tie of perſonal intereſt, and conſtitute myſelf the centre and ſtandard of all things [r]; but, however illuſtrious this ſtation, I cannot remain in it in peace, unleſs I adapt myſelf to the circumſtances of time, place, and perſons [s]. As I wiſh not to be pained either by regret or inquietude, I baniſh far from me the ideas of the paſt and future [t]; I live entirely for the preſent [u]: when I have exhauſted the pleaſures of one climate, I fly to reap a freſh harveſt in another. Yet, though a ſtranger to all nations [x], I am the enemy of none: I enjoy their advantages, and I reſpect their laws; but even did no ſuch laws exiſt, a philoſopher would be careful not to diſturb public order by the novelty and boldneſs of his maxims, or by the irregularity of his conduct [y].

I ſhall now proceed to communicate to you my ſecret, and lay open to you that of almoſt all men. The ſocial duties appear to me to be no more than a continual ſeries of exchanges. I do nothing without looking for an advantageous return: I make a commerce of my genius and knowledge, of my attention and complaiſance; I do no injury to my fellow creatures; I reſpect them when I ought; I render them ſervices when I can; I leave them in poſſeſſion of all their claims, and I excuſe their weakneſſes. Nor are they ungrateful; my principle in this commerce is always repaid me with ample intereſt.

I have thought it proper, however, to baniſh thoſe forms which are ſtyled delicacy of ſentiment, and greatneſs of con-

[q] Cicer. de Fin. lib. 2. cap. 6 t. ii. p. 107.
[r] Diogen. Laert. in Ariſtip. lib. 2. § 95.
[s] Id. ibid. 66. Horat. lib. 1. epiſt. 17. v. 23.
[t] Athen. lib. 12. cap. 11. p. 544.
[u] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib 14. cap. 6.
[x] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 736.
[y] Diogen. Laert. in Ariſtip. lib. 2. § 68.

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duct. I had disciples, and I required pay from them: the Socratic school was astonished at this [a], and exclaimed loudly, without perceiving that it thus attacked the liberty of commerce.

The first time I appeared before Dionysius, king of Syracuse, he asked me what brought me to his court. I answered, The hope that I may be able to exchange your favours for my knowledge, my wants for yours [a]. He accepted the bargain, and presently distinguished me from the other philosophers at his court [b].

I here interrupted Aristippus. Is it true, said I, that this preference drew on you their hatred? I know not, replied he, whether they experienced that painful sentiment: as for me, my heart is steeled against it, as well as against other violent passions, more fatal to those who give way to them than to the persons who are their objects [c]. I never envied any thing but the death of Socrates [d], and I took no other notice of one who insulted and endeavoured to irritate me, than coolly to say to him: I withdraw; for if you possess the power of uttering ill language, it is in my power not to hear it [e].

And in what light, said I, do you view friendship? As the most sublime and the most dangerous of the gifts of heaven, answered he: its enjoyments are delicious, its vicissitudes tremendous; and ought a wise man to expose himself to losses, the bitterness of which would empoison the remainder of his life? You will learn from the two following anecdotes with what moderation I gave way to this sentiment.

I was in the island of Ægina, when I learned that my dear master Socrates was condemned; that he was in prison; that the execution was delayed for a month; and that his disciples

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[a] Id. ibid. § 65.
[a] Id. ibid. § 77. Horat. Epist. 17. lib. 1. v. 20.
[b] Id. ibid. § 66.
[c] Id. ibid. § 91.
[d] Id. ibid. 76.
[e] Id. ibid. § 70.

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were permitted to visit him [f]. If it had been in my power to have freed him from his chains, I would have flown to his assistance; but I could do nothing for him, so I remained at Ægina. This is a consequence of my principles; when the misfortune of my friend is irremediable, I spare myself the pain of seeing him suffer.

I had formed an intimacy with Æschines, who, like myself, was a disciple of that great man. I loved him for his virtues; perhaps too, because he owed me obligations [g], and preferred me even to Plato [h]. Some difference happened between us. What is become, said some one to me, of your mutual friendship? It sleepeth, replied I; but it is in my power to awaken it. I went to Æschines: We have been foolish, said I to him; do you think me so incorrigible as not to merit pardon? Aristippus, answered he, you surpass me in every thing: it is I who am in the wrong, and you are the first to make advances [i]. We embraced each other, and I got rid of the little uneasiness our coolness had occasioned.

If I mistake not, rejoined I, it follows from your system that we should admit of convenient intimacies, and banish that friendship which renders us so susceptible to the sufferings of others. Banish! replied he, hesitating. Be it so! I shall say with the Phædra of Euripides, It is you who have pronounced the word, not I [k].

Aristippus knew that the Athenians had been prepossessed against him; and as he was always ready to answer to the censures of those who disapproved his conduct, he pressed me to give him an opportunity to justify himself.

You are accused, said I, of having flattered a tyrant, which is a horrid crime. He replied, I have explained to you the motives of my visit to the court of Syracuse, which was then full of philosophers, who were setting themselves up for re-

[f] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 59. Demetr. in Elocut. cap. 306.

[g] Diogen. Laert. in Æschin. lib. 2. § 61.

[h] Id. ibid. § 60.

[i] Plut. de Irâ, t. ii. p. 462. Diog. Laert. in Aristip. lib. 2. § 82.

[k] Euripid. in Hippol. v. 352.

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formers. I adopted the character of a courtier, without laying aſide that of an honeſt man: I applauded the good qualities of the younger Dionyſius; I neither blamed nor commended his defects, nor was it proper for me to do ſo; I only knew that it was eaſier to endure than to correct them.

My indulgent and eaſy character inſpired him with confidence: a few happy repartees, which ſometimes eſcaped me, amuſed his leiſure moments. I never betrayed the truth when he conſulted me on important queſtions. As I wiſhed him to know the extent of his duties, and to reſtrain the violence of his diſpoſition, I often ſaid in his preſence, that a well informed man differs from another who is not ſo, as a courſer, docile to the bit, differs from an ungovernable horſe [l].

On the ſubject of his mode of government I ſpoke with freedom, ſometimes with indiſcretion. Soliciting him one day for a friend, he would not hearken to me. I fell on my knees, and was cenſured by ſome for my ſervility. My anſwer was, Is it my fault if this man has his ears in his feet [m]?

Whilſt I was one day requeſting Dionyſius in vain to grant me ſome favour, he thought proper to offer one to Plato, who did not accept it. I ſaid aloud, The king runs no riſk of ruining himſelf; he gives to thoſe who refuſe, and refuſes thoſe who aſk [n].

He often propoſed problems to us, and ſuddenly interrupting us, gave the ſolution of them himſelf. He once ſaid to me, Let us diſcuſs ſome queſtion in philoſophy; begin.—What, ſaid I, for you to have the pleaſure of concluding, and of teaching me what you ſay you wiſh to know. He was piqued, and at ſupper ordered me to the bottom of the table. The next day he aſked me how I had found that place. You

[l] Diogen. Laert. in Ariſtip. lib. 2. § 69.

[m] Id ibid. § 76. Suid. in Ἀρίστ.

[n] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 965.

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intended, no doubt, anſwered I, to make it for a ſhort time the moſt honourable [o].

You are ſtill further reproached, ſaid I, with your taſte for riches, for oſtentation, good cheer, women, perfumes, and every ſpecies of ſenſuality [p]. That I brought with me into the world, replied he; and I thought that by exerciſing it with moderation, I ſhould at once ſatisfy both nature and reaſon. I enjoy the comforts of life, and diſpenſe with them without difficulty. I have been ſeen at the court of Dionyſius clad in a purple robe [q]; but in other places I have worn ſometimes a garment of the wool of Miletus, and ſometimes a home-ſpun cloak [r].

Dionyſius treated us according to our wants. To Plato he gave books; to me he gave money [s], which did not remain long enough in my hands to ſoil them. I paid fifty drachmas * for a partridge, and ſaid to ſome one who expreſſed his ſurpriſe, Would not you have given an obolus † for it?—Certainly.—Well, then, I think no more of theſe fifty drachmas than you would of an obolus [t].

I had laid up a certain ſum of money for my journey into Libya: my ſlave who carried it was unable to keep up with me; I therefore ordered him to throw a part of this heavy and incommodious metal into the road [u].

An accident deprived me of a country houſe that I was very fond of. One of my friends endeavoured to conſole me. Be not uneaſy, ſaid I to him; I poſſeſs three others, and am more ſatisfied with what I have left than grieved at what I have loſt: it is for children only to weep and throw away all their play-things when one is taken away from them [x].

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[o] Hegeſand. ap. Athen. lib. 12. cap. 11. p. 544. Diog. Laert. ibid. § 73.
[p] Athen. lib. 12. cap. 11. p. 544.
[q] Diogen. Laert. in Ariſtip. lib. 2. § 78.
[r] Id. ibid. § 67. Plut. de Fort. Alex. t. ii p. 330.
[s] Id. ibid. § 81.

* Forty-five livres (1l. 17s. 6d.).
† Three ſols (three halfpence).

[t] Diogen. Laert. in Ariſtip. lib. 2. § 66.
[u] Diogen. Laert. lib 2. § 77. Horat. lib 2. ſat. 3. v. 100.
[x] Plut. de Anim. Tranquil. t. ii. p. 469.

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After the example of the moſt rigid philoſophers, I preſent myſelf to Fortune like a ball, that ſhe may roll about at her pleaſure, but which giving her no hold is incapable of being injured. Does ſhe place herſelf by my ſide, I ſtretch out my hands to her: does ſhe ſpread her wings to take her flight, I render back her gifts, and ſuffer her to depart [y]. She is a capricious female, whoſe caprices frequently amuſe, but can never afflict me.

The liberality of Dionyſius enabled me to keep a good table, to wear elegant clothes, and be ſerved by a great number of ſlaves. Many philoſophers, who profeſſed a more rigid morality, loudly condemned me [z]; to which I anſwered only by pleaſantries. Polyxenus, who imagined his mind to be the repoſitory of every virtue, found me one day with ſome handſome women, and making preparations for a great ſupper. He inveighed againſt me with all the bitterneſs of philoſophic zeal; I ſuffered him to go on, and when he had done talking, propoſed that he ſhould ſtay with us: he accepted the invitation, and ſoon convinced us, that if an enemy to expence, he was as fond of good living as his corruptor [a].

In fine, for it is impoſſible for me to juſtify my doctrine better than by my actions, Dionyſius ſent for three courtezans, and gave me my choice of one. I carried them all off, alleging, that the preference which Paris gave to one of three goddeſſes had coſt him too dear. I afterward reflected, that the pleaſure of poſſeſſing their charms would not be equal to that of ſubduing my paſſions, and ſending them home, returned quietly to my own houſe [b].

Ariſtippus, ſaid I, you have entirely ſubverted every idea I had before entertained of your doctrine. I had underſtood that your philoſophy required not ſo much as an effort; and that, according to your principles, the voluptuary might a-

y Horat. lib. 3. od. 29. v. 53 et 54.
z Xenoph. Memor. p. 733. Athen. lib. 12. p. 544. Diogen. Laert. lib. 2. § 69.
a Diogen. Laert. ibid. § 76.
b Athen. lib. 12. cap. 11. p. 554. Diogen. Laert. lib. 2. § 67.

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bandon himſelf without reſerve to all the enjoyments of the ſenſes. And could you ſeriouſly imagine, anſwered he, that a man who conſiders the ſtudy of morality as the moſt eſſential of all others [c], who has neglected geometry and other ſciences merely becauſe they have no immediate tendency to improve manners [d]; that an author from whom Plato is not aſhamed ſometimes to borrow maxims and ideas [e]; that a diſciple of Socrates, in fine, could have opened ſchools of proſtitution in many of the Grecian cities, without drawing on himſelf the vengeance of even the moſt corrupt magiſtrates and citizens!

The name of pleaſure, which I give to the internal ſatisfaction which renders us happy, has offended thoſe ſuperficial minds who attach themſelves to words more than to realities. Certain philoſophers too, forgetting their profeſſed love of juſtice, have given ſanction to this prejudice, juſtified perhaps by the extravagancies of ſome of my diſciples; but does a principle of intrinſic excellence loſe its value becauſe it is poſſible to draw from it falſe concluſions [f]?

I have explained to you my doctrine. I admit, as the ſole inſtruments of happineſs, thoſe emotions which agreeably affect us; but I wiſh them to be repreſſed the inſtant they are likely to produce trouble and diſorder [g]: and ſurely nothing evinces more courage than to preſcribe limits at once to our privations and enjoyments.

Antiſthenes attended the lectures of Socrates at the ſame time with me: he was born melancholy and auſtère; I cheerful and liberal. He proſcribed pleaſures, and dared not enter the liſts with the paſſions, which produce in us a delicious languor. I found it more beneficial and more glorious to vanquiſh than to excite them; and, in ſpite of their reluctance, dragged them in my train like ſlaves deſtined to ſerve me, and

[c] Diogen. Laert. lib. 2. § 79.
[d] Ariſtot. Metaph. lib. 3. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 860.
[e] Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 11. p. 508.
[f] Ariſtot. apud Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 3. cap 31. t. ii. p. 512.
[g] Diogen. Laert. in Ariſtip. lib. 2. § 75.

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aid in enabling me to ſupport the burden of life. We followed different paths, and this is the fruit we have gathered from our labours. Antiſthenes thought himſelf happy, becauſe he imagined himſelf wiſe: I think myſelf wiſe, becauſe I am happy [h].

It will be one day ſaid, perhaps, that Socrates and Ariſtippus, both in their conduct and their doctrine, ſometimes deviated from ordinary rules; but poſterity no doubt will add, that they compenſated for theſe little errors by the truths with which they have enriched philoſophy [i].

CHAP. XXXIII.

Quarrels of Dionyſius the Younger, King of Syracuſe, and his Brother-in-law Dion. Voyages of Plato into Sicily *.

SINCE I had been in Greece, I had viſited the principal cities, and been a ſpectator of thoſe grand ſolemnities which collect together its different nations. Not ſatisfied with theſe expeditions, Philotas and I reſolved to examine all its provinces with more attention, beginning with thoſe of the north.

The evening before our departure we ſupped with Plato, to whoſe houſe I went in company with Apollodorus and Philotas. We there found his nephew Speuſippus, ſeveral of his old diſciples, and Timotheus the celebrated general. We were informed that Plato was cloſetted with Dion of Syracuſe, who had lately arrived from Peloponneſus, and who, when baniſhed his country ſix or ſeven years before, had made a conſiderably long ſtay at Athens. In a few minutes they joined the company. Plato ſeemed to me at firſt diſturbed and thoughtful;

[h] Batt. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxvi. p. 6.
[i] Cicer. de Off. lib. i. cap. 41. t. iii. p. 221.
* See note at the end of the volume.

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but he ſoon recovered his ſerenity of countenance, and order-ed the table to be ſerved.

Decency and neatneſs preſided at this entertainment. Timotheus, accuſtomed in camps to hear of nothing but ſieges, battles, and evolutions, and in the mixed companies of Athens only of the navy and taxes, was ſenſible of the full value of a converſation maintained without exertion, and inſtructive without being tireſome. With a ſigh he would ſometimes exclaim: "Ah! Plato, how happy are you[k]!" The latter apologizing for the frugality of our repaſt, Timotheus anſwered: "I know that the ſuppers of the accademy procure a delightful ſleep, and a ſtill more pleaſing awaking[l]."

Some of the gueſts withdrew betimes, and Dion ſoon followed them. We had all admired his deportment and converſation. He is now, ſaid Plato, the victim of tyranny; he will one day perhaps be that of liberty.

Timotheus preſſed him for an explanation. Poſſeſſing as I do, ſaid he, the greateſt eſteem for Dion, I am ſtill a ſtranger to the real cauſes of his exile, and have but a confuſed idea of the intrigues that diſturb the court of Syracuſe. I have been but too near a witneſs to theſe convulſions, anſwered Plato. Formerly no man felt more indignation at the fury and injuſtice ſometimes diſplayed in our popular aſſemblies: but how much more dreadful and dangerous are thoſe cabals, which, under the appearance of a perfect calm, are perpetually fermenting around the throne, in thoſe elevated regions, where to ſpeak the truth is criminal, and to render it agreeable to the prince a ſtill greater crime; where favour juſtifies the villian, and diſgrace renders the virtuous man culpable! We might perhaps have been able to reſtore the king of Syracuſe to a ſenſe of truth and juſtice, but he was vilely deceived and corrupted. It is not the fate of Dion I deplore, it is the unhappy deſtiny of all Sicily. Theſe words ſtill more increaſed

[k] Ælian. Var. Hiſt lib. 2. cap. 10.

[l] Id. ibid. cap. 18. Athen. lib. 10. p. 419.

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our curiosity; and Plato, yielding to our entreaties that he would explain himself more at length, began as follows:

It is now thirty-two years ago * since reasons, too tedious to enumerate, induced me to travel into Sicily. Dionysius the elder then reigned at Syracuse. You know that this prince, formidable from his great abilities, employed himself, during his life-time, in forging chains both for his own subjects, and for the neighbouring nations. His cruelty seemed to increase in the same proportion with his power, which he at length raised above all controul. He was desirous of an acquaintance with me; and, as he made the advances, was in expectation of some flattery; but he obtained only truths. I shall neither speak of his fury which I braved, nor of his vengeance against which I with difficulty guarded [m]. I made a resolution not to proclaim his injustice whilst he was alive, and his memory now needs no new accusations to render him an object of universal execration.

At this period I made a conquest which does honour to philosophy, in the person of Dion, who has just left us. Aristomache, his sister, was one of the two wives whom Dionysius espoused on the same day: Hipparinus her father, had been long at the head of the Syracusan republic [n]. To the conversations I had with Dion, that city will owe her liberty, if she is ever so fortunate as to recover it [o]. His superior soul, expanded at the first rays of light, and inflamed with the purest love of virtue, renounced, without hesitation, all the passions by which it had hitherto been degraded, with an ardour I never have remarked in any other young man, and with a constancy from which he has never swerved.

From this moment he conceived the highest indignation at the slavery to which his country was reduced [p]; but as he

* Towards the year 389 before Christ.

[m] Plat. Epist. 7. t. iii. p. 324. et 326. Diog. Laert. in Plat. lib. 3. § 18.

[n] Plat. in Dion. t. i. p. 960.

[o] Id. ibid. p. 959.

[p] Plat. Ep. 7. t. iii. p. 326. et 327.

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flattered himself that his example and principles made an impression on the tyrant, who could not help loving and employing him [q], he still continued near his person, never ceasing to speak to him with freedom, and to contemn the malice and hatred of a dissolute court [r].

Dionysius at length ended his days *, seized with terrors, tormented with distrust, and as miserable as he had rendered his people during a reign of thirty-eight years [s]. Amongst other children, he left by Doris, one of his wives, a son of his own name, who ascended the throne [t]. Dion embraced this opportunity to exert himself for the happiness of Sicily. He said to the young prince, Your father founded his power on the formidable fleets now at your disposal, on the ten thousand barbarians who compose your guard. These were, according to his expression, so many chains of adamant with which he bound in close union all parts of his empire. He was mistaken; I know no other bands indissolubly to unite them but the justice of the prince and the love of the people. How shameful were it for you, added he, if, only able to distinguish yourself from others by the magnificence that is displayed around your person and in your palace, the lowest of your subjects should raise himself above you by the superiority of his knowledge and sentiments [u]!

Not contented with giving wholesome instruction to the king, Dion paid every attention to the administration of government: he affected many useful regulations, and increased the number of his enemies [x]. These for some time exhausted themselves in ineffectual attempts; but it was not long before they plunged Dionysius into the most shameful debauchery [y]. Dion, unable to resist the torrent, waited for a more favourable opportunity. The king, whom he found means to prejudice in my favour, and whose desires in all things are

[q] Id. ibid. p. 324 et 327.
[r] Nep. in Dion. cap. 1, et 2.
* The year 367 before Christ.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 961.
[t] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 384.
[u] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 962.
[x] Epist. Dion. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 309.
[y] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 960.

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impetuous, wrote to me several very pressing letters, requesting me to leave every thing, and repair immediately to Syracuse. Dion in his letters added, that I had not a moment to lose; that it might now be possible to place philosophy on the throne; that Dionysius began to discover better dispositions, and that his family would readily join with us to confirm him in them [z].

I reflected deliberately on these letters. I could place no confidence in the promises of a young man, who in a moment flew from one extreme to the other; but ought I not to have some reliance on the approved wisdom of Dion? Was I to abandon my friend in so critical a situation? Had I devoted my days to philosophy, only to betray it when summoned to its defence [a]? Nay, I will not deny that I had hopes that I might be able to realize my ideas concerning the best of governments, and establish the throne of justice in the dominions of the king of Sicily [b]. Such were the real motives which induced me to depart [*], motives very different from those which have been imputed to me by my uncandid censurers [c].

I found the court of Dionysius distracted with commotions and dissensions. Dion was the object of the most atrocious calumnies [d].—At these words Speusippus interrupted Plato: My uncle, says he, does not choose to relate to you the honours which were paid him, and the success he had on his arrival [e]. The king received him at his landing, and placing him in a magnificent chariot drawn by four white horses, conducted him to his palace in triumph, amidst an immense multitude who covered the beach. He ordered that the gates of the palace should be open to him at all hours, and offered

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[z] Id. Epist. 7. t. iii. p. 327. Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 962. Ælian Var. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 18.

[a] Id. ibid. p. 328.

[b] Id. Epist. 7. t. iii. p. 328. Diog. Laert in Plat lit. 3. § 21

[*] Towards the year 364 before Christ.

[c] Plat. ibid. Themist. Orat. 23. p. 285. Diogen. Laert. in Epic. lib. 10. § 8.

[d] Id ibid. p. 329.

[e] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 763. Plin. lib. 7. cap. 30. t. 1. p. 392. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 18.

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up a pompous ſacrifice to the gods in gratitude for their bounty, which had granted ſo great a philoſopher to Sicily. The courtiers were immediately ſeen to anticipate reform, retrench the luxury of their tables, and attentively to ſtudy geometrical figures, traced out by different teachers on the ſand in the halls even of the palace.

The people, aſtoniſhed at this ſudden revolution, began to conceive hopes: the king ſhowed himſelf more ſenſible to their complaints, and men fondly recollected that he had obtained the title of citizen of Athens [f], the moſt free of all the cities of Greece. Nay, it was further reported, that at a religious ceremony, when the herald, according to the uſual form, addreſſed vows to heaven for the preſervation of the *Tyrant*, Dionyſius, offended at a title which, till then had never affected him, ſuddenly exclaimed! Wilt thou never ceaſe to curſe me [g]?

The partiſans of tyranny trembled at theſe words. At their head was Philiſtus, who has written on the wars of Sicily, and ſome other works of the ſame kind. Dionyſius the elder had baniſhed him from his ſtates; but as he poſſeſſed eloquence and courage, he was recalled from exile, that he might be oppoſed to Plato [h]. No ſooner did he return, than Dion was expoſed to the blackeſt calumny: his fidelity was rendered ſuſpicious; and care was taken to put the worſt conſtruction on all his words and actions. Did he adviſe a reduction of the troops and galleys in time of peace; it was alleged that his deſign was to transfer the crown to the children of his ſiſter, by the elder Dionyſius. Did he engage his pupil to ſtudy the true principles of a juſt and wiſe government; the king, it was ſaid, is only a diſciple of the academy, condemned by a philoſopher for the remainder of his life to ſearch after a chimerical good [i].

[f] Demoſth. Litt. Philip. p. 115.
[g] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 963. Id. ibid. p. 962. Nep. in Dion. cap. 3.
[h] Plat. Epiſt. 7. t. iii. p. 333. Plut. in Dion. t. i. p 962, &c.

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And in fact, added Plato, the whole converſation at Syracuſe turned only on two conſpiracies: the one that of philoſophy againſt the throne; and the other that of all the paſſions againſt philoſophy. I was accuſed of favouring the former, and of profiting by my aſcendency over Dionyſius, to ſpread ſnares for his inexperience. It is true, that in concert with Dion, I did ſay to him, that if he wiſhed to acquire true glory, and even increaſe his power, he ſhould collect around him a number of virtuous friends, and inveſt them with the different offices of magiſtracy [k]; that he ſhould rebuild the Greek cities deſtroyed by the Carthaginians, and give them wiſe laws, until a proper time arrived to reſtore them to their liberty; in fine, that he ſhould preſcribe limits to his own authority, and become the king, inſtead of being the tyrant of his ſubjects [l]. Dionyſius ſometimes appeared to liſten to our counſels; but his invetrate prejudices againſt my friend, perpetually increaſed, and irritated by perfidious inſinuations, were deeply rooted in his heart. During the firſt months of my reſidence at Syracuſe, I employed every effort to remove them [m]; but, far from ſucceeding in my attempt, I perceived the credit of Dion evidently on the decline [n].

The war with the Carthaginians ſtill continued, and though it produced only ſome tranſient hoſtilities, it was neceſſary that it ſhould be terminated. Dion, in order to inſpire the enemy with a deſire to end it, wrote to their generals to inform him of the firſt negotiations they ſhould enter into, that he might aid them in affecting a ſolid and permanent peace. The letter fell by ſome means into the hands of the king, who immediately conſulted with Philiſtus, and preparing his vengeance by profound diſſimulation, affected to receive Dion again into favour, loaded him with marks of his bounty, and

[k] Id. Epiſt. 7. t. iii. p. 332 et 336.
[l] Id. Epiſt. 3. t. iii. p. 315, 316. 319. Plut. in Dion. p. 962.
[m] Id. Epiſt. 7. t. iii. p. 329.
[n] Plut. ibid. t. i. p. 963.

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drawing him to the ſea ſhore, ſhowed him the fatal letter, reproaching him at the ſame time with his treaſon, and, without permitting him to offer a ſingle word in explanation of his conduct, forced him to embark on board a veſſel, which immediately ſet ſail [o].

This was a thunder-ſtroke to Sicily, and threw the friends of Dion into the utmoſt conſternation: the general apprehenſion was leſt the tempeſt ſhould burſt on our heads. The report of my death was ſpread at Syracuſe. But this violent ſtorm was ſuddenly ſucceeded by a profound calm; and the king, either from policy or ſhame, ſent a ſum of money to Dion, which the latter refuſed to accept [p]. Far, however, from perſecuting his friends, Dionyſius omitted nothing to quiet their alarms [q]: his endeavours were particularly directed to ſooth and conſole me, and he entreated me not to leave him. Though his prayers were mingled with menaces, and his careſſes with fury, I invariably adhered to this alternative, that he ſhould either conſent to the return of Dion, or grant me my diſmiſſion. Finding himſelf unable to overcome my reſiſtance, he commanded that I ſhould be removed to the citadel in his own palace. Orders were diſpatched on all ſides to bring me back to Syracuſe, if I attempted to make my eſcape; and all maſters of ſhips were forbidden to take me on board without an expreſs permiſſion ſigned by the king's own hand.

Though I was now made a priſoner, and ſtrictly watched, Dionyſius ſeemed to redouble his affection and attention to me [r]: he appeared ſo jealous of my friendſhip, that he was unable to bear the preference I gave to Dion; he demanded it with haughtineſs; he entreated it as a ſuppliant. I was perpetually expoſed to the moſt extravagant ſcenes, which were one continual round of violence, excuſes, outrages, and

[o] Id. in Dion. t. i. p. 963. Plat. Epiſt. 7. t. iii. p. 329.
[p] Epiſt. Dion. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 309.
[q] Plat. Epiſt. 7. t. iii. p. 329.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 330.

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tears [s]. As our converſations daily became more frequent, it was rumoured abroad that I was his only favourite. This report, malignantly encouraged by Philiſtus and his party [t], rendered me odious to the people and the army. The debaucheries of the prince, and the faults he committed in his government, were equally imputed to me as a crime: but theſe could with no juſtice be aſcribed to me. Excepting the preamble to ſome laws, at which I had laboured from the time of my arrival in Sicily [u], I had abſolutely declined intermeddling with public affairs, even at a period when I might have ſhared the burden with my faithful friend. Him I had juſt loſt; Dionyſius had thrown himſelf into the arms of a crowd of flatterers, plunged in every kind of debauchery; and this was the moment which I was ſuppoſed to have choſen to offer advice to a madman, who imagined that he governed, but who ſuffered himſelf to be governed by counſellors as wickedly diſpoſed, and not leſs madmen than himſelf!

Dionyſius would have purchaſed my friendſhip with gold; but I valued it at a higher price: I wiſhed him to receive my inſtructions, and learn to become maſter of himſelf, that he might merit to rule over others; but he regards no philoſophy but that which exerciſes ingenuity, and gives him an opportunity of diſplaying his abilities. When I talked to him of that wiſdom which regulates the paſſions, I perceived that he liſtened to me with pain and embarraſſment. I ſaw that he was guarded againſt all that I might ſay; his counſellors having warned him, that if he admitted my principles, he muſt conſent to the triumph and return of Dion [x].

Nature has beſtowed on Dionyſius a lively penetration, admirable eloquence, a ſuſceptible heart, generous emotions, and a propenſity to what is right: but ſhe has denied him conſiſtency of character; and an education totally neglected [y]

[s] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 964.
[t] Plut. Epiſt. 3. t. iii. p. 315.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 316.
[x] Id. Epiſt. 7. t. iii. p. 330.
[y] Plut. in Dion t. i. p. 961.

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preventing the growth of his virtues, has ſuffered defects to ſhoot forth, which fortunately abate his vices. He poſſeſſes ſeverity without tenaciouſneſs, haughtineſs without dignity. It is from weakneſs that he employs falſehood and perfidy, and paſſes whole days in the intoxication of wine and pleaſures. Had he more firmneſs, he would be the cruelleſt of men. I know of no mental energy in him, but the inflexible obſtinacy with which he requires every thing to bend to his caprices: reaſon, opinions, ſentiments, all muſt, when he pleaſes, be ſubordinate to his underſtanding; and I have ſeen him degrade himſelf by meanneſs and ſubmiſſion, rather than encounter the affront of a refuſal or contradiction. If in his preſent ſtudies, he is eager to penetrate the ſecrets of nature [z], it is only becauſe he imagines nothing ought to be concealed from him. Dion, above all, is odious to him, becauſe he is continually thwarting him by his example and his counſels.

I was employed in fruitleſsly ſoliciting that my friend might be recalled from baniſhment, and myſelf ſuffered to depart, when war breaking out anew, furniſhed him with other objects of attention [a]. Having no longer any pretext for retaining me, he conſented to my departure, and we entered into a ſort of treaty. I promiſed to return to him when peace ſhould be concluded; and he engaged to recal Dion at the ſame time. When the war was ended, he loſt no time in informing us of the event. He wrote to Dion to delay his return for a year, and to me to haſten mine [b]. I immediately anſwered him, that my age no longer permitted me to riſk the dangers of ſo long a voyage; and that ſince he had broken his promiſe, I conſidered myſelf as diſengaged from mine. This anſwer was as diſſatisfactory to Dion as to Dionyſius [c]. I had then reſolved to interfere no more in their affairs; but this rendered the king more pertinacious than ever in his

[z] Plat. Epiſt. 2. t. iii. p. 313. Epiſt. 7. p. 341.
[a] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 964.
[b] Plat. Epiſt. 3. t. iii. p. 317. Epiſt. 7. p. 338.
[c] Id. Epiſt. 7. p. 338.

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project. He begged solicitations from every quarter; he never ceased writing to me himself; and procured letters to be written to me by my friends in Sicily, and by the philosophers of the Italian school. Archytas, who is at the head of the latter, was sent for to him[d]: he wrote to me, and his testimony was corroborated by other letters, that the king was inflamed with new ardour for the study of philosophy, and that I should expose those philosophers who resided in his dominions to his resentment, if I did not immediately return. Dion also, on his side, pressed me by repeated applications.

The king, however, will never recal him; for he fears him; nor will he ever be a philosopher, for he only wishes to appear one[e]. He imagined that my return to his court might procure him additional respect from those who really merit the name, and my refusal injure him in their opinion. This is certainly the true reason of the earnestness with which he pressed me.

I nevertheless thought it would be wrong to oppose my own opinion to so many others united against me. I should one day perhaps have been reproached with abandoning a young prince, who stretched out his hand to me a second time to conduct him out of the maze of error; with resigning to his fury the friends I have in those distant countries; and with neglecting the interests of Dion, to whom I had so long been bound by the ties of gratitude, hospitality, and friendship[f]. His enemies had procured his revenues to be sequestered[g]; they were persecuting him to urge him to revolt; they excited the king to repeated acts of injustice toward him, that they might render him implacable. Dionysius wrote to me thus[h]: "We shall first talk of the affair of Dion; with respect to which I will do what you think proper, and I hope

[d] Id. Epist. 7. t. iii. p. 338.
[e] Id. Epist. 2. t. iii. p. 312. Epist. 7. p. 338.
[f] Id. Epist. 7. p. 328.
[g] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 965. Plat. Epist. 3. t. iii. p. 318.
[h] Id. Epist. 7. p. 339. Plut. ibid.

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that you will ſuggeſt nothing but what is juſt. If you do not come, you will never obtain any thing for him."

I knew Dion. His ſoul is endowed with all the loftineſs of virtue. He has patiently ſupported violence: but ſhould his enemies, by dint of injuſtice, ſucceed in mortifying him further, torrents of blood alone can obliterate the injury from his remembrance. To a commanding figure he unites the moſt ſplendid qualities of the mind and heart [i]; in Sicily he poſſeſſes immenſe riches [k]; in every part of the kingdom innumerable partiſans, and in Greece a reputation which would induce our braveſt warriors to ſerve under his banners [l]. I foreſaw the calamities ready to fall on Sicily, and it depended perhaps on me to avert or to ſuſpend them.

It was with reluctance I again quitted my retirement, to go, at near ſeventy years of age, to the court of a haughty deſpot, whoſe caprices are as tempeſtuous as the ſeas I had to paſs; but there is no virtue without a ſacrifice, no philoſophy but in practice. Speuſippus wiſhed to accompany me, and I accepted his offer [m], flattering myſelf that the embelliſhments of his mind might captivate the king, if the force of my arguments ſhould prove unable to convince him. At length I departed, and ſafely arrived in Sicily *.

Dionyſius ſeemed tranſported with joy, as did the queen and the whole royal family [n]. He had ordered an apartment to be prepared for me in the garden of the palace [o]. At our firſt converſation, I repreſented to him, that, according to our convention, the baniſhment of Dion was to terminate the moment of my return to Syracuſe. At theſe words he exclaimed: Dion is not baniſhed; I have only removed him from the court [p]. It is time to bring him back to it, anſwered I, and to make reſtitution of his eſtates, which you have

[i] Id. ibid. p. 336. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 410. Nep. in Dion. cap. 4.
[k] Plat. ibid. p. 349. Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 960.
[l] Plat. Epiſt 7. p. 328. Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 964.
[m] Id. Epiſt. 2. p. 314. Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 967.
* In the beginning of the year 361 before Chriſt.
[n] Plut. ibid. p. 965.
[o] Plat. Epiſt t. iii. p. 349.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 338.

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put into the hands of faithleſs adminiſtrators [q]. Theſe two articles were the ſubject of long debate between us, and employed ſeveral interviews. In the mean time he induſtriouſly laboured, by preſents and diſtinctions, to cool my ardour for the intereſts of my friend, and to draw me into an approbation of his diſgrace [r]: but I ſpurned at advantages to be purchaſed at the price of perfidy and diſhonour.

When I attempted to examine the real ſtate of his mind, and his diſpoſition towards philoſophy [s], he talked to me only of the myſteries of nature, and eſpecially of the origin of evil. He had heard from ſome Pythagoreans of Italy, that I had long ſtudied that difficult queſtion, and this was one of the motives which influenced him ſo earneſtly to preſs my return [t]. He obliged me to ſtate to him ſome of my ideas on the ſubject, but I took care not to explain them at length; nor, to ſay the truth, did the king ſeem deſirous that I ſhould [u]: he appeared much more diſpoſed to make a parade of a few feeble ſolutions which he had borrowed from other philoſophers.

In the mean time I continually recurred, but always without effect, to the main object I had in view, that of effecting a reconciliation between him and Dion, than which nothing could be more eſſential to his true intereſts, or the proſperity of his reign. At length, no leſs wearied with his evaſions than he was with my importunity, I began to repent that I had been induced to make a voyage equally fruitleſs and hazardous. It was now ſummer; and as I wiſhed to take advantage of the ſeaſon to return to Greece, I declared to him that I could no longer remain at the court of a prince who was the implacable perſecutor of my friend [x]. He made uſe of every art to detain me, and concluded by promiſing me one of his galleys: but as it was eaſy for him to retard the pre-

[q] Id. Epiſt. 3. p. 317.
[r] Id. Epiſt. 7. p. 333 et 334.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 340.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 338. Plut in Dion. i. p. 965.
[u] Plat. ibid. p. 341.
[x] Id. Epiſt. 7. p. 345.

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parations, I determined to embark in the firſt veſſel that ſhould ſet ſail.

Two days after he came to me, and ſaid [y]: "All our differences turn on the affair of Dion; we muſt make an end of it. All I can do for him, from friendſhip to you, is this: Let him ſtay in Peloponneſus, until the preciſe time of his return ſhall be ſettled between him, me, you, and your friends. He muſt give you his word to undertake nothing againſt my authority: he muſt make the ſame promiſe to your friends and his, and you muſt all be reſponſible for its performance. His property ſhall be conveyed to Greece, and depoſited in ſuch hands as you ſhall chooſe: the intereſt of it ſhall be at his diſpoſal, but he ſhall not be allowed to touch the capital without your conſent; for I have not ſufficient reliance on his fidelity to intruſt him with ſuch powerful means of doing me an injury. I require of you, at the ſame time, to remain one year with me; and at your departure, the money belonging to him ſhall be delivered to you. I hope he will be ſatisfied with this arrangement. Tell me whether it be ſuch as you approve."

I was much afflicted at this project, and demanded twenty-four hours to conſider it. After balancing its advantages and inconveniences, I anſwered, that I accepted the propoſed conditions, provided Dion ſhould approve them. It was therefore agreed that we ſhould each of us write to him as ſoon as poſſible, and that in the mean time his property ſhould remain untouched. This was the ſecond treaty we had made together, and was obſerved with no more fidelity than the firſt [z].

I had ſuffered the ſeaſon for returning home to paſs over; all the veſſels were departed. It was impoſſible for me to eſcape out of the garden, and elude the vigilance of the guard ſtationed at the gate. The king, now ſecure of my perſon, began to throw off all reſtraint. He one day ſaid to me, We

[y] Id. ibid. p. 346.

[z] Id. ibid. t. iii. p. 347.

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have omitted an eſſential article. I ſhall only ſend to Dion the half of his property; the other half I ſhall reſerve for his ſon, whoſe natural guardian I am, as brother of his mother Arete [a]. I contented myſelf with obſerving, that it would be proper to wait for Dion's anſwer to his firſt letter, and then write him a ſecond, to inform him of this new arrangement.

In the mean time he proceeded to diſſipate the wealth of Dion in a ſhameleſs manner; part of his eſtates he ſold, how and to whom he choſe, without deigning to conſult me, or liſten to my complaints. My ſituation became every day more inſupportable, and was rendered ſtill worſe by an unforeſeen event.

The guards of Dionyſius, enraged at an attempt he had made to diminiſh the pay of the veterans, tumultuouſly preſented themſelves at the foot of the citadel, the gates of which he had ordered to be ſhut. Their menaces, their warlike ſhouts, and preparations for the aſſault, ſo terrified the tyrant that he granted them more than they demanded [b]. Heraclides, one of the principal citizens of Syracuſe, ſtrongly ſuſpected of being the author of the revolt, fled, and employed the influence of his family to remove the ſuſpicions which had been inſtilled into the king.

A few days after, as I was walking in the garden [c], I ſaw Dionyſius enter with Theodotus, for whom he had ſent; they converſed together for ſome time, and at length approaching me, Theodotus ſaid: "I have obtained for my nephew Heraclides permiſſion to come and juſtify himſelf; and, if the king will no longer ſuffer him in his ſtates, leave to retire to Peloponneſus with his wife and ſon, and liberty to diſpoſe of his property. In conſequence, I thought I might venture to invite Heraclides to repair hither; and I am going to write to him again. My preſent requeſt is that he may appear at Syracuſe, or in its environs, without danger. Do you conſent to it, Dionyſius? I do, replied the king. He may even reſide with you in perfect ſafety."

[a] Id. ibid. p. 347.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 348.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 348.

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The next morning Theodotus and Eurybius entered my apartment, with grief and conſternation in their countenances. "Plato," ſaid the former to me, "you yeſterday were witneſs to the promiſe of the king. We have juſt heard that ſoldiers, diſperſed on all ſides, are in ſearch of Heraclides, with orders to apprehend him. He is perhaps returned. We have not a moment to loſe; come with us to the palace." I followed them. When we arrived in the king's preſence, they remained motionleſs, and burſt into tears. I ſaid to him, "They are afraid that, notwithſtanding the promiſe you made yeſterday, Heraclides may be in danger at Syracuſe; for it is ſuppoſed that he is returned." Dionyſius, foaming with rage, changed colour. Eurybius and Theodotus threw themſelves at his feet, and, whilſt they were bathing his hands with tears, I ſaid to Theodotus, "Be comforted, the king will never break his word with us.—I made you no promiſe, ſaid he to me, with his eyes ſparkling with fury.—And I call the gods to witneſs, replied I, that you did make the promiſe which they ſupplicate you to fulfil." I then turned my back on him and withdrew [d]. Theodotus had no other reſource but privately to apprize Heraclides of his danger, who eſcaped with difficulty from the reſearches of the ſoldiers.

From this moment Dionyſius threw off the maſk, and purſued, without diſguiſe, his project of poſſeſſing himſelf of all the eſtates of Dion [e]. He ſent me out of the palace, and I was ſtrictly prohibited from all intercourſe with my friends, and all acceſs to his perſon. I heard of nothing but his complaints, his reproaches, and menaces [f]. If I accidentally ſaw him, it was but to be the object of bitter ſarcaſms, and indecent pleaſantries [g]; for kings, and courtiers after their example, convinced no doubt that their favour conſtitutes our

[d] Id. ibid. p. 349.
[e] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 966.
[f] Plat. ibid. p. 349.
[g] Id. Epiſt. p. 319.

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only merit, ceaſe to reſpect thoſe whom they have ceaſed to love. I was warned, at the ſame time, that my life was in danger; and, in truth, ſome of the attendants of the tyrant had ſaid that they would put me death if they could meet me.

I found means to inform Archytas and my other friends at Tarentum of my ſituation [h]. Previous to my arrival, Dionyſius had pledged to them his word, that I ſhould be permitted to leave Sicily whenever I thought proper; and they had plighted their faith to me as a ſecurity for his [i]. I now claimed the protection of this engagement. Deputies from Tarentum ſoon arrived, and after acquitting themſelves of a commiſſion, which ſerved as a pretext for the embaſſy, they at length obtained my deliverance.

On my return from Sicily, I landed at Elis, and repaired to the Olympic games, where Dion had promiſed to meet me [k]. I related to him all that had paſſed, and concluded by ſaying, Now, judge for yourſelf of the power which philoſophy has over the mind of the king of Syracuſe.

Dion, exaſperated at the freſh injuries he had received in my perſon, ſuddenly exclaimed, The ſchool of philoſophy muſt no longer teach Dionyſius, but that of adverſity, and I fly to conduct him to it. My miſſion then, anſwered I, is at an end. Were my hands ſtill able to bear arms, I would never take them up againſt a prince with whom I have partaken of the ſame houſe, the ſame table, and the ſame ſacrifices; who, deaf to the calumny of my enemies, ſpared that life which was at his diſpoſal; and to whom I have a hundred times promiſed never to countenance any enterpriſe againſt his authority. If, at any time, returning again to pacific views, either of you ſtand in need of my mediation, I will with pleaſure tender it to you; but ſo long as you ſhall

[h] Id. ibid. p. 350.
[i] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 965. Diog. Laert. in Plat. lib. 3. § 22.
[k] Plat. ibid.

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meditate projects of deſtruction, look not to me either for counſel or aſſiſtance [l].

For three years I have employed various pretexts to keep him inactive; but he has juſt declared to me that it is time to fly to the aſſiſtance of his country. The principal inhabitants of Syracuſe, weary of the ſervitude under which they groan, wait only for his arrival to ſhake off the yoke. I have ſeen their letters: they neither require troops nor veſſels; but ſolicit his name to authoriſe, and his preſence to unite them [m]. They alſo inform him, that his wife, no longer able to reſiſt the menaces and violence of the king, has been forced to contract a freſh marriage [n]. The meaſure is full. Dion will immediately return to Peloponneſus, where he will levy ſoldiers, and, when his preparations are completed, paſs into Sicily.

Such was the relation given us by Plato. We took leave of him, and, on the next day, ſet out on our journey into Bœotia.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Journey through Bœotia *. *The Cave of Trophonius. Heſiod. Pindar.*

TRAVELLERS may journey with the greateſt ſafety in every part of Greece; there are inns in the principal cities, and on the great roads [o], but ſtrangers are fleeced in them without mercy. As the country is almoſt every where interſperſed with hills and riſing grounds, carriages are made uſe of only for ſhort journeys; and then too it is often neceſſary to put a drag on the wheels [p]: in thoſe of any length, mules

[l] Id. Epiſt. 7. t. iii. p. 350.
[m] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 967.
[n] Id. ibid. p. 966.
* See the map of Bœotia.
[o] Plat. de Leg. lib 11. p. 919. Æſchin. de Falſ. Legat. p. 416.
[p] Athen. lib. 3. p. 99.

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are preferable [q], and the traveller ſhould take ſlaves with him to carry his baggage [r].

Beſides the hoſpitable reception which the Greeks in general are always ready to give to ſtrangers, there are in the chief towns perſons called *proxemi*, who are expreſsly appointed for that purpoſe. Theſe are ſometimes individuals connected by commerce, or the bonds of hoſpitality, with the inhabitants of another city; ſometimes perſons inveſted with a public character, and appointed to be the agents of a city or nation which has choſen them by a ſolemn decree, with the conſent of the people to whom they belong [s]; laſtly, there are others of them who manage at once the public affairs of ſome foreign city, and tranſact buſineſs for its private citizens [t].

The proxenus of a city finds lodgings for its deputies, whom he accompanies every where, and avails himſelf of his credit to enſure the ſucceſs of their negociations [u]; he procures likewiſe for ſuch of its inhabitants as travel all the accommodations in his power. This aſſiſtance we experienced in many of the Grecian cities. In ſome places, individuals anticipated our deſires [x], in the hope of obtaining the good opinion of the Athenians, whoſe agents they wiſhed to be, and of enjoying, if they ſhould come to Athens, certain privileges annexed to that title; ſuch as the permiſſion to be preſent at the general aſſembly, and precedency at religious ceremonies as well as the public games [y].

We left Athens at the beginning of the month Munychion, in the 3d year of the 105th Olympiad *, and arrived the ſame evening at Oropus by a rugged road, but ſhaded in ſome parts

[q] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 440.

[r] Id. de Falſ. Legat. p. 410. Caſaub. in Theophr. cap. 11. p. 103. Duport, ibid. p. 385.

[s] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 29. Id. lib. 5. cap. 50. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1. p. 432. Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 4. p. 485.

[t] Ion. ap. Athen. lib. 13. p. 603. Demoſth. in Callip. p. 1099. et 1101.

[u] Xenoph. ibid. lib. 5. p. 570. Euſtath. ibid. lib. 3. p. 405.

[x] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 70.

[y] De l'Etat des Colon. par. M. de Sainte-Croix. p. 89.

* The ſpring of the year 357 before Chriſt.

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with groves of laurel [z]. This town, ſituated on the confines of Bœotia and Attica, is about twenty ſtadia diſtant from the ſea [a] *. The duties on entry are collected there with exceſſive rigour, and extend even to proviſions for the conſumption of the inhabitants [b], who are in general extremely reſerved, and ſordidly avaricious.

Near this town, and on a ſpot embelliſhed by ſprings of limpid watter [c], ſtands the temple of Amphiaraus. He was one of the leaders in the Theban war, and as he performed the functions of ſoothſayer, was ſuppoſed to deliver oracles after his death. Thoſe who come to conſult him, muſt abſtain for three days from wine, and from all ſorts of food for twenty-four hours [d]. They then immolate a ram near his ſtatue, ſtretch the ſkin before the porch, and ſleep upon it; after which it is affirmed that the god appears to them, and anſwers their queſtions in a dream [e]. A great number of miracles are ſaid to have been wrought in this temple; but the Bœotians are ſo credulous reſpecting oracles [f], that it is impoſſible to rely on any thing they ſay on the ſubject.

At the diſtance of thirty ſtadia †, we arrive at [g] the town of Tanagra, ſituated on an eminence, the houſes of which make a handſome appearance, the greateſt part of them being ornamented with encauſtic paintings and veſtibules. The territory of this town, watered by a ſmall river called Thermodon [h], is covered with olives and various kinds of trees. It produces little corn, but the beſt wine in Bœotia.

Though the inhabitants are rich, they are ſtrangers to luxury and its concomitant exceſſes. They are accuſed of being envious [i]; yet we only obſerved among them ſincerity, a love

[z] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geog. Min. t. ii. p. 11.
[a] Strab. lib. 9. p. 403.
* About three quarters of a league.
[b] Dicæarch. ibid. p. 12.
[c] Liv. lib. 45. cap. 27.
[d] Philoſtrat. Vit. Apoll. lib. 2. cap. 37. p. 99.
[e] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap 34. p. 84.
[f] Plut. de Orac. Defect. t. ii. p. 411.
† Something more than a league.
[g] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geog. Min. t. ii. p. 12.
[h] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 42.
[i] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. Geog. Min. t. ii. p. 18.

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of juſtice and hoſpitality, and an anxiety to aid thoſe unhappy perſons who are compelled by neceſſity to wander from town to town. They fly from idleneſs, and deteſting illicit gain, live contented with their ſituation. There is not a place in Bœotia where travellers have fewer impoſitions and extortions to apprehend [k]. I think I have diſcovered the ſecret of their virtues; they prefer agriculture to the other arts.

So great is their veneration for their gods, that they build their temples only in ſituations ſeparate from the habitations of mortals [l]. They pretend that Mercury once delivered them from the plague, by carrying a ram round the town upon his ſhoulders; and they therefore repreſent him in his temple carrying a ram, and on the day of his feſtival perpetuate the memory of his beneficence, by a ceremony in which a beautiful youth repreſents the god [m]. For the Greeks are perſuaded that the offerings made to the gods are more acceptable when preſented by youth and beauty.

Corinna was of Tanagra, and cultivated poetry with ſucceſs. We ſaw her tomb in the moſt conſpicuous part of the town, and her portrait in the gymnaſium. On reading her works, we are tempted to aſk why, in poetical competitions, they were ſo often preferred to thoſe of Pindar; but when we view her portrait, we inquire why they have not always obtained the preference [n].

The Tanagrians, like all the other Greeks, have a paſſion for cock-fighting. Theſe birds with them are of an extraordinary ſize and beauty [o]; but they ſeem leſs intended to perpetuate their ſpecies than to deſtroy it, for they breathe nothing but war [p]. They are conveyed to different cities for the purpoſe of fighting with each other; and to render their

[k] Id. ibid. p. 13.
[l] Pauſan. lib. 9. cap. 22. p. 753.
[m] Id. ibid. p. 752.
[n] Id. ibid. p. 753.
[o] Columell. de Re Ruſt. lib. 8. cap. 2. Varr. de Re Ruſt. lib. 3. cap. 9.
[p] Plin. lib. 10. cap. 21. t. i p. 554.

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fury more deſtructive, their ſpurs are tipped with points of braſs [q].

We ſet out from Tanagra, and, after travelling two hundred ſtadia [r] * along a rough and difficult road, arrived at Platæa, once a powerful city, but now buried beneath its ruins. It was ſituated at the foot of Mount Cithæron [s], in the beautiful plain watered by the Aſopus, where Mardonius was defeated at the head of three hundred thouſand Perſians. The Platæans diſtinguiſhed themſelves ſo eminently in this battle, that the other Greeks, as well in acknowledgment of their valour as to avoid all jealouſy, decreed to them the chief glory. Feſtivals were inſtituted here to perpetuate the memory of this great event; and it was determined that funeral ceremonies ſhould annually be celebrated on the ſpot, in honour of the Greeks who fell in the engagement [t].

Such inſtitutions are very common among the Greeks; they are aware that monuments alone are tranſient records of illuſtrious deeds, or at beſt inadequate to excite others to emulate them. Monuments either periſh or are unknown, and are frequently only proofs of the talents of the artiſt, and the vanity of thoſe by whom they were erected. But general and ſolemn aſſemblies, in which every year the names of the heroes who have devoted themſelves to death are repeated with a loud voice, while the eulogium of their virtues is pronounced by the ableſt orators, and while their countrymen, proud of their relation to them, reſort thither to ſhed tears over their tombs; theſe are indeed the nobleſt honours that can be decreed to valour. The following is a deſcription of the ceremonies annually obſerved by the Platæans.

At break of day [u], a trumpeter ſounding a charge opened the proceſſion; next came ſeveral chariots filled with chap-

[q] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 760. Schol. ib. et v. 1365.
[r] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. p. 14.
* Seven leagues and a half.
[s] Strab. lib. 9. p. 411.
[t] Plut. in Ariſtid. t. i. p. 332.
[u] Id. ibid.

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lets and branches of myrtle; and after them a black bull followed by young men carrying veſſels full of milk, wine, and different ſorts of perfumes; then came the firſt magiſtrate of the Platæans, clad in a purple robe, holding a vaſe in one hand, and in the other a ſword. The proceſſion croſſed the city; and when it arrived at the field of battle, the magiſtrate drew ſome water from a neighbouring fountain, waſhed the cippi or columns erected over the graves, ſprinkled them with eſſences, and ſacrificed the bull. Then, after putting up prayers to Jupiter and Mercury, he invited the ſhades of the warriors ſlain in the battle to partake of the libations; after which, filling his cup with wine, he poured out a part of it, and ſaid aloud: "I drink to thoſe valiant men who died for the liberty of Greece."

After the battle of Platæa, the inhabitants of that city united with the Athenians, and ſhook off the yoke of the Thebans, who conſidered themſelves as their founders [x], and from that moment were converted into their implacable enemies. This hatred they carried to ſo great a length, that, having entered into an alliance with the Lacedæmonians, in the Peloponneſian war, they attacked the city of Platæa, and totally deſtroyed it [y]. It was ſoon after rebuilt; and as it ſtill remained firm in its attachment to the Athenians, the Thebans took and deſtroyed it a ſecond time, about ſeventeen years ago [z]. No part of it is now remaining but the temples, which the religion of the victors had ſpared, a few ſcattered houſes, and a large inn for the reception of ſtrangers who viſit this place to offer ſacrifices. The latter is a building two hundred feet long and as many broad, with a great number of apartments on the ground floor and firſt ſtory [a].

We ſaw the temple of Minerva built from the ſpoils of the Perſians taken at Marathon. Polygnotus had there painted

[x] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 61.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 68.
[z] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 362.
[a] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 68.

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the return of Ulyſſes to his kingdom, and his ſlaughter of the lovers of Penelope. Onatas had alſo repreſented the firſt expedition of the Argives againſt Thebes[b]. Theſe pictures ſtill retain all their beauty[c]. The ſtatue of the goddeſs is by Phidias, and of an extraordinary ſize; it is of gilt wood; but the face, hands, and feet, are of marble[d].

In the temple of Diana, we ſaw the monument of Euchidas, a citizen of Platæa. On this occaſion we were told, that after the defeat of the Perſians, the oracle had commanded the Greeks to extinguiſh the fires then burning in the temples, becauſe they had been polluted by the barbarians, and to come to Delphi for that which they were to uſe in future for their ſacrifices. All the fires of the country having therefore been extinguiſhed, Euchidas immediately ſet out for Delphi, took ſome fire from the altar, and returning the ſame day to Platæa, before ſun-ſet, expired in a few minutes after his arrival[e]. He had travelled one thouſand ſtadia on foot*; an aſtoniſhing journey, which will no doubt appear ſcarcely credible to thoſe who are ignorant how much the Greeks exerciſe themſelves in running, and who know not that moſt of the towns maintain couriers[f], accuſtomed to travel over extenſive tracts of country in a day[g].

Our road next lay through the town of Leuctra, and the city of Theſpiæ, which derive their celebrity from great diſaſters. Near to the former was fought that bloody battle which overthrew the Lacedæmonian power: the latter was deſtroyed, like Platæa, in the late wars[h]. The Thebans ſpared nothing but the ſacred monuments, two of which attracted our attention: the temple of Hercules, which is ſerved by a prieſteſs reſtricted to celibacy during her whole life[i]; and

[b] Pauſan. lib. 9. cap. 4. p. 718.
[c] Plut. in Ariſtid. t. i. p. 331.
[d] Pauſan. ibid.
* 37 leagues and a half.
[e] Plut. in Ariſtid. t. i. p. 331.
[f] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 106.
[g] Liv. lib. 3. cap. 24, Plin. lib. 7. cap. 20. t. i. p. 386, Solin. cap. 1. p. 9. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 316.
[h] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 362 et 367.
[i] Pauſan. lib. 9. cap. 27. p. 763.

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the ſtatute of that Cupid, ſometimes confounded with the god of love, which is only a ſhapeleſs ſtone as it comes out of the quarry [k]; for it was thus the objects of public worſhip were repreſented in ancient times.

We ſlept at a place named Aſcra, diſtant about forty ſtadia from Theſpiæ [l] *. This is a hamlet inſupportable to live in, both in ſummer and winter [m]; but it is the country of Heſiod.

The next day, a narrow path brought us to the ſacred grove of the muſes [n]; in our aſcent we ſtopped on the brink of the fountain Aganippe, and afterward at the ſtatue of Linus, one of the moſt ancient Grecian poets. This ſtatue is placed in a grotto [o], which reſembles a ſmall temple. To the right and left we viewed, with pleaſure, the numerous dwellings built by the inhabitants of the country on theſe heights [p].

Proceeding onwards, we next entered ſome beautiful alleys, and imagined ourſelves tranſported to the ſplendid court of the Muſes; for here is it, in fact, that they manifeſt their power and influence in the moſt ſignal manner, by the monuments which decorate and ſeem to animate theſe ſolitary haunts. Their ſtatues executed by different artiſts, frequently preſent themſelves to the eyes of the ſpectator. Here Apollo and Mercury are contending for a lyre [q]; there ſtill breathe a band of celebrated poets and muſicians, Thamyris, Arion, Heſiod, and Orpheus, around whom are various figures of wild animals attracted by the melody of his voice [r].

A great number of tripods of bronze are ſeen on all ſides, the illuſtrious reward of genius crowned at the competitions of poetry and muſic [s]. By the victors themſelves were they dedicated on this hallowed ground. The traveller particularly remarks that gained by Heſiod at Chalcis in Eubœa [t]. Former-

[k] Id. ibid. p. 761.
[l] Strab. lib. 9. p. 409.
* About a league and a half.
[m] Heſiod. Oper. v. 638.
[n] Strab. lib. 9. p. 410.
[o] Pauſan. lib. 9. cap. 29. p. 766.
[p] Id. ibid. cap 31. p. 771.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 30. p. 767.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 30. p. 768.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 771.
[t] Heſiod. Oper. v. 658.

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by the Theſpians annually repairrd hither to diſtribute prizes of this kind, and to celebrate feſtivals in honour of the muſes and the god of love [u].

Beyond the grove, and through flowery meads, flow a ſmall river named Permeſſus, the fountain of Hippocrene, and that of Narciſſus, where it is related that this youth expired with love, while contemplating his image in the placid waters of the ſpring [x].

We were now on Helicon, that hill ſo famous for the pureneſs of the air, the abundance of its waters, its fertile valleys, the coolneſs of its ſhades, and the beauty of the venerable trees which clothe its ſummit. The neighbouring peaſants aſſured us that the plants which grow on it are ſo ſalubrious, that, after feeding on them, ſerpents loſe their venom. They attributed an extraordinary ſweetneſs to the fruit produced here, and particularly to the andrachne [y].

The muſes reign on Helicon. Their hiſtory is filled only with abſurd traditions; but their origin is indicated by their names. It ſeems as if the firſt poets, enchanted with the beauties of nature, occaſionally were led to invoke the nymphs of the woods, hills, and fountains, and that, yielding to the prevailing taſte for allegory, they gave them names relative to the influence they might be ſuppoſed to have over the productions of the mind. At firſt three muſes only were admitted, Melete, Mneme, and Aœde: that is to ſay, the meditation or reflection neceſſary to ſtudy; memory which records illuſtrious deeds; and ſong which accompanies their recital. In proportion as improvement was made in the art of verſification, its characters and effects were perſonified, the number of the muſes increaſed, and the names they now received referred to the charms of poetry, its celeſtial origin, the beauty of its language, the pleaſure and gaiety it inſpires, the ſong

[u] Pauſan. ibid.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 29. p. 766.; cap. 31. p. 773.
[y] Pauſan. lib. 9. cap. 28. p. 763.
[z] Id. ibid. p. 765.

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and dance which add to it new charms, and the glory with which it is crowned *. Afterwards were aſſociated with them the graces, whoſe employment it is to embelliſh poetry, and love who is ſo frequently its object [a].

Theſe ideas took birth in a barbarous country, in Thrace where Orpheus, Linus, and their diſciples, ſuddenly appeared in the midſt of ignorance. The muſes were honoured there on the Pierian mount [b], and extending their dominion, ſucceſſively took their ſtations on Pindus, Parnaſſus, Helicon, and all thoſe ſolitary places where the painters of nature, ſurrounded by the moſt pleaſing images, experience the divine glow of inſpiration.

We quitted theſe delicious retreats, and proceeded to Lebadea, ſituated at the foot of a mountain, whence iſſues the little river Hercyne, which forms innumerable caſcades in its deſcent [c]. The town, on all ſides, preſents the eye with monuments of the magnificence and taſte of the inhabitants [d]. We ſurveyed them with much pleaſure, but were ſtill more anxious to viſit the cave of Trophonius, one of the moſt celebrated oracles of Greece; we were however prevented from entering it by an indiſcretion of Philotas.

One evening, while we were ſupping with one of the chief men of the town, the converſation turned on the miracles of this myſterious cavern. Philotas teſtified ſome doubts, and obſerved that theſe wonders were in general no more than natural effects. I was once, ſaid he, in a temple, when the ſtatue of the god appeared covered with ſweat: the people cried out, A miracle; but I afterwards learnt that it was made of a wood which had the property of exuding a moiſture at certain times [e]. Scarcely had he uttered theſe words, when we perceived one of the gueſts turn pale, and quickly leave the

* See note at the end of the volume.
[a] Heſiod. Theogon. v. 64.
[b] Prid. in Marmor. Oxon. p. 340.
[c] Pauſan. lib. 9. cap. 39. p. 789. Wheel. book 4. p. 327. Spon. t. ii. p. 50. Pococke, t. iii. p. 158.
[d] Pauſan. ibid.
[e] Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 5. cap. 10. p. 341.

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company: he was one of the prieſts of Trophonius. We were adviſed not to expoſe ourſelves to his vengeance, by entering a ſubterraneous labyrinth, the windings of which are known only to theſe prieſts *.

A few days after, being informed that a Theban was about to deſcend into the cavern, we took the road of the mountain, accompanied by ſome friends, and preceded by a great number of the inhabitants of Lebadea. We ſoon reached the temple of Trophonius, ſituated in the middle of a wood, conſecrated likewiſe to him [f]. His ſtatue, which repreſents him as Æſculapius, is by the hand of Praxiteles.

Trophonius was an architect, who jointly with his brother Agamedes built the temple of Delphi. Some ſay that they contrived a ſecret paſſage, in order to ſteal, during the night, the treaſure depoſited in the temple, and that Agamedes being caught in a ſnare expreſsly laid for him, Trophonius, to avoid ſuſpicion, cut off his head, and was ſome time after ſwallowed up by the earth which opened beneath his feet [g]. Others affirm, that the two brothers having completed the temple, ſupplicated Apollo to grant them a recompence. The god anſwered, that they ſhould receive it in ſeven days, and, on the end of the ſeventh, they were rewarded with death in a peaceful ſlumber [h]. Nor are the reaſons aſſigned for the divine honours paid to Trophonius leſs various: almoſt all the objects of Grecian worſhip have origins which it is impoſſible to penetrate, and unneceſſary to diſcuſs.

The road leading from Lebadea to the cave of Trophonius, is full of temples and ſtatues. This cavern, excavated a little above the ſacred wood, firſt preſents a ſort of veſtibule ſurrounded with a baluſtrade of white marble, on which are placed obeliſks of braſs [i]. From thence we enter a grotto

* See note at the end of the volume.
[f] Pauſan. lib. 9. cap. 39. p. 789.
[g] Id ibid. cap. 37. p. 785.
[h] Pindar. ap. Plut. de Conſol. t. ii. p. 109.
[i] Pauſan. lib. 9. p. 791. Philoſtr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 8. cap. 19.

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hewn out with the chiſel, eight cubits high and four wide *. In this is the entrance of the cavern, which is deſcended into by means of a ladder; and, when at a certain depth, the perſon who deſcends, finds a very narrow aperture, through which he muſt paſs his feet; and when, with much difficulty, he has introduced the reſt of his body, he feels himſelf hurried along, with the rapidity of a torrent, to the very bottom of the cavern. When he returns, he is thrown back, with his head downwards, with the ſame force and velocity. Cakes made with honey, which he is obliged to hold, prevent him from putting his hand on the ſprings employed to accelerate his deſcent or return; but, to remove all ſuſpicion of a trick, the prieſts tell him that the cave is full of ſerpents, and that he can only ſecure himſelf from their bite by throwing to them theſe cakes of honey [k].

It is not permitted to enter the cavern but in the night, after long preparations, and a ſtrict examination. Terſidas, for that was the name of the Theban who came to conſult the oracle, had paſſed ſeveral days in a chapel dedicated to Fortune and the Good Genius, uſing the cold bath, abſtaining from wine and every thing prohibited by the ritual, and feeding on victims which he had himſelf offered [l].

At the beginning of the night, a ram was ſacrificed, and the augurs having examined the entrails, as they had done in the preceding ſacrifices, declared that Trophonius accepted the worſhip of Terſidas, and would anſwer his queſtions. He was conducted to the banks of the river Hercyne, where two youths, of about thirteen years old, rubbed him with oil, and made different ablutions over him. Thence he was led to two adjacent ſprings, one of which is called the Fountain of Lethe, and the other of Mnemoſyne: the firſt effaces the memory of things paſt; the ſecond imprints on the mind what is to be ſeen or heard in the cavern. He was next introduced

* Height, 12 feet; breadth, 6 feet (Engliſh).

[k] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 508.

[l] Pauſan. lib. 9. p. 790.

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alone into a chapel containing an ancient ſtatue of Trophonius. After addreſſing prayers to him, Terſidas advanced towards the cavern, clad in a linen robe. We followed by the feeble glimmering of the torches that preceded him, till he entered the grotto and diſappeared from our ſight [m].

While waiting for his return, we liſtened attentively to the converſation of the other ſpectators, amongſt whom were ſeveral who had been in the cave; ſome ſaid they had ſeen nothing, but that the oracle had given its anſwer by an audible voice; others that they had heard nothing, but ſeen appearances proper to reſolve their doubts. A citizen of Lebadea, the grandſon of Timarchus, a diſciple of Socrates, related to us an account of what happened to his grandfather, which he had received from Cebes, the philoſopher of Thebes, nearly in the preciſe words employed by Timarchus [n].

I had come, ſaid Timarchus, to inquire of the oracle what opinion ought to be entertained of the genius of Socrates. At firſt I obſerved nothing in the cavern but the moſt intenſe darkneſs: I lay a long time proſtrate on the earth, addreſſing my prayers to Trophonius, without knowing whether I was aſleep or waking; when of a ſudden I was ſaluted by pleaſing but inarticulate ſounds, and beheld an infinite number of large iſlands illumined by a gentle light; they were every moment changing their places and colours, turning round on their axes, and floating on a ſea, at the extremities of which rolled two torrents of fire. Near me yawned an immenſe gulf, in which thick vapours ſeemed to boil; and from the depth of the abyſs proceeded the howlings of animals, confuſedly intermingled with the cries of children, and the groans of men and women.

Whilſt all theſe objects of terror filled me with conſternation, an unknown voice ſaid to me in a mournful tone, Timarchus, what wiſheſt thou to know? I anſwered, almoſt

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[m] Id. ibid.

[n] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 590.

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without knowing what I ſaid: Every thing; for every thing here ſeems to me moſt wonderful. This voice replied, The iſlands thou beholdeſt at a diſtance are ſuperior regions, and obey other gods; but thou mayeſt viſit the empire of Proſerpine which we govern, and which is ſeparated from theſe regions by the Styx. I aſked what was the Styx. The voice anſwered, It is the road that leads to the infernal ſhades, and the line that ſeparates light from darkneſs. It then explained the generation and revolutions of ſouls, adding, Thoſe which are ſullied with crimes, fall, as thou ſeeſt, into the gulf, and undergo a preparation for a new birth. I ſee nothing, ſaid I, but ſtars in motion on the brink of the abyſs, ſome deſcending and others riſing out of it. Theſe ſtars, ſaid the voice, are ſouls, of which you may diſtinguiſh three ſpecies; thoſe which, being immerſed in pleaſure, have ſuffered their natural light to be extinguiſhed; thoſe which, having alternately ſtruggled againſt reaſon and the paſſions, are neither entirely pure nor totally corrupted; and thoſe which, taking reaſon only for their guide, have retained all the marks of their original. Thou ſeeſt the firſt in thoſe ſtars which ſeem to thee extinct; the ſecond, in thoſe whoſe ſplendour is obſcured by vapours which they ſeem to be ſhaking from them; and the third, in the ſtars which, ſhining with a vivid light, riſe above the others. Theſe laſt are genii, and animate the happy mortals who hold intimate converſe with the gods. After enlarging a little on theſe ideas, the voice ſaid to me, Young man, thou ſhalt know this doctrine better in three months; thou art at liberty to depart. It then was ſilent: I attempted to turn round to ſee from whence it came, but was inſtantly ſtruck with a violent pain in my head, as if ſomebody had forcibly ſqueezed it. I fainted away, and, when I recovered, found myſelf out of the cavern. Such was the narrative of Timarchus. His grandſon added, that his grandfather died three months after his return to Athens, as the oracle had predicted.

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We passed the night, and part of the next day, in listening to similar narrations. By combining them, it was no difficult matter to discover that the priests introduced themselves into the cavern by secret passages, and added violence to their juggling tricks, in order to disturb the imagination of the persons who come to consult the oracle. These remain some a longer and some a shorter time in the cavern [o]; nay, some have been known to sleep in it during two nights and a day [p].

It was now noon; Trophonius did not appear, and we continued to stroll about the grotto. An hour after we saw the crowd tumultuously flocking towards the balustrade: we followed them, and perceived our Theban supported by priests, who were forcing him down on a seat, called the seat of Mnemosyne, where he was to relate what he had seen and heard in the cave. He appeared in the utmost terror, and his eyes were so dim that he was incapable of distinguishing any person. After having procured from him a few broken words, which were considered as the answer of the oracle, his attendants conducted him into the chapel of the Good Genius and Fortune. He there gradually recovered his spirits [q]; but had only a few faint ideas of what had passed in the cavern, and probably a very dreadful impression of the terrors he had felt. For this oracle is not to be consulted with impunity: the greater part of those who return from the cavern retain for their whole lives an air of melancholy that nothing can remove, and which has given occasion to the proverbial expression, by which we say of a person remarkably melancholy and gloomy, He comes from the cave of Trophonius [r]. Among the vast number of oracles with which Bœotia abounds, there is none where the imposture is more palpable and easy to be seen through; nor is there any which is so much frequented.

[o] Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 508.
[p] Plut. de Gen. Socrat. t. ii. p. 590.
[q] Pausan. lib. 9. cap. 39 p. 792.
[r] Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 108.

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We deſcended the mountain, and a few days after took the road to Thebes. We paſſed by Chæronea, the inhabitants of which have, for the principal object of their worſhip, the ſceptre which Vulcan fabricated by order of Jupiter, and which from Pelops paſſed ſucceſſively into the hands of Atreus, Thyeſtes, and Agamemnon. It is not worſhipped in a temple, but in the houſe of a prieſt: ſacrifices are offered to it every day, and it is ſupplied with a plentiful table [s].

From Chæronea we proceeded to Thebes, croſſing in our way, woods, hills, fertile plains, and ſeveral little rivers. This city, one of the moſt conſiderable in Greece, is ſurrounded with walls, and defended by towers. It has ſeven gates [t], and is forty-three ſtadia [u] * in circumference †. The citadel is ſituated on an eminence, where the firſt inhabitants of Thebes originally formed their ſettlement, and from whence flows a ſpring, which has been conveyed to the city, from the remoteſt periods, by ſubterraneous channels [x].

The environs are embelliſhed by two rivers, by meadows and gardens. The ſtreets, like thoſe of all ancient cities, are irregular [y]. Among other magnificent decorations of the public edifices, we find ſtatues of the greateſt beauty. In the temple of Hercules, I viewed with admiration, the coloſſal figure of that god, by Alcamenes; and his labours, by Praxiteles [z]: in that of the Iſmenian Apollo, the Mercury of Phidias, and the Minerva of Scopas [a]. As I perceived that monuments had been erected in honour of illuſtrious Thebans, I inquired for the ſtatue of Pindar. I was told there was none; but was ſhown that of Cleon, the moſt ſkilful ſinger of his time. I approached, and learned from the inſcription, that Cleon had done honour to his country [b].

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[s] Pauſan. lib. 9. cap. 40. p. 795.
[t] Id. ibid. cap. 8. p. 727.
[u] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. v. 95. p. 7.
* One league 1563 toiſes.
† See note at the end of the volume.
[x] Dicæarch. ibid. p. 15.
[y] Id. ibid.
[z] Pauſan. lib. 9. cap. 11. p. 732.
[a] Id. ibid. cap. 10. p. 730.
[b] Athen. lib. 1. cap. 15. p. 19.

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In the temple of Apollo Iſmenius, amidſt a great number brazen tripods, moſt of which are of excellent workmanſhip, we ſee one of gold, an offering from Crœſus, king of Lydia [c]. Theſe tripods have been preſented by nations and individuals. Perfumes are burnt on them; and as they are of an elegant make, they ſerve as ornaments in the temples.

Thebes, as well as the greater part of the cities of Greece, contains a theatre [d], a gymnaſium or place of exerciſe for youth [e], and a large public ſquare or forum. The latter is ſurrounded by temples and many other edifices, the walls of which are covered with arms, taken from the Athenians by the Thebans at the battle of Delium. From the produce of the remainder of theſe glorious ſpoils was built, on the ſame ſpot, a magnificent portico, decorated with a great number of brazen ſtatues [f].

The city is extremely populous *; its inhabitants, like thoſe of Athens, are divided into three claſſes; the firſt of which is compoſed of citizens, the ſecond of naturalized foreigners, and the third of the ſlaves [g]. Two parties, hoſtile to each other, have occaſioned frequent revolutions in the government [h]. The one, in ſecret correſpondence with the Lacedæmonians, wiſhed to eſtabliſh an oligarchy; the other, favoured by the Athenians, was friendly to a democracy [i]. The partiſans of the latter ſyſtem have prevailed of late years [k], and the authority is now veſted abſolutely in the people [l].

Thebes is not only the great fortreſs of Bœotia [m], but may be ſaid to be its capital. It is at the head of a powerful confederacy, compoſed of the chief cities of Bœotia; all of which poſſeſs the right of ſending deputies to the aſſembly, in which

[c] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 92.
[d] Liv. lib. 33. cap. 28.
[e] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 366.
[f] Id. ibid. lib. 12. p. 119.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[g] Diod. Sic. lib. 17. p. 495.
[h] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 62. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 388.
[i] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 280.
[k] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 388.
[l] Demoſth. in Lept. p. 556. Polyb. lib. 6. p. 488.
[m] Diod. Sic. lib. 15 p. 342.

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affairs of the ſtate are finally determined, after having been diſcuſſed in four different councils [n]. At this aſſembly preſide eleven chiefs, known by the name of Bœotarchs [o], to which ſtation they are elected by the aſſembly itſelf. They have great influence in all deliberations, and generally have the command of the armies [p]. Such a power would be dangerous were it permanent; but thoſe inveſted with it muſt reſign it at the end of the year, under pain of death, even were they at the head of a victorious army, and on the eve of obtaining the moſt ſignal advantages [q].

All the Bœotian cities have claims and juſt titles to independence; but in deſpite of all their efforts, and thoſe of the other nations of Greece, the Thebans have never ſuffered them to enjoy a complete ſtate of freedom [r]. With reſpect to the cities they have founded, the Thebans aſſert the right which other countries exerciſe over their colonies [s]: to the others they oppoſe force [t], too often the moſt valid title, or poſſeſſion, which is the moſt indiſputable of all. They have deſtroyed Theſpiæ and Platæa for ſeparating from the Bœotian league, the reſolutions and operations of which are now entirely at their devotion [u], and which can bring into the field twenty thouſand men [x].

This power is the more formidable, as the Bœotians are in general brave, inured to war, and elated with the victories they gained under Epaminondas. They poſſeſs ſurpriſing bodily ſtrength, and are continually increaſing it by the exerciſes of the gymnaſium [y].

The country they inhabit is more fertile than Attica [z], and produces a great quantity of corn of an excellent quality [a].

[n] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 38. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 389. Liv. lib. 36. cap. 6.
[o] Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 91.
[p] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 368. Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 288.
[q] Plut. ibid. p. 290.
[r] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6. p. 594. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 355, 367, 381, &c.
[s] Thucyd. lib. 3 cap. 61 et 62.
[t] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6. p. 579. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 62.
[u] Xenoph. ibid. lib. 5. p. 558. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 389.
[x] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 767. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 119.
[y] Diod. ibid. et lib. 15. p. 341 et 366.
[z] Strab. lib. 9. p. 400.
[a] Plin. lib. 18. t. ii. p. 107.

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By the happy ſituation of their ports, they are enabled to trade on one ſide with Italy, Sicily, and Africa; and on the other with Egypt, the iſle of Cyprus, Macedonia, and the Helleſpont [b].

Beſides the feſtivals which are common to the whole ſtate, and which aſſemble all its people in the plains of Coronea, near the temple of Minerva [c], others are frequently celebrated which are peculiar to each city; and the Thebans in particular have inſtituted ſeveral at which I have been preſent. I ſhall ſpeak, however, but of one ceremony practiſed at the feſtival of the Laurel Boughs. This was a proceſſion which I ſaw arrive at the temple of the Iſmenian Apollo. The prieſt of this god is changed every year; and beſides poſſeſſing an advantageous figure, muſt be young, and of a good family [d]. In the proceſſion at which I was preſent, the prieſt appeared with a golden crown upon his head, a branch of laurel in his hand, his hair flowing on his ſhoulders, and dreſſed in a magnificent robe [e], followed by a chorus of young damſels alſo carrying laurel branches, and ſinging hymns. He was preceded by one of his relations, a young man, bearing in his hand a long olive bough covered with flowers and leaves of laurel, and the proceſſion was cloſed by a globe of braſs repreſenting the ſun. To this globe were ſuſpended ſeveral ſmaller balls of the ſame metal to denote the ſtars, and three hundred and ſixty-five purple ſtreamers, emblematical of the days of the year; the moon likewiſe was repreſented by a ſmaller globe placed below the firſt. As the feſtival was in honour of Apollo or the ſun, the deſign of this trophy was to ſignify the pre-eminence of that luminary above all the others. A victory formerly gained over the inhabitants of Arne firſt gave riſe to this ſolemnity.

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[b] Strab. ibid.
[c] Strab. lib. 9. p. 411. Plut. Amat. Narrat. t. ii. p. 774. Pauſan. lib. 9. cap. 34. p. 778.
[d] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 10. p. 730.
[e] Procl. Chreſtom. ap. Phot. p. 998.

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Among the laws of the Thebans there are ſome which merit to be mentioned. One prohibits the promotion of any citizen to the magiſtracy who has not quitted retail commerce for the ſpace of ten years [f]; another inflicts a penalty on painters and ſculptors who do not treat their ſubjects with proper decency [g]; by a third it is forbidden to expoſe children at their birth [h], as is practiſed in ſome Grecian cities [i]. The father muſt preſent them to the magiſtrate, with proof that he is himſelf unable to bring them up; the magiſtrate then gives them to any perſon who is willing to purchaſe them for a trifling ſum, with power to place them in the number of his ſlaves [k]. The Thebans grant the liberty of redemption to captives taken in war, unleſs they be natives of Bœotia, in which caſe they are put to death [l].

The air is remarkably pure in Attica, and very denſe in Bœotia [m], though this country be ſeparated from the former only by Mount Cithæron. This difference ſeems to produce a diſſimilarity of character, and to confirm the obſervations of philoſophers on the influence of climate [n]; for the Bœotians in general have neither that penetration nor vivacity which characteriſe the Athenians, though we ought perhaps to attribute this more to education than to nature. If they appear heavy and ſtupid [o], it is becauſe they are ignorant and clownish. As they employ their time more in bodily than mental exerciſes [p], they poſſeſs neither the gift of facility of expreſſion [q], the graces of elocution [r], the knowledge to be derived from ſtudy [s], nor thoſe pleaſing manners which are more the work of art than nature.

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[f] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 344.
[g] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 4.
[h] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 7.
[i] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 144.
[k] Ælian. ibid.
[l] Pauſan. lib. 9. p. 740.
[m] Cicer. de Fat. cap. 4. t. iii. p. 101.
[n] Hippocr. de Aer. Loc. Ap. cap. 55, &c. Plat. de Leg. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 747. Ariſt. Probl. 14. t. ii. p. 750.
[o] Pind. Olymp. 6. v. 152. Demoſth. de Cor. p. 479. de Eſu Carn. t. ii. p. 995. Dionyſ. Halicarn. de Rhet. t. v. p. 402. Cicer. de Fat. cap. 4. t. iii. p. 101.
[p] Nep. in Alcib. cap. 11.
[q] Plat. in Conv. t. iii. p. 182.
[r] Lucian. in Jov. Trag. t. ii. p. 679. Schol. ibid.
[s] Strab. lib. 9. p. 401.

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It must not be supposed, however, that Bœotia has produced no men of genius: several Thebans have done honour to the school of Socrates [t]. Epaminondas was not less distinguished for his knowledge than for his military talents [u]. In my journey I met with a number of very intelligent persons; among others Anaxis and Dionysiodorus, who jointly composed a new history of Greece [x]. It is also to be remembered that Bœotia was the birth-place of Hesiod, Corinna, and Pindar.

Hesiod has left a celebrated name, and works in great estimation. As he is supposed to have been cotemporary with Homer [y], some have imagined he was his rival; but Homer could have no rivals.

The Theogony of Hesiod, like that of many ancient Greek writers, is only a tissue of absurd ideas, or impenetrable allegories.

The tradition of the people who dwell in the neighbourhood of Helicon rejects the works ascribed to him, with the exception of an epistle addressed to his brother Perses [z], to exhort him to industry. He reminds him of the example of their father, who provided for his family by several times exposing his life in a trading vessel, and who, towards the end of his days, quitted the city of Cyme, in Æolia, to settle in the vicinity of Helicon [a]. Besides just reflections on the various duties of men [b], and painful remarks on their injustice, Hesiod has interspersed in this work many precepts relative to agriculture [c], the more interesting, as no preceding author has ever treated of this art [d].

He never travelled [e]; but cultivated poetry to an extreme old age [f]. His elegant and harmonious style captivates the

[t] Diogen. Laert. lib. 2. § 124.
[u] Nep. in Epam. cap. 2.
[x] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 403.
[y] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 53. Marmor. Oxon. Epoch. 29 et 30.
[z] Pausan. lib. 9. cap. 31. p. 771.
[a] Hesiod. Oper. et Dies, v. 633.
[b] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. p. 466. Cicer. ad Famil. lib. 6. epist. 18. t. 7. p. 213.
[c] Hesiod. ibid. v. 383.
[d] Plin. lib. 14. cap. 1. t. i. p. 705.
[e] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 6.
[f] Cicer. de Senect. § 7. t. iii. p. 301.

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the ear [g], and breathes that genuine ancient ſimplicity, which conſiſts in preciſely ſuiting the thoughts and the words in which they are expreſſed to the ſubject.

Heſiod excelled in that kind of poetry which requires little elevation [h]; Pindar in that which ſoars [i]. The latter flouriſhed at the time of the expedition of Xerxes [k], and lived to the age of about ſixty-five [l].

He ſtudied poetry and muſic under different teachers, and particularly under Myrtis, a woman diſtinguiſhed for her talents, and ſtill more celebrated for numbering among her ſcholars, Pindar and the beautiful Corinna [m]. Theſe pupils were connected at leaſt by a love of the arts. Pindar, who was the youngeſt of the two, never neglected to conſult Corinna. Having learnt from her that poetry ſhould enrich itſelf with the fictions of fable, he thus began one of his poems: "Shall I ſing the river Iſmenus, the nymph Melia, Cadmus, Hercules, Bacchus, &c.?" To each of theſe names he had ſubjoined epithets. Corinna ſaid to him ſmiling, "You have taken a ſack of corn to ſow a piece of ground, and inſtead of ſcattering it with your hand, at the very firſt ſtep you have emptied the whole ſack [n]."

He applied himſelf to every ſpecies of poetry [o], and principally owed his fame to the hymns demanded of him, either to honour the feſtivals of the gods, or to celebrate the triumph of the victors at the public games.

Nothing can be more difficult than ſuch a taſk. The tribute of praiſe required from the poet muſt be ready by a ſtated day; he has always the ſame ſcenes to paint, and is in per-

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[g] Dionyſ. Halic. de Vet. Script. Cenſ. t. v. p. 419.

[h] Quintil. Inſtit. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. 629.

[i] Id. ibid. p. 631.

[k] Pind. Iſthm. 8. v. 20. Schol. ibid. Died. Sic. lib 11. p 22

[l] Thom. Mag. Gen. Pind. Corſin. Faſt. Att. t. ii. p. 56. t. iii. p. 122 et 206

[m] Suid. in Κορ. et in Πίνδ.

[n] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 347.

[o] Suid. in Πίνδ. Fabr. Bibl. Græc t. i. p. 550. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xiii. p. 223. t. xv. p. 357.

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petual danger of ſoaring above, or ſinking beneath his ſubject: but Pindar felt an internal ſentiment ſuperior to ſuch trifling obſtacles, and which extended his views beyond the limits of ordinary men.

His vigorous and independent genius never advances but in bold, irregular, and impetuous movements. Are the gods the ſubject of his odes, he ſoars like the eagle to the foot of the celeſtial throne. Is he to ſing of men, he ruſhes into the liſts like an ungovernable courſer. In the heavens and on earth, he pours forth, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, a torrent of ſublime images, daring metaphors, nervous thoughts, and luminous and reſplendent language [p].

Why do we ſometimes behold this torrent overflow its banks, return into its bed, again burſt over its bounds with redoubled fury, and retire once more peaceably to terminate its career? Like a lion, who ruſhes forward from time to time in various and winding paths, and never repoſes till he has ſeized his prey, Pindar with determined force purſues every object which tranſiently preſents itſelf to his view. He runs, he flies on the tracks of glory; and eagerly pants to diſplay it to his country. When it is not ſufficiently brilliant in the victors he is to celebrate, he ſeeks it in their anceſtors, in their native land, in the inſtitutors of the games, wherever he can collect its ſcattered rays, which he has the ſecret of combining with thoſe with which he crowns his heroes. At ſight of their effulgency, he falls into a delirium that nothing can ſuſpend; aſſimilates their ſplendour to that of the ſtar of day [q]; and places the victor in whom they are concentered at the ſummit of happineſs [r]. If he unites wealth to beauty, he elevates him to the very throne of Jupiter [s]; but to guard him againſt pride, he haſtens to remind him, that,

[p] Horat lib. 4 od. 2. Quintil. Inſtit. lib 10. cap. 1. p. 631. Diſc. Prelim. de la Traduct. des Pythiques. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. ii. p. 34. t. v. Hiſt p. 95. t. xxxii. p. 451.

[q] Pind. Olymp. 1. v. 7.

[r] Id. ibid. v. 157.

[s] Pind. Iſthm. 5. v. 18.

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clothed in a mortal body, the earth will ſoon be his laſt covering [t].

So ſingular a language was conformable to the ſpirit of the age. The recent victories gained by the Greeks over the Perſians had given them a new proof, that nothing elevates the mind more than conſpicuous and illuſtrious teſtimonials of the public eſteem. Pindar availing himſelf of circumſtances, and accumulating the moſt energetic expreſſions, and the moſt brilliant metaphors, ſeemed to borrow the voice of thunder, that he might ſay to the ſtates of Greece, Suffer not the divine flame enkindled in our hearts to be extinguiſhed; excite every ſpecies of emulation, honour every kind of merit; be aſſured, that acts of fortitude and ſublimity alone can be performed by the man who lives but for glory. To the Greeks aſſembled in the plains of Olympia, he ſaid, Behold thoſe athletæ, who have engaged in conteſts ſo arduous and ſo dangerous, to obtain a few olive leaves in your preſence. What will you not perform then, when called on to avenge your country?

Even at this day, thoſe who attend the ſplendid ſolemnities of Greece; who behold a victor at the moment of his triumph; who follow him in his return to his native city; who hear the air reſound with thoſe ſhouts, thoſe tranſports of joy and admiration, amid which are heard the names of their anceſtors who merited the ſame diſtinction, and the epithets of the tutelary gods who have effected ſuch a victory for their country: theſe perſons, I ſay, inſtead of being ſurpriſed at the ſallies and enthuſiaſm of Pindar, will feel, no doubt, that his poetry, ſublime as it is, is inadequate to deſcribe the ſenſations which on ſuch occaſions they themſelves have experienced.

Pindar, frequently ſtruck with a ſpectacle no leſs affecting than magnificent, partook of the general intoxication, and tranſferring it to his poetical images, conſtituted himſelf the

[t] Id. Nem. II. v. 20.

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panegyriſt and the diſtributor of glory: hence all his ſubjects were ennobled, and acquired a character of majeſty. He had to celebrate illuſtrious ſovereigns and obſcure citizens; but in either it is not the man that he conſiders, the victor only is his theme.

Under pretext that men are ſoon diſguſted with praiſes of which they themſelves are not the object [u], he never dwelt on perſonal qualities; but as the virtues of kings entitle them to real glory, he extols them for the good they have done [x], and ſhows them what they have it in their power to perform. "Be juſt," adds he, "in all your actions, faithful in all your words *; reflect that thouſands of witneſſes have their eyes fixed upon you; the ſlighteſt error on our parts would be a fatal miſchief [y]." This was the ſtyle of Pindar's commendation: he neither laviſhed incenſe, nor would grant every one the right to offer it. "Praiſes," ſaid he, "are the reward of ſublime actions [z]: virtues are nouriſhed by their benignant dew, as plants by the dew of heaven [a]; but it is for the man of worth alone to beſtow praiſes on worthy men [b]."

Notwithſtanding the profundity of his ideas, and the apparent diſorder of his ſtyle, his verſes have always been univerſally applauded. The multitude admire without underſtanding [c], becauſe for them it is ſufficient that lively images paſs rapidly before their eyes like lightning, and grand and ſounding words repeatedly ſtrike their aſtoniſhed ears; but the moſt diſcerning judges will always place Pindar in the firſt rank of lyric poets [d], whilſt philoſophers already quote his maxims, and reſpect his authority [e].

[u] Pind. Pyth. 1. v. 160. 8. v. 43. Iſthm. 5. v. 65. Nem. 10. v. 37.

[x] Id. Olymp. 1. v. 18. 2. v. 10. et. 180.

* The manner in which Pindar clothes theſe maxims, may give an idea of the boldneſs of his metaphors. *Govern*, ſays he, *with the helm of juſtice; forge your tongue on the anvil of truth.*

[y] Pind. Pyth. 1. v. 165.

[z] Id. Iſthm. 3. v. 11.

[a] Pind. Nem. 8. v. 68.

[b] Id. Nem. 11. v. 22.

[c] Id. Olymp. 2. v. 153.

[d] Horat. Quintil. Longin. Dionyſ. Halic. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. t. xv. p. 369.

[e] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 81. de Rep. lib. 1. p. 331.

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Inſtead of particularizing the ſpecific beauties interſperſed in all his works, I have confined myſelf to point out the noble ſentiments with which they are animated. I may be allowed, therefore, to ſay with him, "I had many arrows to launch; I have choſen that which might leave an honourable impreſſion in the butt [f]."

It now remains for me to give ſome idea of his life and character. I have extracted the leading features from his writings, in which the Thebans ſay he has given his own portrait. "There was a time when the language of poetry was not ſullied by ſordid intereſt [g]. Let others at this day be dazzled with the brilliancy of gold; let them enlarge their poſſeſſions on every ſide [h]: I affix no value to riches, except, when tempered and embelliſhed by the virtues, they enable us to acquire immortal glory [i]. My words are never diſtant from my thought [k]. I love my friends; I hate my enemy, but I attack him not with the weapons of calumny and ſatire [l]. Envy obtains from me only a contempt that humiliates it: as my only vengeance, I leave it to the ulcer that corrodes its heart [m]. Never ſhall the impotent cries of the timid and jealous bird ſtay the daring eagle ſoaring in the air [n].

"Amid the flow and ebb of joys and griefs which roll over the head of mortals, who is there can flatter himſelf that he ſhall enjoy conſtant felicity [o]? I have caſt my eyes around me, and perceiving that man is happieſt in mediocrity, I have bewailed the deſtiny of the powerful, and prayed the gods not to overwhelm me with the burden of ſuch proſperity [p]. I walk through ſimple paths: contented with my ſituation, and beloved by my fellow-citizens [q], all my ambition is to

[f] Pind. Olymp. 2. v. 149. Pyth. 1. v. 84.
[g] Pind. Iſthm. 2. v. 15.
[h] Id. Nem. 8. v. 63.
[i] Id. Olymp. 2. v. 96. Pyth. 3. v. 195. ibid. 5. v. 1.
[k] Id. Iſthm. 6. v. 105.
[l] Id. Nem. 7. v. 100. Pyth. 2. v. 154 et 155.
[m] Id. Pyth. 2. v. 168. Nem. 4. v. 65.
[n] Id. Nem. 3. v. 138.
[o] Id. Olymp. 2. v. 62. Nem. 7. v. 81.
[p] Pind. Pyth. 11. v. 76.
[q] Plut. de Anim. Procreat. t. ii. p. 1030.

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pleaſe them, without relinquiſhing the privilege of freely explaining myſelf with reſpect to whatever I deem honourable and diſhonourable [r]. In this diſpoſition I tranquilly approach old age [s]; happy if, on reaching the gloomy confines of life, I can but bequeath to my children the moſt precious inheritance of all others, that of an unblemiſhed name [t]."

The wiſhes of Pindar were accompliſhed; he lived in tranquillity and honour. The Thebans, it is true, ſentenced him to pay a fine for praiſing their enemies the Athenians [u], and the pieces of Corinna were five times preferred to his [x] at the poetical competitions; but theſe tranſient ſtorms were ſoon ſucceeded by days of ſerenity. The Athenians and all the ſtates of Greece loaded him with honours [y]; and Corinna herſelf did juſtice to the ſuperiority of his genius [z]. At Delphi, during the Pythian games, compelled to yield to the wiſhes of an immenſe multitude of ſpectators, he placed himſelf, crowned with laurels, on an elevated ſeat [a], and taking up his lyre, brought forth ſuch harmonious ſounds as excited ſhouts of admiration from the whole aſſembly, and afforded the moſt delightful entertainment of the feſtival. When the ſacrifices were ended, the prieſts of Apollo ſolemnly invited him to the ſacred banquet; for the oracle, to honour him by a diſtinction equally illuſtrious and novel, had ordered a portion of the firſt fruits offered in the temple to be reſerved for him [b].

The Bœotians have a great taſte for muſic; almoſt all of them learn to play the flute [c]. Since their victory at Leuctra they indulge more freely in the pleaſures of the table [d]: they have excellent bread, plenty of vegetables and fruit, and ſuf-

[r] Pind. Nem. 8. v. 64.
[s] Id. Iſthm. 7. v 58.
[t] Id. Pyth. 11. v. 76.
[u] Æſchin. Epiſt. 4. p. 207. Pauſ. lib. 1. cap. 8. p. 20.
[x] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 13. cap. 25.
[y] Pauſan. ibid. Thom. Mag. Gen. Pind.
[z] Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 578.
[a] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 24. p. 858.
[b] Id. lib. 9. cap. 23. p. 755. Thom. Mag. Gen. Pind.
[c] Ariſtoph. in Ach. v. 863. Schol. ibid. v. 862, &c. Poll. lib. 4. § 65. Athen. lib. 5. cap. 25. p. 184.
[d] Polyb. ap. Athen. lib. 10. cap. 4. p. 418.

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ficient game and fish to allow of a confiderable quantity being ſent to Athens [e].

The winter is very cold in every part of Bœotia, and almoſt inſupportable at Thebes [f]. During this ſeaſon, the ſnow, the wind, and want of wood, render this part of Greece as unpleaſing a place of reſidence as it is agreeable in ſummer, from the mildneſs of the air, the extreme coolneſs of its abundant waters, and the cheerful aſpect of the country, which long preſerves its verdure [g].

The Thebans are courageous, inſolent, and vain: with them the tranſition is ſhort from paſſion to inſult, and from a contempt of law to a total diſregard of the dictates of humanity. The ſmalleſt expectation of advantage gives occaſion to the groſſeſt acts of injuſtice, and murders are frequently the conſequence of the moſt frivolous quarrels [h]. The women are tall, well made, and generally of a fair complexion; their carriage is noble, and their dreſs not inelegant. In public they conceal their faces, ſo as to diſcover nothing but their eyes; their hair is knotted upon their heads, and their feet are confined in purple ſlippers, ſo ſmall as to leave them almoſt entirely bare: their voice is remarkably ſweet and tender; that of the men harſh and diſagreeable, and in ſome meaſure ſuited to their character [i].

No traces of this character, however, are to be found in a body of young warriors, called the Sacred Battalion [k], who, to the number of three hundred, are brought up together, and maintained at the public expence, in the citadel. Their exerciſes, and even their amuſements, are regulated by the melodious ſounds of the flute. To prevent their courage from degenerating into blind fury, care is taken to inſpire them with the nobleſt and moſt animated ſentiments.

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[e] Ariſtoph. ibid. v. 873. Eubul. ap. Athen. lib. 2. cap. 8. p. 47. Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. p. 17. Plin. lib. 9. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 166 et 167.

[f] Columell. de Re Ruſtic. lib. 1. cap. 4.

[g] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. p. 17.

[h] Id. ibid. p. 15.

[i] Id. ibid. p. 16 et 17.

[k] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 287.

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Each warrior muſt chooſe from the band a friend, to whom he remains inſeparably united. All his ambition is to pleaſe him, to merit his eſteem, to ſhare his pleaſures and ſufferings in life, and his labours and dangers in battle. If perſonally incapable of ſelf-reſpect, he ſtill muſt reſpect himſelf in a friend whoſe cenſure is his moſt cruel puniſhment, and his praiſes his moſt exquiſite enjoyment. This almoſt ſupernatural union makes them prefer death to infamy, and the acquiſition of glory to every inferior object. One of theſe warriors, in the heat of the engagement, was thrown with his face upon the ground; when ſeeing one of the enemy on the point of ſtabbing him in the back: "Stay," ſaid he, raiſing himſelf up, "plunge your ſword into my breaſt; my friend would have too much reaſon to bluſh, were it ſuſpected that I received my death wound in flight."

Formerly theſe three hundred warriors were diſtributed in troops at the head of the different diviſions of the army. Pelopidas, who had frequently the honour of commanding them, having made them fight in a body, the Thebans were indebted to them for almoſt all the advantages they gained over the Lacedæmonians. Philip deſtroyed this hitherto invincible cohort at Chæronea; and the prince, ſeeing theſe young Thebans ſtretched on the field of battle, covered with honourable wounds, and lying ſide by ſide on the ground on which they had been ſtationed, could not withhold his tears, but bore a noble teſtimony to their virtue as well as to their valour [1].

It has been remarked, that nations and cities, no leſs than families, have a prevailing vice or defect, which is tranſmitted, like certain diſeaſes, from race to race with a greater or leſs degree of violence: hence thoſe reciprocal reproaches, which are converted into a kind of proverbs. Thus the Bœotians uſually obſerve, that envy has fixed its abode at Tanagra, the thirſt of illicit gain at Oropus, the ſpirit of con-

[1] Id. ibid.

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tradition at Theſpiæ, violence at Thebes, covetouſneſs at Anthedon, falſe politeneſs at Coronea, oſtentation at Platæa, and ſtupidity at Haliartus [m].

On leaving Thebes, we paſſed by a conſiderable lake, named Hylica, into which the rivers that water the territory of this city diſcharge themſelves. From thence we travelled to the banks of Lake Copais, which engroſſed our whole attention.

Bœotia may be conſidered as a large baſon ſurrounded by mountains, the different chains of which are connected by high grounds. Other hills ſtretch into the heart of the country; moſt of the rivers which proceed from them unite in Lake Copais, which is three hundred and eighty ſtadia * in circumference [n], and which neither has nor can have any apparent iſſue. It would, therefore, ſoon overflow Bœotia, had not nature, or rather the induſtry of man, contrived ſecret paſſages to drain off the water [o].

In the part adjoining to the ſea, the lake terminates in three bays, which advance to the foot of Mount Ptous, ſituated between the ſea and the lake. From the bottom of each of theſe bays diverge a number of canals, that traverſe the mountain through its whole breadth, ſome of which are thirty ſtadia in length †, and others of a much greater extent [p]. To excavate or cleanſe them, wells had been ſunk at ſtated diſtances on the mountain, which appeared to us of an immenſe depth. The traveller, when he views theſe works, is aſtoniſhed at the difficulty of the enterpriſe, as well as the expence it muſt have coſt, and the time requiſite for its completion. But what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, is that theſe canals and pits, of which neither hiſtory nor tradition has preſerved any remembrance, muſt be attributed to the moſt remote antiquity, and that in thoſe diſtant ages we have no knowledge of any

[m] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. p. 18.
[n] Strab. lib. 9. p 407.
* Fourteen leagues and one third.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 406.
† More than a league.
[p] Strab. lib. 9 p. 406. Wheeler, a Journey, &c. p. 406.

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power in Bœotia capable of forming and executing ſo vaſt a project.

However this may be, theſe canals require a great labour and expence to maintain them. At preſent they are much neglected *: moſt of them are choked up, and the lake ſeems to be gaining on the plain. It is very probable that the deluge, or rather the inundation which happened in Bœotia, in the time of Ogyges, was cauſed only by the obſtruction of the waters in theſe ſubterraneous conduits.

After paſſing through Opoes, and other towns belonging to the Locrians, we arrived at the ſtraits of Thermopylæ. I entered with a ſecret awe and reverence this famous defile, where four thouſand Greeks, for ſeveral days, made head againſt the innumerable army of the Perſians, and where Leonidas fell with his three hundred Spartans. It is a narrow paſſage, ſhut in on one ſide by lofty mountains, and on the other by the ſea; but I have already deſcribed it in the introduction.

We examined it ſeveral times, and viſited the thermæ or hot baths, from which it received the name of Thermopylæ [q]. We ſaw likewiſe the little eminence to which the companions of Leonidas retired after the death of that hero [r]. We followed their footſteps to the other extremity of the ſtrait [s], and to the tent of Xerxes, whom they reſolved to immolate in the midſt of his army.

A multitude of circumſtances gave birth to the ſtrongeſt emotions in our minds. That ſea, once ſtained with the blood of nations; thoſe mountains, with their ſummits concealed in the clouds; the profound ſolitude which environed us; the memory of ſo many glorious deeds as it were preſented to our eyes, at ſight of the places which had been the ſcenes of action;

* In the time of Alexander, a man of Chalcis was employed to cleanſe them. (Strab. lib. 9. p. 407. Steph. in Αἴμν.)

[q] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 176.

[r] Id. ibid. cap. 225.

[s] Plut. de Malign. Herod. t. ii. p. 866.

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the lively concern, in fine, which we naturally take in ſuffering virtue; every object excited our admiration or ſenſibility; when looking round us, we caſt our eyes on the monuments erected by order of the Amphictyonic council on the eminence I have juſt mentioned [t]. They are ſmall cippi in honour of the three hundred Spartans and the other Grecian troops engaged in the combat. Inſcribed on the neareſt we read: "Here four thouſand Greeks of Peloponneſus fought againſt three millions of Perſians." On the ſecond, we read this inſcription by Simonides: "Paſſenger, go tell at Lacedæmon, that we lie here in obedience to her ſacred laws [u]!" With what an exalted ſentiment of grandeur, with what ſublime indifference, do theſe words tranſmit events ſo glorious to poſterity! The names of Leonidas and his three hundred companions are not recorded in this inſcription; for it was impoſſible to imagine that they ever could be forgotten. I have heard ſeveral Greeks repeat them from memory, and communicate them to each other [x]. In a third inſcription for Megiſtias the augur, it is ſaid, that this Spartan, apprized of the fate that awaited him, choſe rather to die than leave the Grecian army [y]. Near to theſe funeral monuments is a trophy erected by Xerxes, which does more honour to the vanquiſhed than to the victors [z].

CHAP. XXXV.

*Tour of Theſſaly**. Amphictyons. Witches. Kings of Pheræ. Valley of Tempe.*

On leaving the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, we enter into Theſſaly †. This country, compriſing Magneſia, and other little

[t] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 228.
[u] Id. ibid. Strab. lib. 9 p. 429. Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 1. cap. 42. t. ii. p. 268.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 224.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 228.
[z] Iſocr. Epiſt. ad Philip. t. i. p. 304.
* In the ſummer of the year 812 before Chriſt.
† See the map of Theſſaly.

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THESSALY

for the Travels of Anacharsis

By M. BARBIÉ DU BOCAGE

January 1788.

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diſtricts which have particular denominations, is bounded to the eaſt by the ſea, to the north by Mount Olympus, to the weſt by Mount Pindus, and to the ſouth by Mount Oeta. From theſe eternal boundaries branch out other chains of mountains and hills which wind through the country, occaſionally embracing fertile plains, which, from their form, and the manner in which they are encloſed, reſemble vaſt amphitheatres [a]. Opulent cities are ſeated on the heights which encircle theſe plains, and the whole country is watered by rivers falling in general into the Peneus, which, before it loſes itſelf in the ſea, flows through the famous valley of Tempe.

A few ſtadia from Thermopylæ we found the little village of Anthela, celebrated for a temple of Ceres, and for the annual aſſembly of the Amphictyons [b]. This council would be the moſt uſeful, and conſequently the moſt ſublime of inſtitutions, were not the motives of humanity which gave it birth, compelled to yield to the paſſions of thoſe who govern nations. According to ſome, Amphictyon, who reigned over the neighbouring country, was its inſtitutor [c]; others ſay it was Acriſius, king of Argos [d]. Thus much, however, appears certain, that in the moſt remote periods, twelve nations in the north of Greece [e *], ſuch as the Dorians, the Ionians, the Phocians, the Bœotians, the Theſſalians, and others, formed a confederation to prevent the evils attendant upon war. It was determined that they ſhould annually ſend deputies to Delphi; that information ſhould be given to this of all injuries done to the temple of Apollo which had received their oaths, and all violations of the law of nations, of which they profeſſed themſelves the defenders; that each of the twelve

[a] Plin. lib. 4. cap. 8. t. i. p. 199.

[b] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 200. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 191. &c.

[c] Marmor. Oxon. epoch. 5. Prid. Commentar. p 359. Theopomp. ap. Harpocr. in Ἀμφίκ. Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 8. p. 815.

[d] Strab. lib 9. p. 420.

[e] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 413. Strab. ibid. Pauſan. ibid.

* See note at the end of the volume.

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nations ſhould have two ſuffrages in the perſon of its deputies, and engage to carry into execution the decrees of this auguſt tribunal.

The league was ratified by an oath, the form of which is ſtill retained. "We ſwear," ſaid the aſſociated ſtates, "never to deſtroy the Amphictyonic towns, nor ever to divert, either in peace or war, the ſprings or ſtreams neceſſary to ſupply their wants: if any power ſhould dare to attempt it, we will march againſt that power, and deſtroy its cities. Should impious men ſeize on the offerings in the temple of Apollo, we ſwear to employ our feet, our arms, our voices, and all our powers, againſt them and their accomplices [f]."

This tribunal ſtill ſubſiſts nearly in the ſame form in which it was originally inſtituted. Its juriſdiction has extended with the nations which left the northern parts of Greece, and which remaining united to the Amphictyonic league, have carried with them the right of attending and voting at theſe aſſemblies to their adopted countries [g]. This is the caſe with the Lacedæmonians, who formerly inhabited Theſſaly, and who, when they ſettled in Peloponneſus, retained one of the two ſuffrages to which the Dorians, of whom they formed a part, were originally entitled. In like manner, the double ſuffrage granted to the Ionians was, in proceſs of time, divided between the Athenians and the Ionian colonies of Aſia Minor [h]. But, though the number of votes at this council can never exceed twenty-four, the number of deputies is not limited; the Athenians ſometimes had three or four [i].

The Amphictyonic council is held in the ſpring at Delphi, and in autumn at the town of Anthela [k]. It attracts a numerous concourſe of ſpectators, and opens by ſacrifices offered up for the tranquillity and proſperity of Greece. Beſides the objects ſpecified in the oath, the aſſembly judges all dif-

[f] Æſchin de Falſ. Leg. p. 413.
[g] Mem. de l'Acad. des. Bell. Lettr. t. xxi. Hiſt. p. 237.
[h] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 413.
[i] Id. in Cteſiph. p. 446.
[k] Strab. lib. 9. p. 420. Æſchin. ibid.

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ferences between cities which claim the right of preſiding at the ſacrifices offered by ſeveral cities in conjunction [l], or which, after a battle gained, may attempt to appropriate excluſively to themſelves honours that ſhould be the portion of all [m]. Other cauſes, civil as well as criminal, are brought before this tribunal [n], but more eſpecially ſuch offences as openly violate the law of nations [o]. The queſtion is diſcuſſed by the deputies of the contending parties, and decided by the majority of voices. A fine is impoſed on the offending nations or cities, which, if not paid before a ſtated time, is followed by a ſecond ſentence, by which it is doubled [p]. If thoſe againſt whom it is awarded ſtill continue refractory, the aſſembly may call for aſſiſtance to ſupport its decree, and arm againſt them the whole Amphictyonic body, conſiſting of a great part of Greece. It may alſo exclude them from the Amphictyonic league, or common union of the temple [q].

But powerful nations do not always ſubmit to its decrees. Of this we have an inſtance in the recent conduct of the Lacedæmonians, who having, in time of profounud peace, taken poſſeſſion of the citadel of Thebes, the magiſtrates of that city ſummoned them to the Amphictyonic council. The Lacedæmonians were firſt ſentenced to pay five hundred talents, and afterwards a thouſand, which they refuſed, alleging that the deciſion was unjuſt [r].

The judgments pronounced againſt nations who profane the temple of Delphi are more tremendous. Their ſoldiers march with the more repugnance on ſuch an enterpriſe, as they are puniſhed with death, and deprived of ſepulture when taken in arms [s]; while thoſe called on by the council to avenge the

[l] Demoſth. de Cor. p. 495. Plut. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 850.
[m] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 877. Cicer. de Invent. lib. 2. cap. 23. t. i. p. 96.
[n] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. v. p. 405.
[o] Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 483.
[p] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 430.
[q] Plut. in Themiſt. t. i. p. 122. Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 8. p. 816. Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 413.
[r] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 430.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 427 et 431.

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profanation of the altars, are the more willing to obey, as every man who favours or tolerates the act, is deemed a sharer in the impiety. On these occasions the guilty people, besides the anathemas thundered out against them, have to dread the policy of the neighbouring princes, who frequently find the means of gratifying their own ambition by espousing the cause of the gods.

From Anthela we proceeded into the territory of the Trachinians, and saw the country people employed in collecting the valuable helebore which grows on Mount Oeta [t]. The desire of satisfying our curiosity induced us to pursue the road to Hypata. We had been told that we should meet with a great number of sorceresses in Thessaly, and especially in this town [u]. And they showed us, indeed, several women of the lower class, who were able, as they said, to arrest the course of the sun, to draw the moon down to the earth, to excite or appease tempests, recal the dead to life, or precipitate the living into the tomb [x].

What can be supposed first to have given birth to such ideas? Those who believe them of recent origin, affirm, that a Thessalian woman of the last century, named Aglaonice, having learned to predict eclipses of the moon, attributed this phænomenon to her incantations [y], and that it was inferred from thence that the same means sufficed to suspend all the laws of nature. But another woman of Thessaly, as far back as the heroic ages, is said to have exercised a sovereign power over that planet [z]; and a multitude of facts clearly prove, that it is long since magic has been introduced into Greece.

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[t] Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 9. cap. 11. p. 1063.

[u] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 747. Plin. lib. 30. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 523. Senec. in Hippol. act. 2. v. 420 Apul. Metam. lib. 1. p. 15. lib. 2. p. 20.

[x] Emped. apud. Diogen. Laert. lib. 8. § 59. Apul. ibid. p. 6. Virg. Eclog. 8. v. 69.

[y] Plut. Conjugal. Præcept. t. ii. p. 145. Id. de Orac. Def. p. 417. Bayle. Rep. aux. Queft. t. i. cap. 44. p. 424.

[z] Senec. in Hercul. Oetæo. v. 525.

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Without inquiring minutely into its origin, we were desirous, during our ſtay at Hypata, to be witneſs to ſome of its operations. We were privately conducted to ſome old women, whoſe wretchedneſs was as exceſſive as their ignorance: they boaſted that they poſſeſſed charms againſt the bite of ſcorpions and vipers [a], and others that would debilitate the vigour of a youthful bridegroom, or deſtroy flocks and bees [b]. We ſaw ſome employed in making figures of wax, which they loaded with imprecations, piercing them at the ſame time with needles, after which they expoſed them in the different quarters of the town [c]. The perſons whoſe reſemblance they bore, ſtruck with theſe objects of terror, imagined themſelves devoted to death, and the dread with which they were ſeized not unfrequently ſhortened their days.

We ſurpriſed one of theſe women rapidly turning a ſpinning wheel [d] and muttering myſterious words. Her object was to recal [e] young Polycletus, who had forſaken Salamis, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed women in the town. To know the ſequel of this adventure, we made a few preſents to Mycale, for that was the name of this ſorcereſs. A few days after ſhe ſaid to us, Salamis is too impatient to wait for the effects of my firſt ſpells; ſhe will come this evening to try new ones; I will conceal you in a corner, where you may ſee and hear every thing. We were exact to our appointment. Mycale was preparing for her incantations. Around her [f] we ſaw branches of laurel, aromatic plants, plates of braſs covered with unknown characters, fleeces of ſheep dyed purple, nails taken from a gibbet ſtill clotted with blood, human ſkulls half eaten by wild beaſts, fragments of fingers, noſes and ears torn from dead bodies, entrails of victims, a

[a] Plat. in Euthydem. t. i. p. 290.
[b] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 181. Plat. de Leg. lib. 11 t. ii. p. 933.
[c] Plat. de Leg lib. 11. t. ii. p. 933. Ovid. Heroid. epiſt. 6. v. 91.
[d] Pindar. Pyth. 4. v. 380. Schol. ibid. Apoll. Argon. lib. 1. v. 1139. Schol. ibid. Heſych. in Ἴυγξ. Bayle Rep. aux. Queſt. p. 414.
[e] Lucian. in Meretr. 4. t. iii 288.
[f] Theocr. Idyll. 2. Apu Meta lib. 3. p 54

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phial containing the blood of a man who perished by a violent death, a waxen figure painted white, black, and red, and representing Hecate, holding a whip, a lamp, and a sword entwined in a serpent [g]; several vases filled with spring water [h], milk of cows, mountain honey, the magic wheel, instruments of brass, some hair of Polycletus, a piece of the fringe of his robe [i], and a variety of other articles, which we were attentively observing, when a slight noise informed us of the arrival of Salamis.

We retired into an adjoining chamber. The beautiful Thessalian entered, inspired by love and rage; and, after bitter complaints against her lover and the sorceress, the ceremonies began. These, to render them more efficacious, should in general have some affinity to the object proposed.

Mycale first made several libations with water, milk, and honey, over the entrails of the victims: she next took the locks of Polycletus's hair, interwove, and knotted them in various ways, and mixing them with certain herbs, threw them into a burning brasier [k]. At this moment Polycletus, impelled by an irresistible power, should have appeared and fallen at the feet of his mistress.

After waiting for him in vain, Salamis, who had lately been initiated in the secrets of the art, suddenly exclaimed, I will myself preside over the enchantment. Aid my transports, Mycale: take this vessel prepared for the libations, wrap it up in this wool [l]. Luminary of the night, lend us a favourable light! and thou, divinity of the infernal shades, dread Hecate, who stalkest among the tombs, and in places bathed with the blood of mortals, appear, and let our spells be as potent as those of Medea and of Circe! Mycale, cast this salt into the fire [m], saying, I cast the bones of Polycletus.

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[g] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 5. cap. 14. p. 202.
[h] Apul. Metam. lib. 3. p. 55.
[i] Theocr. Idyll. 2.
[k] Apul. Metam. lib. 3. p. 55
[l] Theocr. Idyll. 2. v. 2.
[m] Heinf. in Theocrit. Idyll. 2. v. 18.

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May the heart of this traitor be conſumed by love, as this laurel is conſumed by the flames, as this wax melts at the approach of the fire [n]; may Polycletus turn around my dwelling, as this wheel turns around its axis: throw handfuls of bran into the fire; ſtrike on the brazen veſſels. Hark! I hear the howling of dogs. Hecate is in the croſs road near us; ſtrike, I tell thee, and let the ſound apprize her that we feel the effects of her preſence. But already the winds hold their breath; all nature is calm: alas! my heart alone is agitated [o]! O Hecate! O tremendous goddeſs! I make theſe three libations in thy honour; thrice am I about to utter imprecations againſt the new paſſion of Polycletus. May he forſake my rival, as Theſeus abandoned the wretched Ariadne! Let us try the moſt potent of our philtres: pound this lizard in a mortar, mix it with flour; let us make a potion of it for Polycletus; and thou, Mycale, take the juice of theſe herbs, and inſtantly go and ſprinkle it over the threſhold of his door. If he reſiſts ſo many charms, I will employ others more fatal, and his death ſhall ſatisfy my vengeance [p]. At theſe words Salamis withdrew, and was followed ſoon after by Mycale.

The incantations which I have been deſcribing were accompanied with certain myſterious forms, pronounced at intervals by Mycale [q]; but theſe are not deſerving of repetition, ſince they conſiſted only of barbarous or disfigured words without either connection or meaning.

It ſtill remained for us to ſee the ceremonies made uſe of in the evocation of the manes or ſpirits of the dead. Mycale told us to repair at night to a ſolitary place, containing a number of tombs, at ſome diſtance from the town. We there found her buſied in digging a grave [r], around which ſhe preſently piled up herbs, the bones and remains of human bodies,

[n] Theocrit. ibid. v. 28. Virgil. Eclog. 8. v. 80.
[o] Id. ibid.
[p] Id. Idyll. 2. v. 28.
[q] Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 6. p. 293.
[r] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 11. v. 36. Horat. lib. 1. ſat. 8. v. 22. Heliod. ibid. p. 292. Feith. Antiq. Homer. lib. 2. cap. 17.

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figures made of wool, wax and flour, and the hair of a Theſſalian whom we had known, and whom ſhe undertook to ſhow us. After lighting the fire, ſhe poured the blood of a black ſheep ſhe had brought with her into the grave, and frequently repeated her libations, invocations, and ſecret and myſterious forms. From time to time ſhe walked with haſty ſteps, with her feet bare, and her hair diſhevelled, uttering horrid imprecations, and ſuch howlings as at length betrayed her; for they were heard by the guards ſent by the magiſtrates, who had been long watching her motions. They ſeized and dragged her to priſon. The next day we made ſome attempts to ſave her, but we were adviſed to let juſtice take its courſe [s], and to make the beſt of our way out of the town.

Her profeſſion is reputed infamous among the Greeks. The people deteſt ſorcereſſes, for they conſider them as the cauſe of all their misfortunes. They accuſe them of violating the tombs to mutilate the dead [t]. It is true that moſt of theſe women are capable of the blackeſt crimes, and that poiſon ſerves them more effectually than their ſpells. For this reaſon, the magiſtrates in general proceed againſt them with the utmoſt rigour. During my reſidence at Athens, I ſaw one condemned to die, and her relations, who were become her accomplices, ſuffered the ſame puniſhment [u]. But the laws prohibit only the abuſes of this frivolous art; they allow incantations to be uſed, unaccompanied by ſorceries, and which in their object may eventually prove advantageous to ſociety. They are ſometimes uſed againſt the epilepſy [x], head-achs [y], and other diſorders [z]. Augurs, authorized by the magiſtrates, are alſo allowed to call up and appeaſe the manes of the dead [a]. I ſhall ſpeak more particularly of theſe evocations in my journey into Laconia.

[s] Lucian. in Aſin t ii. p. 622.
[t] Lucan. Phaſal. lib. 6. v. 538. Apul. Metam. lib 2. p. 33 et 35.
[u] Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 840. Philocr. ap. Harpocr. in Φιλιππ.
[x] Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 840.
[y] Plut. in Charm. t. ii. p. 155. Id. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 202.
[z] Pind. Pyth. 3. v. 91. Plin. lib. 28. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 444.
[a] Plut. de Conſol. t. ii. p. 109.

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From Hypata we proceeded to Lamia, and purſuing our journey through a wild country, and over a rugged and uneven road, arrived at Thaumaci, where we enjoyed one of the fineſt proſpects we had ſeen in Greece [b]; for this town overlooks an immenſe plain, the view of which produces the livelieſt and moſt pleaſing emotions. In this rich and ſuperb vale [c] are ſeveral towns, and among others Pharſalos, one of the largeſt and moſt opulent in Theſſaly. We viſited them all, and obtained all the information we could procure reſpecting their traditions, their government, and the character and manners of the inhabitants.

We need but to glance over the face of the country, to be convinced that it muſt formerly have contained almoſt as many tribes or nations as it exhibits hills and valleys. Encloſed and defended at that time by ſtrong barriers, which were continually to be attacked or defended, the people were rendered brave and enterpriſing; and when their manners became more civilized, Theſſaly ſtill continued the abode of heroes, and the theatre of the moſt illuſtrious achievements. Here was it that the Centaurs and Lapithæ appeared, that the Argonauts embarked, that Hercules died, that Achilles was born, that Pirithous lived; and hither warriors reſorted from the moſt diſtant countries to ſignalize themſelves by deeds of arms.

The Acheans, the Æolians, the Dorians, from whom deſcended the Lacedæmonians, and ſeveral other powerful ſtates of Greece, derive their origin from Theſſaly. The people who inhabit it at preſent are the Theſſalians properly ſo called, the Oeteans, the Phthiotians, the Malians, the Magneſians, the Perthæbians, &c. Theſe nations were formerly governed by kings, and afterwards experienced revolutions common to great and ſmall ſtates; at preſent they are for the moſt part ſubject to an oligarchy [d].

On certain occaſions, the towns of each of theſe ſtates ſend

[b] Liv. lib. 32. cap. 4.
[c] Pococke. t. iii. p. 153.
[d] Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 78.

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their deputies to a council in which their intereſts are diſcuſſed [e]; but the decrees of theſe aſſemblies are binding only on thoſe who have ſubſcribed them. Thus not only are the ſtates independent of each other, but this independence is extended to the towns of every ſtate. For inſtance, the ſtate of the Oeteans being divided into fourteen diſtricts [f], the inhabitants of one may refuſe to follow the others to war [g]. This exceſſive liberty diminiſhes the ſtrength of each ſtate, by preventing it from uniting its forces, and produces ſuch languor in the public deliberations, that they often diſpenſe with convening the aſſemblies [h].

The confederacy of the Theſſalians, properly ſo called, *is* the moſt powerful of all, both from the number of towns appertaining to it, and from the acceſſion of the Magneſians and Perrhæbians, whom it has almoſt brought under complete ſubjection [i].

We meet likewiſe with ſome free cities which ſeem unconnected with any of theſe ſtates, and which, too weak ſingly to maintain their independence and command a proper reſpect, have formed an alliance with two or three other neighbouring towns, detached and feeble like themſelves [k].

The Theſſalians can bring into the field an army of ſix thouſand horſe, and ten thouſand infantry [l], excluſive of their archers, who are excellent, and the number of whom can be increaſed at pleaſure; for this people are accuſtomed from their infancy to draw the bow [m]. No troops are more famous than the Theſſalian cavalry [n]; which is not only formidable from the name it has acquired, but all nations agree that it is almoſt impoſſible to withſtand its ſhock [o].

[e] Id. ibid. Liv. lib. 35. cap. 31. lib. 36. cap. 8. lib. 39. cap. 25. lib. 42. cap. 38.
[f] Strab. lib. 9. p. 434.
[g] Diod. Sic. lib. 18. p. 595.
[h] Liv. lib. 34. cap. 51.
[i] Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 6. p. 265.
[k] Strab. lib. 9. p. 437. Liv. lib. 42. cap. 53.
[l] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6. p. 581. Iſocr. de Pace. t. i. p. 420.
[m] Xenoph. ibid. Solin. cap. 8.
[n] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. 799. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 435. Liv. lib. 9. cap. 19.
[o] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 278.

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They are ſaid to have been the firſt who managed horſes with the bit, and made uſe of them in battle; hence originated, it has been alleged, the tradition that a race of creatures called Centaurs, half horſes and half men, formerly exiſted in Theſſaly [p]. This fable proves at leaſt the antiquity of riding on horſeback among them; and their predilection for this exerciſe is evinced by a ceremony obſerved at their marriages. After the ſacrifices and cuſtomary rites, the bridegroom preſents his ſpouſe with a horſe decked out with all the military trappings [q].

Theſſaly produces wine, oil, and fruit of different kinds. The land is ſo rich that the corn would grow too faſt did they not cut it, or turn in ſheep to graze on it [r].

The crops, which are in general very plentiful, are often deſtroyed by worms [s]. A great quantity of corn is conveyed on carriages to different ſea-ports, and eſpecially to that of Thebes in Phthiotis, whence it is exported to foreign countries [t]. This commerce, which produces conſiderable ſums, is the more advantageous to the nation, as it is eaſy to carry it on, and even to increaſe it from the prodigious number of ſlaves which are known by the name of Peneſtæ. They are in general deſcended from thoſe Perrhæbians and Magneſians, whom the Theſſalians, after conquering, condemned to ſlavery: a circumſtance which but too ſtrongly marks the contradictions of the human mind. The Theſſalians are the people who perhaps of all the Greeks pride themſelves moſt on their liberty [u], and they were the firſt to reduce Greeks to ſlavery: the Lacedæmonians, who are no leſs jealous of their freedom, have given the ſame example to all Greece [x].

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[p] Plin. lib. 7. cap. 56. t. i. p. 416.
[q] Ælian. de Animal. lib. 11. cap. 34.
[r] Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 8. cap. 7. p. 942.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 10.
[t] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6. p. 581. Liv. lib. 39. cap. 25.
[u] Euripid. in Alceſt. v. 677.
[x] Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 6. cap. 18. p. 265.

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The Peneſtæ have more than once revolted [y]: they are ſo numerous as always to inſpire dread, ſo that their maſters are allowed to make them an article of commerce, and ſell them to the other inhabitants of Greece. But what is ſtill more ſhameful is, that avaricious men frequently ſteal the ſlaves of others, carry off even free citizens, and, loading them with chains, force them on board veſſels which are attracted to the coaſts of Theſſaly by the thirſt of gain [z].

In the town of Arne, however, I ſaw ſlaves whoſe condition is not ſo bad. They are deſcended from thoſe Bœotians who formerly came to ſettle in the country, and were at length expelled by the Theſſalians. Moſt of them returned to their native homes: others unable to quit their habitations, capitulated with their conquerors. They conſented to become bondſmen, on condition that their maſters ſhould neither deprive them of life, nor tranſport them to other countries; they undertook the cultivation of the earth, paying an annual tribute. Many of them at preſent are richer than their maſters [a].

The Theſſalians receive ſtrangers with great civility, and treat them with magnificence [b]. Luxury is conſpicuous in their dreſs and houſes [c]: they are fond to exceſs of oſtentation and good living; their tables are ſerved with as much refinement as profuſion; and the dancing girls, who are hired to amuſe them at entertainments, can only pleaſe by laying aſide almoſt every covering of modeſty and decency [d].

They are paſſionate, turbulent [e], and ſo difficult to govern, that I have ſeen many of their towns diſtracted with factions [f]. They are reproached, like all other poliſhed nations, with not

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y Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 328.

z Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 520. Schol. ibid.

a Archem. ap. Athen. l. 6. p. 264. Thucyd. lib 12.

b Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6. p. 579. Athen lib. 14. cap. 5. p. 624.

c Plat. in Crit. t. i. p. 53. Athen. lib. 14. cap. 23. p. 663. Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 6. cap 17. p. 260.

d Athen lib. 13. cap. 9. p. 607

e Liv. lib. 34 cap 51.

f Iſocr. ep. 2. ad Phil. t. i. p. 451.

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being tenacious observers of their word, and of readily failing in their engagements with their allies [g]. The education they receive adding only prejudices and errors to nature, corruption takes early root among them; example soon invites to the commission of crimes, and guilt is rendered insolent by impunity [h].

They have cultivated poetry from the most early ages, and pretend that Thessaly gave birth to Thamyris, Orpheus, Linus, and many others who lived in the heroic age, and whose glory reflects honour on their country [i]; but since that period they have produced no writer, nor any celebrated artist. About a century and a half ago Simonides found them insensible to the charms of his poetry [k]. They have been more attentive in later times to the lessons of Gorgias the rhetorician, and still prefer the pompous eloquence by which he was distinguished, but without suffering it to rectify the false ideas they entertain of justice and of virtue [l].

They have so great a taste for dancing, and hold it in such estimation, as to apply the terms of that art to objects of a far nobler nature. In some places generals or magistrates are called chiefs of the dance [m] *. Their music observes a medium between the Doric and the Ionic; and as it alternately depicts the confidence of presumption, and the softness of effeminate pleasure, it harmonizes with the character and manners of the country [n].

They never on any occasion kill storks, a circumstance I should pass over, were not the same punishment inflicted on the person who kills one of these birds as if he had taken away the life of a man [o]. Astonished at so singular a law, we

[g] Demosth. Olynth. 1. p. 4. Id. adv. Aristocr. p. 743

[h] Plat. in Crit. t. i. p. 53.

[i] Voss. observ. ad Melam. lib. 2. cap. 3. p. 456.

[k] Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 15.

[l] Plat. in Crit. t. i. p. 53. Id. in Men. t. ii. p. 70.

[m] Lucian. de Salt. c. 14. t. ii. p. 276.

* Lucian gives us an inscription written by a Thessalian, and conceived in these terms: "The people erected this statue to Ilation, because he danced well in battle."

[n] Athen. lib. 14. p. 624.

[o] Plin. lib. 10. cap 23. Solin. cap. 40. Plut. de Isid. et Osir. t. ii. p. 380.

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inquired the cauſe of it, and were told that ſtorks had freed Theſſaly from the enormous ſerpents which formerly infeſted it, and that without this law the inhabitants would ſoon be under the neceſſity of relinquiſhing the country [p], as the people of a town of Theſſaly, the name of which I have forgotten, had been forced to do on account of the prodigious quantity of moles [q].

In our time, a power aroſe in the city of Pheræ, which ſhone with a ſplendid but tranſitory luſtre. The firſt foundation of it was laid by Lycophron [r]; and his ſucceſſor Jaſon raiſed it ſo high as to render it formidable to all Greece, and even to diſtant nations. I have heard ſo much ſpoken of this extraordinary man, that I cannot refrain from giving a ſhort ſketch of what he did, and what he might eventually have done.

Jaſon poſſeſſed thoſe qualities which are requiſite to the founding of a great empire. He early maintained in his pay a body of ſix thouſand auxiliary troops, whom he continually exerciſed, attaching them to his perſon by rewards when they diſtinguiſhed themſelves, by the cloſeſt attention and care in the hour of ſickneſs, and by honourable funerals at their death [s]. To obtain admiſſion into, and to remain in this corps, it was neceſſary that the ſoldier ſhould be of approved valour, and poſſeſs that intrepidity which he himſelf diſplayed in difficulties and dangers. Men who perſonally knew him, have told me that his body was proof againſt the greateſt fatigues, and his activity ſuch as to ſurmount the moſt arduous obſtacles; that he could deny himſelf ſleep and food when it was neceſſary to act; that he was inſenſible, or rather inacceſſible, to the allurements of pleaſure; too prudent to engage in any undertaking without a certainty of ſucceſs; and no leſs ſkilful than Themiſtocles in penetrating the de-

[p] Ariſtot. de Mirab. Auſcult t. i. p. 1152.
[q] Plin. lib. 8. cap. 29. p. 455.
[r] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2. p. 461. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 300. Reinec. Hiſt. Jul. t. ii. p. 366.
[s] Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 580.

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ſigns of the enemy, in concealing his own, and in ſupplying the want of force by ſtratagem or intrigue [t]: in a word, that he rendered every thing ſubſervient to his ambition, and never left any thing to chance.

To complete this delineation of his character, it muſt be added, that he governed his people with mildneſs [u], and that his friendſhip was ſo ſincere, that Timotheus, the Athenian general to whom he was bound by ties of hoſpitality, being accuſed before the aſſembly of the people, Jaſon laid aſide the inſignia of the throne, repaired to Athens, mixed, as a ſimple individual, with the friends of the accuſed, and by his ſolicitations contributed to ſave his life [x].

After reducing ſome nations to ſubjection, and forming treaties of alliance with others, he communicated his projects to the principal chiefs of the Theſſalians [y]. He repreſented to them that the power of the Lacedæmonians was annihilated by the battle of Leuctra, that the newly acquired aſcendency of the Thebans could be but momentary and unſtable, and that the Athenian navy, which conſtituted the only ſtrength of that ſtate, might ſoon be ſurpaſſed by fleets which could eaſily be built in the ports of Theſſaly. He added, that by conqueſts and alliances it would not be difficult to obtain the empire of Greece, and overthrow that of the Perſians, the weakneſs of which had ſo recently been manifeſted by the expeditions of Ageſilaus and the younger Cyrus. Theſe ſuggeſtions inflamed every mind; he was elected chief and generaliſſimo of the Theſſalian league, and ſoon found himſelf at the head of twenty thouſand infantry, upwards of three thouſand horſe, and a very conſiderable number of light troops [z].

[t] Cicer. de Offic. lib. 1. cap. 30. t. iii. p. 209.
[u] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 373.
[x] Demoſth. in Timoth. p. 1075. Cornel. Nep. in Timoth. cap. 4.
[y] Xenop. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6. p. 580.
[z] Id. ibid. p. 583.

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Thus circumſtanced, the Thebans implored his aid againſt the Lacedæmonians [a]. Though at war with the Phocians, he ſelected his beſt troops, marched with incredible celerity, and preceding every where the rumour of his approach, formed a junction with the Thebans in ſight of the Lacedæmonian army. To avoid ſtrengthening either ſtate by a victory which might counteract his views, he engaged them to ſign a truce, fell immediately on Phocis, which he laid waſte, and, after other enterpriſes equally rapid and ſucceſsful, returned to Pheræ crowned with glory, and courted by different nations which ſolicited his alliance.

The time for celebrating the Pythian games was now at hand; Jaſon formed the project of marching thither with his army [b]. Some imagined that it was his intention to awe the aſſembly, and obtain the ſuperintendance of the games: but as he was known ſometimes to employ extraordinary means for the ſubſiſtence of his troops [c], the people of Delphi ſuſpected him of entertaining views on the ſacred treaſury [d]. When the prieſts inquired of the god by what means they ſhould avert this ſacrilegious attempt, they were anſwered, that he took that care upon himſelf. A few days after Jaſon was killed at the head of his army, by ſeven young conſpirators, who, it is ſaid, had reaſon to complain of his ſeverity [e].

Among the Greeks ſome rejoiced at his death, becauſe they trembled for their liberty; others, whoſe expectations were founded on his projects, lamented the event [f]. I know not whether the plan of uniting the Greeks and invading Perſia originated with himſelf, or whether he had adopted it from one of thoſe ſophiſts, who for ſome time had ſo frequently made it a ſubject of diſcuſſion in their writings, and in the general aſſemblies of Greece [g]. The project, however,

[a] Id. ibid. p. 598
[b] Id. ibid. p. 600.
[c] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 6. cap. 1. &c.
[d] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6. p. 600.
[e] Valer. Max. lib. 9. cap. 10.
[f] Id. ibid.
[g] Philoſt. de Vit. Sophiſt. lib. 1. p. 493. Iſocr. Panegyr. t. 1. p. 209. Id. Orat. ad Philip. t. 1. p. 291.

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was certainly practicable, and has been juſtified by the event. I afterwards ſaw Philip of Macedon give laws to Greece, and ſince my return to Scythia have learned that his ſon had overthrown the Perſian empire. Both followed the ſame ſyſtem as Jaſon, who poſſeſſed poſſibly as great abilities as the former, and no leſs activity than the latter.

It was not till ſome years after his death that we arrived at Pheræ, a pretty conſiderable town ſurrounded by gardens [h]. We expected to have found ſome remains of that ſplendour which had rendered it illuſtrious in the time of Jaſon; but Alexander then reigned, and preſented to Greece a ſpectacle of which I had no idea, for I had never beheld a tyrant. The throne on which he ſat was ſtill reeking with the blood of his predeceſſors. I have ſaid that Jaſon was ſlain by conſpirators; his two brothers Polydorus and Polyphron ſucceeding him, Polyphron murdered Polydorus [i], and was ſoon after aſſaſſinated by Alexander, who had held the ſceptre near eleven years [k], when we arrived at Pheræ.

This cruel prince was a ſlave to the moſt grovelling vices. Faithleſs with reſpect to treaties, and timid and cowardly in battle, he was ambitious of conqueſts only that he might glut his avarice, and entirely abandoned himſelf to the moſt infamous and vile debaucheries [l]. A band of fugitives and vagabonds, tainted with every crime, but leſs flagitious than himſelf, become his ſoldiers and his guards, ſpread deſolation over his own kingdom, and among the neighbouring nations. He had been known to enter at their head into an allied city, aſſemble the citizens under various pretexts in the forum, put them to death, and give their houſes up to pillage [m]. His arms were at firſt attended with ſome ſucceſs, but vanquiſhed at length by the Thebans, in conjunction with ſeveral of the

[h] Polyb. lib. 17. p. 756. Liv. lib. 33. cap. 6.
[i] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. l. 6. p. 600.
[k] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 374.
[l] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 293.
[m] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 385. Plut. in Pelop. ibid. Pauſan. lib. 6. p. 463.

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ſtates of Theſſaly [n], he was reduced to exerciſe his fury on his own ſubjects; ſome were buried alive [o]; others, encloſed in the ſkins of bears and wild boars, were purſued and torn by dogs habituated to this ſort of chaſe. He made a ſport of their torments, and their cries ſerved only to harden his obdurate ſoul. Yet he ſurpriſed himſelf one day on the point of ſhedding tears: this happened at a repreſentation of the Troades of Euripides; but he inſtantly left the theatre, ſaying, that he ſhould bluſh indeed if, when he could ſee the blood of his ſubjects flow unmoved, he ſhould appear affected at the misfortunes of Hecuba and Andromache [p].

The inhabitants of Pheræ paſſed their lives in terror, and in that ſtate of dejection which an exceſs of oppreſſion naturally produces, and which is in itſelf an additional misfortune. They dared not even to breathe a ſigh, and the wiſhes which they ſecretly formed for liberty ended in impotent deſpair.

Alexander, agitated by the dread with which he tormented others, experienced the common lot of tyrants, that of hating and being hated. In his eyes were diſcoverable, through the ſymptoms of cruelty, all that anxiety, diſtruſt, and terror, that harrowed up his ſoul. Every thing around him was an object of ſuſpicion. He trembled even at the ſight of his guards. He took precautions againſt his wife Thebe, whom he loved with as much fury as jealouſy, if we may dignify by the name of love that ferocious paſſion which impelled him to her perſon. He paſſed the night at the top of his palace, in an apartment to which he aſcended by a ladder, and the avenues to which were defended by a huge dog, who would have ſpared neither the king, the queen, nor the ſlave that ſupplied him with victuals. Hither the tyrant retired

[n] Id. ibid. p. 390.
[o] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 293.
[p] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 14. cap. 40. Plut. ibid.

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every night, preceded by this ſlave, who carried a naked ſword, and examined every corner of the apartment [q].

I ſhall now proceed to relate a ſingular fact, and ſhall accompany it with no reflection. Eudemus of Cyprus, in his way from Athens to Macedonia, fell ill at Pheræ [r]. As I had frequently ſeen him in company with Ariſtotle, whoſe friend he was, I attended him during his ſickneſs with all the care in my power. One evening, when his phyſicians had aſſured me that they deſpaired of his cure, I was ſeated by his bed: moved at my affliction, he ſtretched out his hand, and ſaid to me in a dying voice, I may truſt a ſecret to your friendſhip, which it would be dangerous to reveal to another. Two or three nights ſince, a young man of aſtoniſhing beauty appeared to me in a dream; he warned me that I ſhould recover, and return to my country in five years; and, as a token of the truth of his prediction, added, that the tyrant had but a few days to live. I conſidered this ſtory of Eudemus as a proof that he was ſeized by a delirium, and returned home overwhelmed with grief.

The next morning, at break of day, we were awakened by repeated acclamations: He is dead, the tyrant is no more; he has periſhed by the hands of the queen. We ran directly to the palace, where we ſaw the body of Alexander, abandoned to the inſults of the populace, who were trampling him under their feet [s], and extolling in tranſports the courage of the queen; for ſhe, from her hatred of tyranny, or to avenge her perſonal injuries, had put herſelf at the head of the conſpiracy. Some ſaid that Alexander was on the point of repudiating her; others that he had put to death a young Theſſalian who was her favourite [t]; and others again, that Pelopidas, who ſome years before had fallen into the hands of

[q] Cicer. de Offic. lib. 2, cap. 7. t. iii. p. 233. Valer. Maxim. lib. 9. cap. 13.

[r] Ariſtot. ap. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. cap. 25. t. iii. p. 221.

[s] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 298. Quintil. lib. 7. cap. 1. p. 410.

[t] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6. p. 601.

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Alexander, had, whilſt a priſoner, an interview with the queen, and exhorted her by reſtoring her country to freedom to render herſelf worthy of her birth [u], for ſhe was the daughter of king Jaſon. However this may be, Thebe having formed her plan, told her three brothers, Tiſiphonus, Pytholaus, and Lycophron, that her huſband was determined on their deſtruction; and from that moment they reſolved on his. The preceding day ſhe kept them concealed in the palace [x]: in the evening Alexander, intoxicated with wine, aſcended to his apartment, threw himſelf on his bed, and went to ſleep. Thebe immediately came down, ſent the ſlave and the dog out of the way, returned with the conſpirators, and ſeized the ſword ſuſpended at the head of the bed. At this moment their courage had nearly failed them; but Thebe threatening, if they heſitated, to awaken the king, they fell upon him, and put an end to his life with repeated blows.

I immediately went to impart this news to Eudemus, who did not ſeem ſurpriſed at it. He ſoon recovered his ſtrength, and died five years after in Sicily. Ariſtotle, who has ſince dedicated a dialogue on the ſoul to the memory of his friend [y], has alleged that the dream was accompliſhed in all its circumſtances, ſince to leave the world by death is to return to our country [z].

The conſpirators, after ſuffering the inhabitants of Pheræ to breathe a while, divided the ſovereign power between them, and committed ſo many acts of injuſtice, that they compelled their ſubjects to call in Philip of Macedon to their ſuccour [a]. He came, and not only expelled the tyrants of Pheræ, but thoſe who had eſtabliſhed themſelves in other cities. The ſignal ſervice he thus rendered to the Theſſalians ſo attached them to his intereſt [b], that they followed him in

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u Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 297.
x Id ibid.
y Id. in Dion t. i. p. 967.
z Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. cap. 25. t. iii. p. 22.
a Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 418.
b Iſocr. Orat. ad Philip. t. i. p. 238.

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moſt of his enterpriſes, and greatly contributed to his future ſucceſs.

After having viſited the environs of Pheræ, and eſpecially its harbour, named Pegaſæ, which is at the diſtance of ninety ſtadia from the city [c] *, we made an excurſion into the ſouthern parts of Magneſia, and afterward inclined our courſe towards the north, keeping the chain of mountains called Pelion on our right. This country is delightful, from the mildneſs of the climate, the variety of the proſpects it affords, and the number of valleys formed by the branches of the mountains Pelion and Oſſa, more particularly in the northern part.

On one of the ſummits of Mount Pelion ſtands a temple dedicated to Jupiter; and near it is the celebrated cave in which Chiron is ſaid formerly to have dwelt [d], and which ſtill bears his name. We aſcended this part of the mountain in the train of a proceſſion of young people, who go annually, in the name of one of the adjacent towns, to offer a ſacrifice to the ſovereign of the gods. Though it was the middle of ſummer, and the heat exceſſive at the foot of the mountain, we were obliged to follow their example, and cover ourſelves with thick garments. The cold at this height is extremely ſharp, but its ſeverity is leſs felt by the traveller, becauſe his attention is engaged by the magnificent proſpect of the ſea on one ſide, and of the plains of Theſſaly on the other.

The mountain is covered with firs, cypreſſes, cedars, and a variety of trees [e]; as alſo different kinds of ſimples much uſed in medicine [f]. We were ſhown a root, reſembling thyme in its ſmell, which, as we were told, is fatal to ſerpents, and, if taken in wine, is an antidote againſt their bite [g]. A certain ſhrub grows here likewiſe, the root of which is a re-

[c] Strab. lib. 9. p. 436.
* Three leagues and a half.
[d] Pind. Pyth. 4. v. 181. Dicæarch. ap. Geogr. Min. t ii. p. 29.
[e] Dicæarch. ibid. p. 27.
[f] Id. ibid. p. 30. Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib 4 cap. 6. p. 367; lib. 9. cap. 15. p 1117.
[g] Id. ibid. p. 28.

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medy for the gout, the bark for the cholic, and the leaves for defluxions in the eyes [h]; but the ſecret of preparing and uſing it is in the hands of a ſingle family, who pretend that it has been tranſmitted to them from father to ſon, from the time of Chiron the centaur, to whom they aſcribe its firſt diſcovery. They derive no advantage from it, but think it their duty gratuitouſly to diſtribute theſe remedies to ſuch ſick perſons as come to ſolicit their aſſiſtance.

Deſcending from the mountain with the proceſſion, we were invited to the entertainment which concludes the ceremony: we then ſaw a kind of dance performed, peculiar to ſome of the people of Theſſaly, and well calculated to excite the courage and vigilance of the inhabitants of the country [i]. A Magneſian preſents himſelf with his arms, which he lays down, and imitates the geſtures and manner of a man ſowing and tilling his field in time of war. Fear is depicted in his countenance; he turns his head on every ſide, and perceives one of the enemy's ſoldiers endeavouring to ſurpriſe him; he inſtantly ſeizes his arms, attacks the ſoldier, defeats him, faſtens him to his oxen, and drives him before him. All theſe movements are performed in cadence to the ſound of the flute.

Continuing our journey, we arrived at Sycurium. This town, ſituated on an eminence at the foot o Mount Oſſa, commands a fine proſpect of a rich country. The purity of the air and the number of ſtreams which water the neighbouring lands render it one of the moſt agreeable places of reſidence in Greece [k]. From hence to Lariſſa the country is fertile and very populous. It increaſes in beauty as we approach this city, which is juſtly deemed the firſt and richeſt in Theſſaly. The river Peneus, which rolls its tranſparent waters at the foot of its walls [l], greatly contributes to its embelliſhment.

[h] Id. ibid. p. 30.
[i] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 6. p. 371.
[k] Liv. lib. 42. cap. 54.
[l] Plin. lib. 4. cap. 8. t. i. p. 200.

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We lodged at the houſe of Amyntor, where we found every accommodation to be expected from the ancient friendſhip by which he was attached to the father of Philotas.

We were impatient to viſit Tempe. This name, which is common to ſeveral valleys in the diſtrict, is more particularly given to that formed by the approach of Mount Olympus and Mount Oſſa. It is the only high road from Theſſaly to Macedon. Amyntor gave us his company. We took a boat, and embarked at ſun-riſe on the Peneus, the fifteenth of the month Metageitnion *. We preſently came in ſight of ſeveral towns, ſuch as Phalanna, Gyrton, Elatea, Mopſium, and Homolis; ſome ſeated on the banks of the river, others on the adjoining heights [m]. After paſſing the mouth of the Titareſius, the waters of which are not ſo clear as thoſe of the Peneus [n], we arrived at Gonnus, diſtant one hundred and ſixty ſtadia [o] † from Lariſſa. The valley here begins, and the river is ſhut in between Mount Oſſa on the right, and Olympus on the left, which is ſomething more than ten ſtadia in height ‡.

According to an ancient tradition, theſe mountains were ſeparated by an earthquake that opened a paſſage for the waters which overflowed the country [p]. It is certain, however, that if this paſſage were obſtructed, the Peneus could no longer find a way; for this river, which receives ſeveral others in its courſe, flows through a country that gradually riſes from its banks to the ſurrounding hills and mountains; on which account it has been ſaid, that had not the Theſſalians ſubmitted to Xerxes, that monarch would have taken poſſeſſion of Gonnus, and there have conſtructed a dike and ſtopped the ſtream of the river [q].

* The 10th of Auguſt of the year 357 before Chriſt.

[m] Liv. lib. 42 cap. 61.

[n] Homer. Iliad. 2. v. 754. Strab. lib. 9. p. 441.

[o] Liv. lib. 36. cap. 10.

† Six leagues.

‡ 960 toiſes (one mile 285 yards). See note at the end of the volume.

[p] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 129. Strab. lib. 9. p. 430.

[q] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 130.

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This town is very important from its ſituation; it is the key of Theſſaly on the ſide of Macedonia [r], as the paſs of Thermopylæ is on the ſide of Phocis.

The valley ſtretches from ſouth-weſt to north-weſt [s]; its length is forty ſtadia [t] *, and its greateſt breadth about two ſtadia and a half [u] †; but in ſome places it becomes ſo narrow that it does not appear to be above a hundred feet wide [x] ‡.

The mountains are covered with poplars, planes, and aſh trees of aſtoniſhing beauty [y]. From their ſides guſh forth ſprings of water as pure as cryſtal [z], and from the intervals which ſeparate their ſummits, iſſues a cool air which the traveller breathes with indiſcribable pleaſure. The river almoſt every where preſents him with a peaceful ſtream, and in certain places embraces iſlands, which it maintains in perpetual verdure [a]. Grottos excavated in the hill ſides [b], and plots of graſs extending along the banks of the river, ſeem to indicate the aſylum of repoſe and pleaſure. But what we moſt admired was a kind of intelligent plan in the diſtribution of the ornaments which embelliſh theſe retired ſcenes. Elſewhere art ſtrives to imitate nature; but here nature ſeems to endeavour to imitate art. Laurels and different kinds of ſhrubs form themſelves into arbours and groves, and exhibit a beautiful contraſt with the clumps of trees diſperſed over the foot of Olympus [c]. The rocks are clothed with a ſpecies of ivy, and the trees, ornamented with plants which wind around their trunks [d], interweave their branches and drop in feſtoons and garlands. Every object, in a word, on this en-

[r] Liv. lib. 42. cap. 67.

[s] Pocock. t. iii. p. 152. Manuſcript note of Mr. Stuart.

[t] Plin. lib. 4. cap. 8. t. i. p. 200. Liv. lib. 44. cap. 6.

* About a league and a half.

[u] Manuſcript note of Mr. Stuart.

† About 236 toiſes (502 yards or two furlongs 62 yards).

[x] Plin. ibid. Ælian Var. Hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 1. Perizon. ibid. Salmaſ. in Solin. p. 583.

‡ About 94 French feet (or 100 Engliſh).

[y] Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 4. c. 6. Catull. Epithal. Pel. et Thetid. Plut. in Flamin. p. 370. Heſych. in Τεμπ.

[z] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 1.

[a] Pococke, Deſcription of the Eaſt, t. iii. p. 152.

[b] Manuſcript note of Mr. Stuart.

[c] Id. ibid.

[d] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 1. Plin. lib. 16. cap. 44. t. ii. p. 41.

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chanting ſpot, contributes to complete the moſt pictureſque ſcenery. The eye ſeems to reſpire coolneſs on every ſide *, and the ſoul to receive a new portion of life.

The ſenſations of the Greeks are ſo lively, and the climate they inhabit is ſo warm, that we cannot be ſurpriſed at the emotions they experience at the ſight, nay even at the recollection, of this charming valley: to the picture I have been ſketching, I muſt add, that in the ſpring it is every where enamelled with flowers, and that birds without number ſend forth their warblings [e], rendered, as it were, ſtill more melodious and tender by the ſolitude and ſeaſon.

In the mean time we continued gently to follow the courſe of the Peneus, and my eyes, though attracted by a multitude of pleaſing objects, inceſſantly reverted to the river. Sometimes I beheld its waters glittering through the foliage that overſhaded its banks [f]; ſometimes approaching the ſhore, I contemplated the peaceful ſucceſſion of its waves [g], which ſeemed mutually to ſuſtain each other, and purſued their courſe without tumult and without effort. Such, ſaid I to Amyntor, is the image of a pure and tranquil ſoul; one virtue naturally ariſes from another, and all act in concert and in peace. The foreign ſhade of vice alone heightens their luſtre by its oppoſition. Amyntor replied, I will now ſhow you the image of ambition, and the fatal effects which it produces.

He then conducted me into one of the narrow paſſes of Mount Oſſa, which tradition has made the ſcene of the combat between the Titans and the gods. There an impetuous torrent ruſhes precipitately over a bed of rocks, ſhaking them by the violence of its fall. We came to a ſpot where the waves, violently compreſſed, were labouring to force a paſſage. They daſhed againſt each other, flew up, and fell back roaring

* *L'œil ſemble reſpirer la fraîcheur.*
e Plin. lib. 4. cap. 8. t. i. p. 200.
f Id. ibid.
g Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 1. Procop. Ædif. lib. 4. cap. 3. p. 72.

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into a gulf, whence they ſhot forth again with redoubled fury, to break and foam in the air.

My whole attention was fixed on this ſcene, when, caſting my eyes around me, I found myſelf encloſed between two black and arid mountains, furrowed through the whole extent of their ſides by deep chaſms. Near their ſummits the clouds moved heavily along, amid funereal trees, or remained ſuſpended over their ſterile branches. Below I beheld nature in ruins; mountains crumbled down lay covered with their own fragments, and preſented to the eye only menacing rocks confuſedly piled up. What power, ſaid I, has torn aſunder the bands of theſe enormous maſſes? Was it the fury of the northern blaſts? Was it a total overthrow of the globe? or was it indeed the terrible vengeance of the gods againſt the Titans? I know not: but to this terrific valley ſhould conquerors come to contemplate the picture of the ravages with which they afflict the earth.

We haſtened to leave this place, and found our attention excited by the melodious ſounds of a lyre [h], and by voices ſtill more enchanting. This was the *Theoria*, or deputation ſent to Tempe every ninth year by the inhabitants of Delphi [i]. They allege that Apollo came to their city with a crown and branch of laurel gathered in this valley, and that it is in commemoration of this circumſtance that they ſend the deputation we now ſaw arrive. It was compoſed of the moſt beautiful youths of Delphi. They offered a pompous ſacrifice on an altar erected near the banks of the Peneus, and after cutting branches from the ſame laurel tree whence the god had taken his crown, they departed ſinging hymns.

On coming out of the valley, the moſt beautiful ſcene that can be imagined opened to our view. We ſurveyed an immenſe plain covered with houſes and trees, in which the river

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[h] Plut. de Muſic. t. ii. p. 1136. Mem. de l'Acad. des Beil. Lettr. t. xiii. p. 220.

[i] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3 cap 1.

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enlarging its channel, and becoming more gentle in its courſe, ſeems to multiply itſelf by innumerable windings. At the diſtance of ſome ſtadia appears the Thermaic gulf; beyond it is ſeen the peninſula of Pallene, while at a ſtill greater diſtance Mount Athos finally terminates this noble proſpect [k].

We intended to return in the evening to Gonnus; but a violent ſtorm obliged us to paſs the night in a houſe ſituated on the ſea ſhore, the habitation of a Theſſalian, who received us with the utmoſt hoſpitality. He had reſided ſome time at the court of king Cotys, and during ſupper entertained us with ſome anecdotes relative to that prince.

Cotys, ſaid he, is the wealthieſt, the moſt voluptuous, and moſt intemperate of the Thracian kings. Beſides other branches of revenue, he annually receives upwards of two hundred talents * from the harbours which he poſſeſſes in the Cherſoneſus [l], yet his treaſures ſcarcely ſuffice to gratify his various caprices.

In ſummer he wanders, attended by his court, in foreſts, through which are cut magnificent high roads. Whenever he meets with a pleaſing proſpect and refreſhing ſhades near the banks of a rivulet, there he halts, and reſigns himſelf to all the exceſſes of the table. At preſent he is hurried away by a delirium which would only excite pity, did not folly joined to power render paſſions cruel. Who do you imagine is the object of his love? Minerva. At firſt he commanded one of his miſtreſſes to adorn herſelf with the inſignia of that divinity; but as this expedient only contributed to inflame him more, he determined to eſpouſe the goddeſs. The nuptials were celebrated with the greateſt magnificence; I was invited to the wedding. He waited impatiently for his bride, and in the interval got drunk. Towards the end of the entertainment, one of his guards went, by his order, to the tent in which the nuptial bed was prepared, and, on his return,

[k] Manuſcript note of Mr. Stuart.
* Upwards of 1,800,000 livres (45,000 l.)
[l] Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. p. 743.

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informing him that Minerva was not yet arrived, Cotys pierced him with an arrow which laid him dead on the place. Another of his guards underwent the ſame fate. A third, warned by their example, ſaid, that he had juſt ſeen the goddeſs, who was in bed, and had been long waiting for the king. At theſe words, ſuſpecting he had obtained the favours of his ſpouſe, he flew upon him in a rage, and tore him in pieces with his own hands [m].

Such was the narrative of the Theſſalian. Some time after two brothers, Heraclides and Python, conſpired againſt Cotys, and put him to death. The Athenians having alternately had reaſon to be ſatisfied with, and to complain of this prince, at the beginning of his reign decreed him a crown of gold with the privileges of a citizen; and after his death, conferred the ſame honours on his aſſaſſins [n].

The ſtorm ended with the night; and, when we awoke, the ſea was calm, and the ſky ſerene: we returned to the valley, where we ſaw preparations for a feſtival annually celebrated by the Theſſalians, in commemoration of the earthquake, which, by giving a paſſage to the waters of the Peneus, drained the beautiful plains of Lariſſa.

The inhabitants of Gonnus, Homolis, and other adjacent towns, ſucceſſively arrived in the valley. Incenſe was burning on all ſides [o], and the river covered with boats perpetually going up and coming down. Tables were ſpread in the thickets, on the lawn, on the banks of the river, in the little iſlands, and near the ſprings which guſh out of the mountains. This feſtival is remarkable for the following ſingularity: during its celebration there is no diſtinction between the ſlaves and their maſters, or rather the former are ſerved by the latter. This new authority they exerciſe with a liberty that ſometimes is carried to licentiouſneſs, and which ſerves only to increaſe the general mirth. With the pleaſures of the

[m] Athen. lib. 12. cap. 8. p. 531.
[n] Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. p. 744.
[o] Athen. lib. 14. p. 639. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 1. Meurſ. in Πελάγ.

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table are mingled thoſe of dancing, muſic, and many other exerciſes, which are continued till the night is very far advanced.

We returned next day to Lariſſa, and a few days after had an opportunity of ſeeing a bull fight. I had already been a witneſs to ſeveral, in different towns in Greece [p]; but the Lariſſæans are the moſt remarkable for their ſkill and addreſs. The ſcene lay in the neighbourhood of that town: ſeveral bulls were let looſe and attacked by the ſame number of horſemen, who purſued and goaded them with a kind of darts. Each horſeman muſt confine himſelf to one bull, gallop by the ſide of him, alternately irritate and avoid him, and after exhauſting the ſtrength of the animal, ſeize him by the horns, and throw him down, without himſelf diſmounting. Sometimes he ruſhes on the bull foaming with rage, and, diſregarding the violent ſhocks he frequently encounters, brings him to the ground in ſight of an immenſe multitude of ſpectators, who celebrate his triumph.

This town is governed by a few magiſtrates, who are elected by the people, and who think themſelves bound to flatter their conſtituents, and ſacrifice their welfare to their caprices [q].

Naturaliſts affirm, that ſince a paſſage has been formed to let off the ſtagnant waters which covered the environs of this town in many places, the air is become more pure and colder. They allege two obſervations in ſupport of this opinion. Olive trees formerly were very numerous and flouriſhing in this diſtrict; at preſent they are unable to endure the ſeverity of the winters: the vines too are often frozen, which in former times was never known to happen [r].

It was now autumn, and as this ſeaſon is uſually very fine

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[p] Plin lib. 8. cap. 45. t. i. p. 472. Sueton. in Claud. cap. 21. Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 10. p. 498. Salmaſ. in Pollion. p 286.

[q] Ariſtot. de Re. lib. 5. cap. 6. p. 394.

[r] Theophr. de Cauſ. Plant. lib. 5. cap. 20.

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in Theſſaly, and of long continuance [s], we made ſome excurſions to the neighbouring towns: but the time of our departure being arrived, we reſolved to paſs through Epirus, and accordingly took the road to Gomphi, a town ſituated at the foot of Mount Pindus.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Tour through Epirus, Acarnania, and Ætolia. Oracle of Dodona. Leap of Leucata *.

MOUNT Pindus ſeparates Theſſaly from Epirus. We paſſed it above Gomphi [t], and entered the country of the Athamanians. From hence we might have made a viſit to the oracle of Dodona, which is at no great diſtance; but beſides the difficuly of paſſing mountains already covered with ſnow, and the extreme ſeverity of the winter at that place [u], we had ſeen ſo many oracles in Bœotia, that they inſpired us with diſguſt rather than curioſity: we reſolved therefore to purſue our journey directly to Ambracia by a very ſhort but rugged road [x].

This city, which was founded by a colony from Corinth [y], is ſituated on a gulf, which bears likewiſe the name of Ambracia [z] †. To the weſt flows the river Arethon; and to the eaſtward is an eminence on which ſtands a citadel. The walls are about twenty-four ſtadia in circumference [a] ‡. Within the city the eye is atracted by temples and other beautiful

s Id. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 3. cap. 7.
* See the general map of Greece.
t Liv. lib. 32. cap. 14.
u Homer. Iliad. 2. v. 750.
x Liv. ibid. cap. 15.
y Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 80.
z Strab. lib. 7. p. 325.

† This is the ſame gulf in which the battle of Actium was fought. See the plan and deſcription of it in the Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxii. p. 513.
a Liv. lib. 38. cap. 4.
‡ Almoſt a league. See tab. ix. vol. iv.

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monuments [b]; and without, by fertile plains of great extent [c]. We paſſed a few days here, and acquired ſome general knowledge of Epirus.

Mount Pindus to the eaſt and the gulf of Ambracia to the ſouth, in ſome meaſure ſeparate Epirus from the reſt of Greece. Different chains of the mountains cover the interior part of the country; towards the ſea coaſts we meet with pleaſing proſpects and rich plains [d]. Among the rivers by which it is watered, the moſt remarkable are, the Acheron, which falls into a moraſs of the ſame name, and the Cocytus, whoſe waters are of a diſagreeable flavour [e]. Not far diſtant is the lake Aornus or Avernus, from which exhale peſtilential vapours that infect the air [f]. By theſe marks it is eaſy to recognize the country where, in the earlieſt ages, men had placed the infernal manſions. As Epirus was at that time the laſt country known towards the weſt, it was conſidered as the region of darkneſs; but, in proportion as the limits of the known world extended on that ſide, hell changed its poſition, and was ſucceſſively placed in Italy and Iberia, but uniformly in thoſe parts where the light of day ſeemed to be extinguiſhed.

Epirus poſſeſſes ſeveral tolerable harbours. The inhabitants export, among other articles, from this province, fleet horſes for racing [g], and large ſhepherds' dogs, which bear ſome reſemblance to the Epirots their maſters, the ſlighteſt provocation putting them into a rage [h]. Certain quadrupeds here attain to a prodigious ſize: a perſon muſt ſtand upright, or ſtoop but a little, to milk their cows, which give a ſurpriſing quantity of milk [i].

I was told of a fountain in the country of the Chaonians, the water of which is impregnated with ſalt, to extract which

[b] Dicæarch v. 28. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p 3.
[c] Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. cap. 27. p. 827 et 828. Liv. lib. 38. cap. 3.
[d] Strab. ibid. p. 324.
[e] Id. lib. 1. cap. 17. p. 40.
[f] Pauſan. lib. 9. cap. 30. p. 768. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 1. p. 188.
[g] Achill. Tat. lib. 1. v. 420.
[h] Ælian de Animal. lib. 3. cap. 2. Suid. in Μολοσσ
[i] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 3. cap. 21. t. i. p. 812.

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it is boiled till it is evaporated, and the ſediment is a ſalt white as ſnow [k].

Beſides ſeveral Greek colonies ſettled in different diſtricts of Epirus [l], there are in this country fourteen ancient nations, moſt of them barbarous, and diſperſed in rude towns [m]; ſome of whom at different periods have had various forms of government [n]; others, as the Moloſſi, who for the laſt nine centuries have obeyed a ſucceſſion of princes of the ſame family. This is one of the moſt ancient and moſt illuſtrious houſes of Greece, deriving its origin from Pyrrhus, ſon of Achilles, whoſe deſcendants from father to ſon have poſſeſſed a throne which has never experienced the ſlighteſt concuſſion. Philoſophers attribute the permanency of this kingdom to the limited dominion of the prince, alleging, that the leſs the power poſſeſſed by ſovereigns, the leſs are they ambitious and inclined to deſpotiſm [o]. The ſtability of this ſtate is maintained by ancient uſage. When a prince ſucceeds to the throne, the nation aſſembles in one of the principal cities. After the ceremonies preſcribed by religion, the ſovereign and his ſubjects mutually engage by an oath, in preſence of the altars, the former to reign according to the laws, the latter to defend the prince ſo long as he ſhall act conformably to thoſe laws [p].

A remarkable revolution took place in the laſt century, in the government and manners of the Moloſſi [q]. One of their kings left at his death an only ſon, yet in the tender age of childhood, and whoſe education appeared to the people the moſt important of their cares. They intruſted it to men of wiſdom, who formed the project of bringing up their pupil far from the temptations of pleaſure and of flattery. They took him to Athens, and in that republic he learned the reciprocal

[k] Id. Meteor. lib. 2. cap. 3.
[l] Demoſth. de Halon p. 73.
[m] Theop. ap. Strab. lib. 7. p. 323. Sylax, Peripl. ap. Geogr. Min. t. i. p. 2.
[n] Homer. Odyſſ. 14. v. 315. Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 80.
[o] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 406.
[p] Plut. in Pyrrh. t. i. p. 385.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 383. Juſtin. lib. 17. cap. 3.

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duties of ſovereigns and ſubjects. On his return to his dominions, he exhibited a true greatneſs of mind, by preſcribing bounds to his own authority. He eſtabliſhed a ſenate, laws, and magiſtrates. Letters ſoon flouriſhed under his auſpices, and by his example. The Moloſſi, by whom he was adored, became ſoon more civilized in their manners, and aſſumed the ſuperiority inſeparable from improvement and knowledge over the barbarous nations of Epirus.

In one of the northern diſtricts of Epirus ſtands the town of Dodona, in which is the temple of Jupiter, and the moſt ancient oracle of Greece [r]. It ſubſiſted in remote ages, when the inhabitants had but a confuſed idea of the divinity; yet were they already anxious to pierce the veil of futurity; ſo true is it, that the deſire of knowing is one of the moſt ancient, as it is one of the moſt fatal maladies of the human mind. There is another too of no leſs antiquity among the Greeks, which is their practice of referring to preternatural cauſes, not only the phænomena of nature, but the cuſtoms and inſtitutions with the origin of which they are unacquainted. When we purſue the chain of their traditions, we find them all terminate in prodigies. Nothing leſs, therefore, was neceſſary to inſtitute the oracle of Dodona, and the following is the account given of its origin by the prieſteſſes of the temple [s].

Once on a time two black pigeons flew from the city of Thebes in Egypt, and alighted, the one in Libya, and the other at Dodona. The latter ſitting on an oak diſtinctly pronounced theſe words: "Inſtitute on this ſpot an oracle in honour of Jupiter." The other pigeon enjoined the ſame thing to the inhabitants of Libya, and both were conſidered as the interpreters of the will of the gods. However abſurd this ſtory may be, it appears to have a ſort of foundation in fact. The Egyptian prieſts maintain, that two prieſteſſes carried their ſacred rites in former times to Libya and Dodona;

[r] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 52.

[s] Id. ibid. cap. 55.

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and in the language of the ancient people of Epirus, the ſame word ſignifies both a pigeon and an old woman [t].

Dodona is ſituated at the foot of Mount Tomarus, in which riſe a great number of inexhauſtible ſprings [u]. It is indebted for its wealth and fame to the ſtrangers who come to conſult the oracle. The temple of Jupiter and the porticos around it are decorated with innumerable ſtatues, and offerings from almoſt every nation on earth [x]. The ſacred foreſt is cloſe to the temple [y], and among the oaks of which it is compoſed there is one that bears the name of the divine or prophetic oak, which for a long ſeries of ages [z] has been conſecrated by the piety of nations.

Not far from the temple is a ſpring which is every day dry at noon, and at its greateſt height at midnight, between which times it continues gradually to increaſe and decreaſe. It is ſaid likewiſe to exhibit a ſtill more extraordinary phænomenon. Though its water is cold, and extinguiſhes lighted torches plunged into it, yet it lights torches which are extinguiſhed, when they are brought within a certain diſtance [a] *. The foreſt of Dodona is ſurrounded by moraſſes, but the territory in general is very fertile, and numerous flocks cover its rich meadows [b].

The deciſions of the oracle are delivered by three prieſteſſes [c], except to the Bœotians, who muſt receive them from ſome of the miniſters appertaining to the temple [d]. This people having once conſulted the oracle on an enterpriſe they meditated, the prieſteſs anſwered, " Commit an act of im-

[t] Strab. in Suppl. lib. 7. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 103. Serv. in Virgil. Eclog. 9. v. 13. Schol. Sophocl. in Trachin. v. 175. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. v. Hiſt. p. 35.

[u] Strab. lib. 7 p. 328. Theop. ap. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 1. t. i p 188.

[x] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 331; lib. 5. p. 358.

[y] Serv. in Virgil. Georg. lib. 1. v. 149.

[z] Pauſan. lib. 8. p. 643.

[a] Plin. lib. 2. cap. 183. t. i. p. 120. Mela, lib. cap. 3.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[b] Apoll. ap. Strab. lib. 7. p. 328. Heſiod. ap. Schol. Sophocl. in Trachin. v. 1183.

[c] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 55. Strab. lib. 7. p 329.

[d] Strab. lib. 9. p. 402.

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piety, and you will ſucceed." The Bœotians, who ſuſpected her of favouring the enemy, threw her immediately into the fire, ſaying, "If the prieſteſs deceives us, ſhe merits death; if ſhe ſpeaks the truth, we obey the oracle by committing an impious action." The two other prieſteſſes attempted to juſtify their companion, alleging that the oracle had merely commanded the Bœotians to carry away the ſacred tripods they had in their own temple, and convey them to that of Jupiter at Dodona. It was, however, determined that the prieſteſſes ſhould never more anſwer the queſtions of the Bœotians.

The gods reveal their ſecrets to the prieſteſſes of this temple in various modes. Sometimes theſe women go into the ſacred foreſt, and placing themſelves by the prophetic tree [e], attentively obſerve the murmur of its leaves agitated by the zephyrs, or the groaning of its branches beaten by the ſtorm. At other times, ſtopping at the ſide of a ſpring which guſhes from the foot of this tree [f], they liſten to the noiſe produced by the bubbling of its fleeting waters: they carefully remark the gradations of the ſounds that ſtrike their ear, and conſidering them as preſages of future events, interpret them according to eſtabliſhed rules, or, more frequently, in conformity to the queſtions ſubmitted to their deciſion.

They obſerve the ſame method to explain the noiſe produced by the claſhing of ſeveral copper baſons ſuſpended round the temple [g], and which are ſo placed as to be all put in motion if one is ſtruck. The prieſteſs, attentive to the ſound as it is communicated, modified, and dies away, deduced from this confuſed din a variety of predictions.

Nor is this all: near the temple are two columns [h], on one of which is a brazen veſſel, and on the other the figure of a

[e] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 14 v. 328. Æſchyl. in Prom. v. 831. Sophocl. in Trachin. v. 174. Euſtath. in Hom. Iliad. 2. t. i. p 335. Philoſtr. Icon. lib. 2. cap. 34. &c.

[f] Serv. in Virg. Æneid. lib. 3. v. 466.

[g] Mened. ap. Steph Fragm. in Dodon. Euſtath. in Odyſſ. lib. 14. t. iii. p. 1760.

[h] Ariſtot. ap. Suid in Δωδών et ap. Euſtath. ibid. Polem. ap. Steph. ibid. Δωδώνη. Strab. Suppl. lib. 7. p. 329. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 103.

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child holding a whip with three little braſs thongs or flexible chains, with a knob at the end of each. As the town of Dodona is much expoſed to wind, theſe chains are almoſt continually ſtriking the veſſel, and produce a ſound of conſiderable duration [i], the continuance of which the prieſteſs is accuſtomed to calculate, and make ſubſervient to her deſigns.

The oracle is conſulted likewiſe by way of lot. This is done by putting ſcrolls or dice into an urn, whence they are fortuitouſly drawn. Once, when the Lacedæmonians had choſen this method to inquire concerning the ſucceſs of a certain expedition, the monkey of the king of the Moloſſi leaped upon the table, overſet the urn, and ſcattered the lots, upon which the prieſteſs in conſternation exclaimed: "That the Lacedæmonians, far from hoping for victory, ſhould think only of their ſafety." The deputies on their return declared this incident at Sparta, and never did any event produce ſuch general terror among this nation of warriors [k].

The Athenians preſerve ſeveral anſwers of the oracle of Dodona. I ſhall tranſcribe one, to give a general idea of the ſpirit by which they were dictated.

"Thus ſaith the prieſt of Jupiter to the Athenians: You have ſuffered the time of the ſacrifices and deputation to elapſe: ſend your deputies as ſoon as poſſible; and, beſides the preſents already decreed by the people, let them offer to Jupiter nine oxen fit for the plough, and let each ox be accompanied by two ſheep; let them bring for Dione a table of braſs, an ox, and other victims [l]."

This Dione was the daughter of Uranus, and participates with Jupiter the incenſe burnt at the temple of Dodona [m]: an aſſociation of divinities which tends to multiply ſacrifices and oblations.

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i Philoſtr. Icon. lib 2. cap. 34. p. 859 Strab. Suppl. ibid.

k Cicer. de Divin. t iii. lib 1. cap. 54. p. 30; lib. 2. cap. 33. p. 72.

l Demoſth. in Mid. p. 611. Tayl in eamd. Orat. p. 179.

m Strab. lib. 7. p. 329.

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Such were the accounts given us at Ambracia. In the mean time the winter was approaching, and we began to think of leaving this town. We found a trading veſſel ready to ſail for Naupactus, ſituated in the gulf of Criſſa. We were taken on board as paſſengers, and, as ſoon as the weather ſettled, ſailed out of the harbour and gulf of Ambracia. We ſoon fell in with the peninſula of Leucadia, which is ſeparated from the continent by a very narrow iſthmus. Here we ſaw ſome mariners, who, to avoid making the circuit of the peninſula, were employed in carrying a veſſel over this neck of land [n]. Ours being much larger, we determined to coaſt along the weſtern ſide of Leucadia, and at its extremity came to a promontory formed by a very high and ſteep mountain, on the ſummit of which ſtands the temple of Apollo, which the ſailors diſcover and ſalute at a great diſtance. Here we were witneſſes to a ſcene which inſpired me with horror [o].

Whilſt a great number of boats were ranging themſelves in a circular form at the foot of the rock, we ſaw a multitude of people ſtriving to reach its ſummit. Some ſtopped when they got near the temple; others were clambering up the craggy cliffs, as if to be ſpectators of ſome extraordinary fight. Their motions however indicated no miſchievous deſigns, and we were perfectly at eaſe, when on a ſudden we ſaw ſeveral of theſe men, who ſtood on a detached part of the rock, ſeize one of the number, and precipitate him into the ſea, amid the loud ſhouts of the ſpectators, as well thoſe on the mountain as in the boats. This man was covered with feathers, and had birds faſtened to his body, which by ſpreading their wings might ſerve to break his fall. No ſooner did he touch the ſea than the boatmen flew to his aſſiſtance, drew him out, and beſtowed on him all the attention to be expected from the tendereſt friendſhip [p]. I was ſo affected at the firſt moment, that I could not help exclaiming: Ah, barbarians! is it thus

[n] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 81.
[o] Strab. lib. 10. p. 452.
[p] Id. ibid. Ampel. Memor. cap. 8.

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that you ſport with the lives of men? But the perſons on board the veſſel diverted themſelves with my ſurpriſe and indignation. A citizen of Ambracia at length ſaid to me, This people, who annually celebrate on this day the feſtival of Apollo, are accuſtomed to offer an expiatory ſacrifice to the god, and to avert on the head of the victim all the calamities with which they may be threatened: for this purpoſe they make choice of a criminal condemned to die, who rarely periſhes in the waves, and, after they have ſaved him, he is baniſhed for ever from the territory of Leucadia [q].

You will be ſtill more aſtoniſhed, added the Ambraciot, when I inform you of a ſtrange opinion which has been introduced among the Greeks. They imagine that the leap of Leucata is a potent remedy againſt the violence of love [r]. Diſappointed lovers have frequently been known to come to Leucadia, aſcend this promontory called Leucata, offer ſacrifices in the temple of Apollo, engage by a formal vow to perform the deſperate act, and voluntarily precipitate themſelves into the ſea.

It is ſaid that ſome have recovered from the effects of this fall; and, among others, we are told of a citizen of Buthroton, in Epirus, whoſe paſſions always taking fire at new objects, four times had recourſe to the ſame remedy, and always with the ſame ſucceſs [s]. As thoſe who made the trial, however, ſeldom took any precaution to render their fall leſs rapid, they have generally been deſtroyed, and women have often fallen victims to this act of deſperation.

At Leucata travellers are ſhown the tomb of Artemiſia, that celebrated queen of Caria who gave ſo many proofs of courage at the battle of Salamis [t]. Inflamed with a violent paſſion for a young man, who inflexibly refuſed her love, ſhe ſurpriſed him in his ſleep, and put out his eyes. Regret and deſpair

[q] Strab. lib. 10. p. 452.
[r] Ptolem. Hephæſt. ap. Phot. p. 491.
[s] Id. ibid.
[t] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 87.

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ſoon brought her to Leucata, where ſhe periſhed in the waves, notwithſtanding every effort to ſave her [u].

Such likewiſe was the end of the unhappy Sappho. Forſaken by her lover Phaon, ſhe came hither to ſeek relief from her ſufferings, and found her death [x]. Theſe examples have brought the leap of Leucata into ſuch diſcredit, that few lovers of the preſent day attempt to obtain a cure by ſo dangerous an experiment.

Purſuing our courſe, we ſaw to the right the iſles of Ithaca and Cephallenia, and to the left the coaſts of Acarnania. In this province we meet with ſome conſiderable towns [y], many ſmall fortified places [z], and ſeveral nations of different origins [a], but aſſociated in one general confederacy, and almoſt always at war with the Ætolians their neighbours, whoſe ſtates are ſeparated from theirs by the river Achelous. The Acarnanians are faithful to their promiſe, and extremely jealous of their liberty [b].

After paſſing the mouth of the Achelous, we coaſted during a whole day along the ſhores of Ætolia [c]. This country, in which there are fertile plains, is inhabited by a warlike nation [d], divided into ſeveral tribes, in general of Greek origin, though ſome of them ſtill retain relics of their ancient barbariſm, by ſpeaking a language very difficult to underſtand, living on raw fleſh, and inhabiting defenceleſs villages [e]. Theſe various tribes, uniting together, have formed a powerful aſſociation, ſimilar to that of the Bœotians, Theſſalians, and Acarnanians. They aſſemble yearly by deputies in the city of Thermus, to elect their chiefs [f]. The pomp diſplayed on the occaſion, the games, feſtivals, and concourſe of merchants

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[u] Ptolem Hephæſt. ibid.
[x] Menand. ap. Strab. lib. 10. p. 452
[y] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 102.
[z] Diod. Sic. lib. 19. p. 708.
[a] Strab. lib. 7. p. 321.
[b] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 299.
[c] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. v. 63. p. 5. Scyl. Perip. p. 14.
[d] Strab. lib. 10. p. 450. Palmer. Græc. Antiq. p. 423.
[e] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 94.
[f] Strab. lib 10. p. 463. Polyb. Exc. Legat. cap. 74. p. 895.

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and ſpectators, render this a no leſs ſplendid than auguſt aſſembly [g].

The Ætolians regard neither alliances nor treaties. When war breaks out between their neighbours, they ſuffer them mutually to enfeeble each other, then fall upon them, and carry off the ſpoils from the victors. This they call *pillaging amongſt the pillage* [h].

They are greatly addicted to piracy, as are alſo the Acarnanians, and the Locri Ozolæ. None of the inhabitants of this coaſt annex any idea of injuſtice or infamy to this practice. It is the remains of the manners of ancient Greece, as is the cuſtom of never quittting their arms even in time of peace [i]. Their horſemen are very formidable when they fight man to man, but much leſs ſo in a regular battle. The very reverſe of this is to be remarked of the Theſſalians [k].

To the eaſt of the Achelous, lions are found, as they are likewiſe aſcending towards the north as far as the river Neſtus in Thrace. It ſhould ſeem as if in this long tract of country they occupied a ſlip of land bounded by theſe two rivers; by the former to the weſt, and by the latter to the eaſtward. Theſe animals are ſaid to be unknown in the reſt of Europe [l].

After four days ſailing [m] we arrived at Naupactus, a town ſituated at the foot of a mountain [n], in the country of the Locri Ozolæ. On the ſhore we ſaw a temple of Neptune, and near it a cave, filled with offerings, and dedicated to Venus. We found ſome widows here, who came to requeſt new huſbands of the goddeſs [o].

The next day we went on board a ſmall veſſel, which conveyed us to Pagæ, a ſea-port town of Megaris, from whence we returned to Athens.

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[g] Polyb. ibid. lib. 5. p. 357.
[h] Id. ibid. lib. 17. p. 746.
[i] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 5.
[k] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 278.
[l] Herodot. lib 7. cap. 126. Ariſt. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 6. c. 31. t. i. p. 884.
[m] Scylax. Peripl. ap. Geogr. Min. t. i. p. 12, &c. Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. t. ii. p. 4.
[n] Voyag de Spon. t. ii. p. 18.
[o] Pauſan. lib. 10. p. 898.

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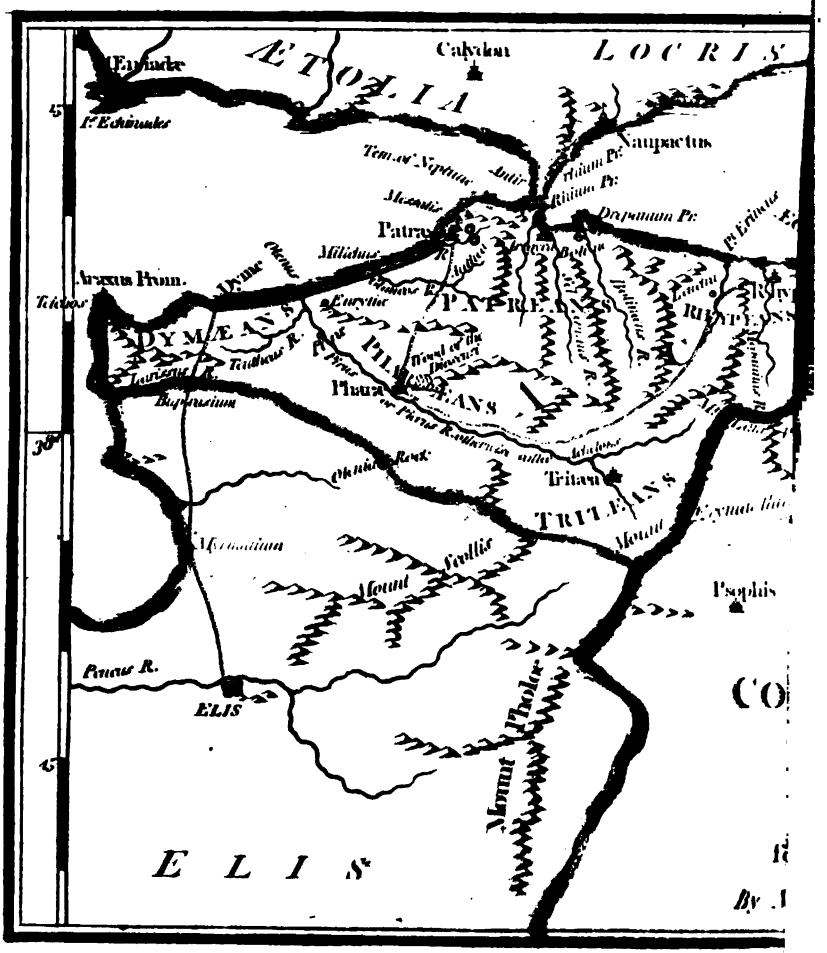

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CHAP. XXXVII.

Megara.—Corinth.—Sicyon.—Achaia *.

We ſpent the winter at Athens, impatiently waiting for the ſeaſon when we might recommence our travels. We had ſeen the northern provinces of Greece. It ſtill remained for us to viſit thoſe of Peloponneſus, the road to which we took at the return of ſpring †.

After paſſing through the city of Eleuſis, which I ſhall hereafter notice, we entered Megaris, which ſeparates the ſtates of Athens from thoſe of Corinth, and contains a ſmall number of towns and villages. Megara, which is the capital, was formerly joined to the harbour of Niſæa by two long walls, which the inhabitants thought proper to demoliſh about a century ago [p]. It was long governed by kings [q]. Democracy ſucceeded and ſubſiſted till the public orators, to pleaſe the multitude, invited them to ſhare amongſt them the ſpoils of the rich citizens. An oligarchical form was then eſtabliſhed [r]; but in our time the people have reſumed their authority [s].

The Athenians have not forgotten that this province once formed part of their territories [t], and would gladly again reunite it to them; for it might on ſome occaſions ſerve them as a barrier [u]: but it has more than once drawn on itſelf their vengeance, by preferring an alliance with Lacedæmon. During the Peloponneſian war, they reduced it to the laſt extremity, by ravaging the whole country [x], and by prohibiting

* See the map of Achaia.

† About the month of March of the year 356 before Chriſt.

[p] Thucyd. lib 4. cap. 109. Strab. lib. 7. p. 392.

[q] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 39. p. 95; cap. 41 p. 99.

[r] Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 74. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 388. cap. 5. p. 392.

[s] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 357.

[t] Strab. lib. 7 p 392. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 42. p. 101.

[u] Demoſth. in Philip. 3 p. 95.

[x] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 31. Pauſan. ibid. cap. 40. p. 97.

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all commerce between it and their ſtates [y]. In time of peace the Megareans carry their commodities, and particularly a conſiderable quantity of ſalt, which they collect on the rocks in the vicinity of the harbour, to Athens [z]. Though the little territory they poſſeſs be as ſterile as that of Attica [a], many individuals have become rich by a well-directed œconomy [b]; and others by a ſpirit of parſimony [c], which has procured them the character of having recourſe in their treaties, as well as in their trade, to the artifices of perfidy and mercantile meanneſs [d].

During the laſt century, their enterpriſes were ſometimes attended with brilliant ſucceſs: at preſent their power is at an end; but their vanity has increaſed with their weakneſs, and they remember more what they have been than what they are. On the very evening of our arrival, ſupping with ſome of the principal citizens, we queſtioned them concerning the ſtate of their navy; they anſwered us, In the time of the Perſian war we had twenty galleys at the battle of Salamis [e].—Could you bring a numerous army into the field?—We had three thouſand men at the battle of Platæa [f].—Is your country populous?—It formerly contained ſo many inhabitants, that we were obliged to ſend colonies into Sicily [g], the Propontis [h], to the Thracian Boſphorus [i], and the Euxine [k]. They then attempted to juſtify themſelves with reſpect to ſome acts of perfidy of which they have been accuſed [l], and related to us an anecdote that deſerves to be preſerved. The inhabitants of Megaris had taken up arms againſt each other, but it was agreed that the war ſhould not interrupt

[y] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 67. Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 520. Id. in Pac. v. 608. Schol. ibid.
[z] Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 320 & 760. Schol. ibid.
[a] Strab. lib. 7. p 393.
[b] Iſocr. in Pac. t. i. p. 480.
[c] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 866.
[d] Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 738. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Μεγαρ.
[e] Herodot. lib 8. cap. 45.
[f] Id. lib. 9. cap. 28.
[g] Strab. lib. 6. p. 267.
[h] Scymn. in Deſcr. Orb. v. 715.
[i] Strab. lib. 7. p. 320. Scymn. v. 716 et 740.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 319.
[l] Epiſtol. Philip. ap. Demoſth. p. 114.

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ruſtic labours. The ſoldier who carried off a peaſant, conducted him to his houſe, admitted him to his table, and ſent him back before he had received the ſtipulated ranſom; but the priſoner never failed to carry it, as ſoon as he could collect the ſum. The laws were not enforced againſt the man who violated his word; but he was univerſally deteſted for his ingratitude and infamy [m]. This fact, ſaid I, is not, I believe, of the preſent times. No; anſwered they, it happened at the firſt foundation of this ſtate. I imagined, replied I, that it was to be referred to the ages of ignorance.

On the following days we were ſhown ſeveral ſtatues, ſome of wood [n], which were the moſt ancient, and others of gold and ivory [o], which were not the moſt beautiful: there were alſo ſome of marble and braſs, executed by Praxiteles and Scopas [p]. We likewiſe ſaw the ſenate-houſe [q] and other edifices, built with a very white ſtone, eaſy to cut, and full of petrified ſhells [r].

This city contains a celebrated ſchool of philoſophers [s]. Euclid, its founder, was one of the moſt zealous diſciples of Socrates. Notwithſtanding the diſtance, and the capital puniſhment decreed by the Athenians againſt every Megarean who ſhould dare to enter their territory, he ſometimes ſet out at night, diſguiſed in the dreſs of a woman, to paſs a few moments with his maſter, and returned by day-break [t]. They employed themſelves in examining together in what conſiſted the real good. Socrates, whoſe inquiries were ſolely directed to one point, employed only the ſimpleſt methods of inveſtigation; but Euclid, too much familiarized with the writings of Parmenides and the Elean ſchool [u], had recourſe to abſtractions; a method often dangerous, and ſtill oftener unintelligible. His principles conſiderably reſembled thoſe of

[m] Plut. Quæſt. Græc. t. ii. p. 295.
[n] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 42. p. 02.
[o] Id. ibid. cap. 40. p 97; cap. 42. p. 101; cap. 43. p. 105.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 43. p. 105; cap. 44. p. 106.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 42. p. 101.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 44. p. 107.
[s] Bruck. Hiſt. Philoſ. t. i p. 610.
[t] Aul Gell. lib. 6. cap. 10.
[u] Diogen. Laert. lib. 2. § 106.

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Plato; he maintained that the real good muſt be one, always the ſame, and always ſimilar to itſelf[x]. Theſe different properties were next to be defined, and that which of all things is the moſt important for us to know, proved the moſt difficult to comprehend.

The queſtion was ſtill farther involved in obſcurity, by the received method of ſetting up one propoſition againſt its oppoſite, and continuing to diſcuſs each at length. A logical weapon, recently diſcovered, frequently contributed to increaſe the confuſion; I mean the ſyllogiſm, which, by its terrible and unexpected ſtrokes, brings the adverſary to the ground who has not ſkill enough to parry them. The ſubtleties of metaphyſics calling to their aid the quirks of logic, words preſently took place of things, and ſtudents acquired nothing in the ſchools but a ſpirit of acrimony and contradiction.

Euclid, perhaps unintentionally, introduced this ſpirit into his; for he was naturally mild and patient: his brother, who thought he had reaſon to be offended at him, ſaid to him one day in his paſſion, "I will loſe my life rather than not revenge myſelf." And I," anſwered Euclid, "will loſe mine but I will oblige you ſtill to love me[y]." But he too often gave way to the pleaſure of multiplying and ſurmounting difficulties, not perceiving that principles frequently ſhaken neceſſarily loſe part of their ſtrength.

His ſucceſſor, Eubulides of Miletus, led his diſciples through ſtill more ſlippery and crooked paths. Euclid exerciſed their minds, Eubulides gave them violent ſhocks. Both poſſeſſed much knowledge and underſtanding: and this it was proper to premiſe before I ſpeak of the latter.

We found him ſurrounded by young men, attentive to all his words, and even his very ſigns. He told us of the manner in which he trained them to the fight, and gave us to un-

[x] Cicer. Acad. 2. cap. 42. t. ii. p. 44.

[y] Plut. de Fratern. Amor. t. ii. p. 489.

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derſtand that he preferred offenſive to defenſive war. We deſired him to favour us with the exhibition of a battle; and, whilſt the preparations were making, he told us that he had diſcovered ſeveral new ſpecies of ſyllogiſms, all wonderfully calculated to enlighten the mind. One was called the veiled; another, the bald; a third, the liar, and ſo with others [z].

I ſhall proceed to make a trial of ſome in your preſence, added he; they ſhall be followed by the combat you have deſired: do not judge lightly of them; there are ſome which puzzle the wiſeſt heads, and reduce them to ſtraits from which they cannot very eaſily extricate themſelves [a].

At this moment a perſon veiled from head to foot made his appearance. He aſked me if I knew him. I anſwered, No. Well then, ſaid he, thus I argue: you do not know this man; now, this man is your friend; therefore you do not know your friend [b]. He dropped his veil, and I ſaw a young Athenian with whom I was intimately acquainted. Eubulides, immediately addreſſing himſelf to Philotas, ſaid to him, Who is a bald man? The man who has no hair.—And if he had ſtill one left, would he be ſtill bald?—Undoubtedly.—If he had two, three, four? This ſeries of numbers he continued, always increaſing it by unity, till Philotas at length admitted that the man in queſtion would be no longer bald.—A ſingle hair then, reſumed Eubulides, ſuffices to prevent a man from being bald, yet at firſt you aſſerted the contrary [c]. You ſee, added he, that on the ſame principle we can prove that one ſheep ſuffices to form a flock, and a ſingle grain to give the exact meaſure of a buſhel. We ſeemed ſo aſtoniſhed at theſe wretched quibbles, and ſo embarraſſed in our manner, that all the ſcholars burſt into a laugh.

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[z] Diogen. Laert. lib. 2. § 108. Menag. ibid.

[a] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 7. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 87. Cicer. Acad. 2. cap. 30. t. ii. p. 40.

[b] Lucian de Vitar. Auct. t. i. p. 563.

[c] Menag. ad Diogen. Laert. lib. 2. § 108. p. 122.

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The indefatigable Eubulides, however, continued:—But here is the moſt difficult knot to unravel. Epimenides has ſaid that all the Cretans are liars; now he was himſelf a Cretan: therefore he has lied; therefore the Cretans are not liars; therefore Epimenides has not lied, and therefore the Cretans are liars [d].

At theſe words, with eye inflamed, and menacing geſtures, the two parties advance, preſs, and repel each other, pouring down a ſhower of ſyllogiſms, ſophiſms, and paralogiſms on the heads of their reſpective antagoniſts. Preſently the darkneſs thickens, the ranks intermingle, the victors and the vanquiſhed are wounded by their own weapons, or fall into the ſame ſnares. Abuſive words encounter in the air, and are at length overpowered by the loud ſhouts that re-echo through the hall.

The action was about to recommence, when Philotas obſerved to Eubulides, that on both ſides they ſeemed more attentive to eſtabliſh their own opinion than to overturn that of their antagoniſts, which, ſaid he, is certainly a bad mode of reaſoning. On my part I could not refrain from ſaying, that his pupils ſeemed more eager to procure the triumph of error than that of truth; which is a dangerous method of proceeding [e]. He was preparing to anſwer us, when we were informed that our carriages were waiting. We therefore took leave of him, and, as we returned, lamented the ſhameful manner in which the ſophiſts abuſe their talents, and the diſpoſitions of their ſcholars.

To bring us to the iſthmus of Corinth, our guide conducted us over heights, on a ſort of cornice hewn out of the rock, very narrow and ſteep, and elevated above the ſea, on the brow of a mountain, the ſummit of which reached to the clouds [f]. This was the famous paſs where Sciron is ſaid to

[d] Gaſſend. de Logic. t. i. cap 3. p. 40. Bayl. Dict. Articl. Euclid. note D.

[e] Plut. de Stoic. Repug. t. ii. p. 1036.

[f] Spon. Voy. t. ii. p. 171. Chandl. Travels, chap. 44. p. 198.

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have taken his ſtation, and, after robbing travellers, precipitated them into the ſea, till he was himſelf put to death in the ſame manner by Theſeus [g].

Nothing can be more terrifying at firſt ſight than this paſſage: we dared not caſt our eyes on the abyſs; the roaring of the waves ſeemed every moment to warn us that we were ſuſpended between life and death, till at length familiariſed with the danger, we viewed the intereſting ſcene with an awful pleaſure. Impetuous winds ruſhing over the ſummit of the rocks on our right, howled above our heads, and dividing into eddies, fell perpendicularly on different points of the ſurface of the ſea, harrowing it up, and whitening certain ſpots of it with foam, whilſt in the intermediate ſpaces it was entirely calm and ſmooth [h].

The path we followed is about forty-eight ſtadia * [i] in length, alternately riſing and deſcending almoſt to Cromyon, a port and caſtle of the Corinthians, one hundred and twenty ſtadia diſtant from the capital [k] †. Purſuing our journey along the ſhore by a more commodious and better road, we arrived at that part of the iſthmus where it is only forty ſtadia in breadth [l] ‡.

Here the different ſtates of Peloponneſus have occaſionally formed entrenchments, when in dread of an invaſion [m]: here too are celebrated the Iſthmian games, near a temple of Neptune, and a wood of pine-trees conſecrated to that god [n].

The country of the Corinthians is confined within very narrow limits: though it extends more in length along the ſea, a veſſel may coaſt from one extremity to the other in a

[g] Plut. in Theſ. t. i. p. 4.
[h] Wheeler a Journ. book. 6. p. 436.
[i] Plin. lib. 4. cap. 7. p. 196. Wheel. ibid.
* About one league and three quarters.
[m] Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 45.
† Four leagues and a half.
[l] Scylax. Peripl. ap. Geogr. Min. t. i. p. 15. Strab. lib. 8. p. 334 et 335. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 14.
‡ About a league and a half.
[m] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 40. Iſocr. in Paneg. t. i. p. 166. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 380.
[n] Pind. Olymp. od. 13. v. 5; Id. Iſthm. od. 1. Strab. lib. 8. p. 334 et 335. Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 1. p. 112.

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day [o]. It poſſeſſes few rich plains, but is in general uneven, and of indifferent fertility [p]. The wine it produces is but of a bad quality [q].

The city is ſeated at the foot of a high hill, on which ſtands a citadel [r]. To the ſouthward it is defended by the hill itſelf, which is there extremely ſteep. Very ſtrong and lofty ramparts [s] protect it on the three other ſides. Its circumference is forty ſtadia *; but as the walls extend along the ſides of the hill, and ſurround the citadel, it may on the whole be reckoned at eighty-five ſtadia [t] †.

The ſea of Criſſa and the Sinus Saronicus come to expire at the feet of Corinth, as if to recogniſe her power. On the former is the port of Lechæum, connected with the city by a double wall of about twelve ſtadia [u] in length ‡. On the ſecond lies the port of Cenchreæ, diſtant from Corinth ſeventy ſtadia [x] §.

This city is embelliſhed by a great number of ſacred and profane edifices, both ancient and modern. After viſiting the forum, decorated as uſual with temples and ſtatues [y], we went to ſee the theatre, where the aſſembly of the people deliberate on affairs of ſtate, and where the muſical conteſts and other entertainments are exhibited at the feſtivals [z].

We were ſhown the tomb of the two ſons of Medea. The Corinthians tore them from the altar on which they were depoſited by this unhappy mother, and ſtoned them to death. As a puniſhment for their crime, an epidemical diſorder carried off all their children in the cradle, until, liſtening to the

[o] Scyl. Peripl. ap. Geogr. Min. t. i. p. 15 et 21.
[p] Strab. ibid. p. 382.
[q] Alex. ap. Athen. lib. 1. cap. 23. p. 30.
[r] Strab. ibid. p. 379. Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 4. p. 121.
[s] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 215.
* About a league and a half.
[t] Strab. lib 8. p. 379.
† Three leagues and nearly a quarter.
[u] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 4. p. 522 et 525. Id. in Ageſil. p. 661. Strab. lib 8. p. 380.
‡ Near half a league.
[x] Strab. ibid.
§ Near three leagues.
[y] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 4. p. 521. Pauſan lib. 2. cap. 2. p. 115.
[z] Plut in Arat. t. i. p. 1034. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 4. cap. 6.

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voice of the oracle, they engaged to pay annual honours to the memory of the victims of their fury [a]. I had believed, said I, on the authority of Euripides, that this princeſs was herſelf their murderer [b]. I have heard it ſaid, anſwered one of the company, that the poet ſuffered himſelf to be gained by the magiſtrates for a ſum of five talents [c]: but, however this may be, an ancient cuſtom clearly proves, and why ſhould we diſſemble it? that our anceſtors were guilty: for, to record the memory of this fact, and expiate their crime, our children go with their heads ſhaven, and wear a black robe to a certain age [d].

The road to the citadel has ſo many windings, that the traveller journeys thirty ſtadia before he reaches the ſummit [e]. We arrived near a ſpring called Pirene, where Bellerophon is ſaid to have found the horſe Pegaſus. Its waters are remarkably cold and limpid [f]: as they have no viſible iſſue, it is imagined that they deſcend by natural cavities in the rock into the city, where they form a fountain, the water of which is remarkable for its levity [g], and would ſupply a ſufficient quantity for the uſe of the inhabitants, even though they had not that great number of wells which they have every where ſunk [h].

The ſituation of the citadel and its ramparts render it ſo ſtrong, that it can only be taken by treachery [i] or famine. At the entrance, we ſaw the temple of Venus, with the ſtatue of that goddeſs clad in brilliant armour, and accompanied by another of the god of love, and a third of the ſun, who was adored here before the worſhip of Venus was introduced [k].

[a] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 3. p. 118. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 21. Parmenid. et Didym. ap. Schol. Euripid. in Med. v. 273.
[b] Euripid. ibid. v. 1271, et alibi.
[c] Parmen. ap. Schol. Euripid. in Med.
[d] Pauſan. ibid.
[e] Strab. lib. 8. p. 379. Spon. Voy. t. ii. p. 175. Wheel. book 6. p. 440.
[f] Strab. ibid. Athen. lib. 2. cap. 6. p. 43.
[g] Athen. ibid. cap. 5. p. 43.
[h] Strab. lib 8. p. 379.
[i] Plut. in Arat. t. i p. 1034 et 1035.
[k] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 4. p. 121.

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From this lofty region the goddeſs ſeems to reign over the earth and ſeas. Such at leaſt was the idea ſuggeſted by the magnificent ſcene that opened to our view. Towards the north, the proſpect extends as far as Parnaſſus and Helicon; to the eaſtward, to the iſle of Ægina, the citadel of Athens and the promontory of Sunium; and to the weſt the eye ſurveys the rich plains of Sicyon [l]. We viewed with pleaſure the two gulfs, the waves of which break againſt this iſthmus, which Pindar has juſtly compared to a bridge conſtructed by Nature in the midſt of the ſeas, to connect together the two principal ports of Greece [m].

At the firſt view of this ſituation, it ſhould ſeem that no communication could take place between one part of this continent and the other, without the conſent of Corinth [n]; and this city is juſtly conſidered as the the bulwark of Peloponneſus, and one of the ſhackles of Greece [o]: but the jealouſy of the other ſtates not having permitted the Corinthians to interdict to them the paſſage of the iſthmus, the latter are content with profiting by their local advantages to amaſs conſiderable riches.

No ſooner did navigators venture on the ocean, than pirates made their appearance, as vultures exiſted as ſoon as pigeons. At firſt the commerce of the Greeks was carried on by land, and entered or left the Peloponneſus by the road of the iſthmus. The Corinthians impoſed a duty on the tranſit of all commodities, and derived from thence a certain degree of opulence [p]. When the pirates were deſtroyed, the veſſels of thoſe days, worked by unexperienced mariners, ventured not to brave the ſtormy ſea between the iſle of Crete and Cape Malea in Laconia [q]. It was then a kind of proverbial expreſſion, Before

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l Strab. lib. 8. p. 379. Spon. t. ii. p. 175. Wheel. book 6. p. 442.

m Pind. Iſthm. od. 4. v. 34. Schol. ibid.

n Plut. in Arat. t. i. p. 1044.

o Plut. in Amat. Narrat. t. ii. p. 772. Polyb. lib. 17. p. 751.

p Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 570. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 13.

q Homer. Odyſſ. l. 9. v. 80. Sophoc. in Trachin v. 120.

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the mariner doubles Cape Malea, he ſhould forget all he holds deareſt in the world [r]. Merchants therefore choſe rather to tranſport their goods to the ſeas terminating at the iſthmus.

The merchandiſe of Italy, Sicily, and the weſtern nations, was landed at the harbour of Lechæum; and that from the iſlands of the Ægean ſea, the coaſts of Aſia Minor, and of the Phœnicians [s], at the port of Cenchreæ. In proceſs of time, commodities were conveyed by land from one harbour to the other, and means contrived for tranſporting even the veſſels [t].

Corinth, become the mart of Aſia and Europe [u], continued to collect duties on foreign merchandiſe [x], covered the ſea with ſhips, and formed a navy to protect her commerce. Her induſtry was excited by ſucceſs; ſhe built ſhips of a new form, and firſt produced galleys with three benches of oars [y]. Her naval force procuring her reſpect, all nations poured their productions into her emporium. We ſaw the ſhore covered with [z] reams of paper, and ſail-cloth brought from Egypt, ivory from Libya, the leather of Cyrene, incenſe from Syria, Phœnician dates, Carthaginian carpets, corn and cheeſe from Syracuſe [a], pears and apples from Eubœa, Phrygian and Theſſalian ſlaves, not to mention a multitude of other articles which daily arrive in the ports of Greece [b], and particularly in thoſe of Corinth. Foreign merchants of all countries, but more eſpecially from Phœnicia [c], are attracted hither by the hope of gain; and the games of the iſthmus draw together a prodigious number of ſpectators [d].

Theſe reſources increaſing the wealth of the ſtate, workmen of every kind were protected [e], and exerted themſelves with new emulation [f]. Theſe were already diſtinguiſhed, at leaſt

[r] Strab. lib. 8. p. 378.
[s] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 69.
[t] Id. lib. 3. cap. 15.; lib. 8. cap. 8. Strab. lib. 8. p. 335. Polyb. ap. Suid. in Διολκος.
[u] Ariſtid. Iſthm. in Nept. t. i. p. 41. Oroſ. lib. 5. cap. 3.
[x] Strab. ibid. p. 378.
[y] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 13. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 269.
[z] Antiph. et Hermip. ap. Athen. lib. 1. cap. 21. p. 27.
[a] Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 834.
[b] Athen. p. 27.
[c] Pind. Pyth. od. 2. v. 125.
[d] Strab. lib. 8. p. 378.
[e] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 167.
[f] Oroſ. lib. 5. cap. 3.

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ſo it is aſſerted, by ſeveral uſeful inventions [g], which I ſhall ſpecify, as I am unable to aſcertain their preciſe object. The arts originate in obſcure attempts, and are eſſayed in different places; when brought to perfection, the title of inventor is beſtowed on him, who, by ſome ſucceſsful proceſs, has facilitated their application. I ſhall give an inſtance of this. Ephorus the hiſtorian, extremely well verſed in the knowledge of ancient uſages, told me one day that the wheel with which a potter turns his veſſels, was introduced among the Greeks by the ſage Anacharſis [h]. During my ſtay at Corinth, I ventured to boaſt of that circumſtance, but was anſwered that the glory of the invention was due to one of their fellow-citizens, named Hyperbius [i]: a commentator on Homer proved to us, by a paſſage from that poet, that this machine was known before the time of Hyperbius [k]; and Philotas on the other ſide maintained, that the honour of the invention belonged to Thalos, who was prior to Homer, and nephew to Dædalus of Athens [l]. The ſame obſervation may be made with reſpect to moſt of the diſcoveries which the nations of Greece vie with each other in claiming as their own. The only concluſion we are authoriſed to draw from their pretenſions, ſeems to be, that they early cultivated thoſe arts of which they imagine themſelves the inventors.

Corinth abounds in warehouſes and manufactures [m]; among other articles, the inhabitants make coverlets for beds which are in great requeſt in foreign countries [n]. She collects at a vaſt expence pictures and ſtatues of the beſt maſters [o], but has hitherto produced none of thoſe artiſts who do ſo much honour to Greece, whether it be that her taſte for the maſterpieces

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[g] Schol. Pind. Olymp. od. 13. v. 17. Plin. lib. 35. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 682. cap. 12. p. 710.

[h] Ephor. ap. Strab. lib. 7. p. 303. Poſidon. ap. Senec. epiſt. 90. t. ii. p. 412. Diogen. Laert. &c.

[i] Theophr. ap. Schol. Pind. Olymp. od. 13. v. 25. Plin. lib. 7. cap. 56. t. i. p. 414.

[k] Homer. Iliad. lib. 18. v. 600.

[l] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 277.

[m] Strab. lib. 8. p. 382. Oroſ. lib. 5. cap. 3.

[n] Hermip. ap. Athen. lib. 1. cap. 21. p. 27.

[o] Polyb. ap. Strab. lib. 8. p. 381. Flor. lib. 2. cap. 16.

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of art is but the result of luxury, or that Nature, reserving to herself the privilege of determining what places shall produce men of genius, leaves to sovereigns only the care of discovering and rendering them illustrious. Certain manufactures of brass and earthen ware, fabricated in this city, are held nevertheless in great estimation. Corinth possesses no copper-mines [p]; but her workmen, by mixing what they procure from foreign countries with a small quantity of gold and silver [q], compose a metal extremely brilliant, and almost proof against rust [r]. Of it they make cuirasses, helmets, little figures, cups, and vessels, still less esteemed for the material than the workmanship, most of them enriched with foliage and other ornaments in chased work [s]. The ornaments on their pottery ware are executed with the same skill, and are equally beautiful [t]. The most ordinary materials, from the elegance of the form they give them, and the embellishments by which they are adorned, acquire so great a value as to be preferred to marble and the most precious metals.

The women of Corinth are distinguished by their beauty [u], the men by their love of gain and pleasure. They ruin their health by convivial debauches [x], and love with them is only a licentious passion [y]. Far from blushing at their sensuality, they attempt to justify it by an institution which seems to prescribe it as a duty. Venus is their principal deity; to her they have consecrated a number of courtesans, for the purpose of interceding in their behalf: in time of public calamities and imminent danger, these women attend at the sacrifices, and walk in procession with the other citizens singing sacred hymns. When Xerxes invaded Greece, recourse was had to their in-

[p] Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 3.
[q] Plin. lib. 34. cap. 2. p. 640. Id. lib. 37. cap. 3. p. 772. Flor. ibid. Oros. lib. 5. cap. 3.
[r] Cic. Tusc. lib. 4. c. 14. t. ii. p. 340.
[s] Id. in Verr. de Sign. cap. 44. t. iv. p. 391.
[t] Strab. lib. 8. p. 381. Salmas. in Exercit. Plin. p. 1048.
[u] Anacr. od. 32.
[x] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 404.
[y] Aristoph. in Thesmoph. v. 655. Schol. ibid. Steph. in Κορινθ.

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terceſſion; and I have ſeen the picture in which they are repreſented addreſſing their prayers to the goddeſs, and ſome verſes of Simonides, at the bottom of the painting, which aſcribe to them the glory of having preſerved the Greeks [z].

A triumph ſo illuſtrious multiplied the number of theſe prieſteſſes. Even at preſent, individuals, to enſure the ſucceſs of their undertakings, vow to preſent to Venus a certain number of courteſans, whom they ſend for to different countries [a]. Upwards of one thouſand are reckoned in this city. They attract hither the foreign merchants, and in a few days will ruin them and their whole retinue; hence the proverb: "It is not for every one to go to Corinth [b]."

I muſt here obſerve, that the women who carry on this corrupt commerce throughout Greece, never poſſeſſed the leaſt title to public eſteem; that even at Corinth, where the tomb of the ancient Lais [c] was pointed out to me with ſo much diſtinction, the modeſt women celebrate a particular feſtival in honour of Venus, to which the courteſans are refuſed admittance [d]; and that the Corinthians who performed ſuch illuſtrious acts of valour in the Perſian war [e], becoming enervated by pleaſure, ſunk under the yoke of the Argives, were obliged alternately to ſolicit the protection of the Lacedæmonians, the Athenians, and Thebans [f], and are at length reduced to be only the wealthieſt, the moſt effeminate, and weakeſt ſtate in Greece.

It now remains for me to give a ſlight idea of the changes this city has experienced in its government. I muſt recur to diſtant ages, but on theſe I ſhall not dwell long.

About one hundred and ten years after the Trojan war, and thirty years ſubſequent to the return of the Heraclidæ,

[z] Chamel. Theopomp. Tim. ap. Athen. lib. 13. cap. 4. p. 573. Pindar. ap. eumd. p. 574.
[a] Athen. ibid.
[b] Strab. lib. 8. p. 378.
[c] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 12. p. 115.
[d] Alex. ap. Athen. lib. 13. p. 574.
[e] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 104. Plut. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 870 et 872.
[f] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 4. p. 521 et 523; lib. 6. p. 610; lib. 7. p. 634.

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Alethes, who was deſcended from Hercules, obtained the kingdom of Corinth, which remained in his family for the ſpace of four hundred and ſeventeen years, the eldeſt child always ſucceeding to his father [g]. Royalty was at laſt aboliſhed, and the ſovereign power intruſted to two hundred citizens, who conſtantly intermarried among themſelves [h], and muſt all be of the blood of the Heraclidæ [i]. One of theſe was annually choſen for the adminiſtration of the government, under the name of Prytanis [k]. They laid a duty on all merchandiſe paſſing the Iſthmus, which, while it enriched them, accelerated their downfal by exceſſive luxury [l]. Ninety years after the inſtitution of this form of government [m], Cypſelus having gained the people, transferred the ſovereign authority to himſelf *, and reſtored royalty, which ſubſiſted in his family for ſeventy-three years and ſix months [n].

The commencement of his reign was marked by acts of cruelty and proſcriptions. He perſecuted the citizens whoſe influence he feared, baniſhing ſome, deſpoiling others of their poſſeſſions, and putting ſeveral to death [o]. To weaken ſtill more the party of the rich, he extorted for ten years the tenth part of all their property, under pretext of a vow he had made before he aſcended the throne [p], and of which he acquitted himſelf by erecting a golden ſtatue of enormous ſize near the temple of Olympia [q]. When he had calmed his apprehenſions, he wiſhed to gain the affections of his ſubjects, and appeared in public without guards, or any of the cuſtomary pomp of royalty [r]. The people, charmed with this mark of confidence, readily pardoned him acts of injuſtice, which

[g] Diod. Sic. ap. Syncell. p. 179.
[h] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 92.
[i] Diod. Sic. ibid.
[k] Id. ibid. Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 4. p. 120.
[l] Strab. lib. 8. p. 378. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 19.
[m] Diod. Sic. ibid. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 403.
* The year 658 before Chriſt.
[n] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 12. p. 411.
[o] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 92. Polyæn. Strat. lib. 5. cap. 31.
[p] Ariſtot. de Cur. Rei. Famil. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 501. Suid. in Κυψελ.
[q] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 236. Strab. lib. 5. p. 378. Suid. ibid.
[r] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 12. p. 411.

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had not fallen on them, and suffered him to die in peace, after a reign of thirty years [s].

His son Periander began as his father had concluded, and from the first moment of his reign promised happy days and lasting tranquillity. His subjects admired his mildness [t], his knowledge, his prudence, and the ordinances he issued against those who possessed too many slaves, or whose expenditure exceeded their revenue; and against offenders guilty of atrocious crimes, or remarkable for depravity of manners. He instituted a senate, levied no new taxes, was satisfied with the duties collected on merchandise [u], built a number of ships [x]; and, to give more activity to commerce, determined to cut through the isthmus, and open a communication between the two seas [y]. He was engaged in different wars, and his victories gave the world a high opinion of his valour [z]. And indeed what was not to be expected from a prince who seemed to be the oracle of wisdom [a]; who would sometimes say, "The inordinate love of riches is a calumny against nature.—Pleasures are but transitory, virtues eternal [b].—True liberty consists only in a clear conscience [c]!"

In certain critical circumstances, he sent to consult Thrasybulus, king of Miletus, with whom he was on terms of intimate friendship [d]. Thrasybulus led the messenger into a field, and walking with him amidst the corn, interrogated him concerning the subject of his mission, and by way of answer struck off the blades which grew higher than the rest. The messenger did not comprehend that Thrasybulus by this action only meant to inculcate a principle adopted in many governments, nay even in republics, where individuals are not allowed to

[s] Herodot. ibid. Aristot. ibid.
[t] Id. ibid. cap. 92.
[u] Heraclid. Pontic. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2825.
[x] Nicol. Damasc. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 450.
[y] Diogen. Laert. lib. 1. § 99.
[z] Aristot. lib. 5. cap. 12. p. 411. Nicol. Damasc. ibid.
[a] Diog. Laert. ibid. § 91.
[b] Stob. Serm. 3. p. 46.
[c] Id. Serm. 25. p. 192.
[d] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 20. et lib. 5. cap. 92.

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poſſeſs too much merit or influence [e]. Periander underſtood this language, yet continued to uſe moderation [f].

The ſplendid ſucceſſes he had obtained, and the commendations of his flatterers, diſplayed at length his real character, the violence of which he had hitherto repreſſed. In a fit of paſſion, excited perhaps by jealouſy, he ſlew his wife Meliſſa, of whom he was paſſionately fond [g]. This was the end of his happineſs and virtues. Soured by long affliction, this diſpoſition was not mitigated on hearing that, far from ſympathiſing with his ſorrows, the public voice accuſed him of having formerly ſullied the paternal bed [h]. Conceiving that the eſteem of his people was cooled towards him, he dared openly to brave it, and without reflecting that there are injuries which a ſovereign ſhould avenge only by clemency, he governed his ſubjects with a rod of iron, ſurrounded his perſon with guards [i], proſecuted with rigour all thoſe whom his father had ſpared, ſtripped, under a frivolous pretext, the Corinthian women of their jewels and moſt valuable effects [k], and oppreſſed the people with labour, that he might hold them the more eaſily in bondage. Perpetually a prey to terror and ſuſpicion, he puniſhed the citizen who was ſeated peaceably in the forum [l], and condemned every man as criminal who might chance eventually to be culpable.

Domeſtic griefs increaſed the horror of his ſituation. The youngeſt of his ſons, named Lycophron, informed by his maternal grandfather of the unhappy fate of his mother, conceived ſo violent a hatred againſt the murderer, that he could no longer bear to ſee him, nor would even deign to anſwer his queſtions. Careſſes and entreaties were laviſhed in vain. Periander was obliged to drive him from his houſe, and for-

[e] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 13. p. 355; lib. 5. cap. 10. p. 403.
[f] Plut. in Conviv. t. ii. p. 147.
[g] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 50. Diogen. Laert. lib. 1. § 94.
[h] Diogen. Laert. lib. 1. § 96. Parthen. Erot. cap. 17.
[i] Heracl. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2835. Diogen. Laert. in Per. lib. 1. § 98.
[k] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 92. Diogen. Laert. lib. 1. § 97. Plut. t. ii. p. 1104.
[l] Nicol. Damaſ. in Excerpt. Valeſ p. 450.

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bid the citizens to receive or ſpeak to him, under penalty of a fine, to be applied to the temple of Apollo. The young man took refuge under one of the public porticos, at once without reſource and without a murmur, and reſolved to ſuffer every thing, rather than expoſe his friends to the fury of the tyrant. Some days after, his father, accidentally perceiving him, felt all his tenderneſs awakened; he ran to him, and omitted nothing that might excite in him filial affection, but obtained only theſe words: You have tranſgreſſed your own law, and incurred the penalty. He determined therefore to baniſh him to the iſland of Corcyra, which he had added to his dominions [m].

The offended gods granted a long life to this monarch, which was ſlowly waſted in ſorrow and remorſe. He could no longer ſay, as formerly, that it is better to be envied than pitied [n]. The experience of his ſufferings extorted from him a confeſſion that democracy is preferable to tyranny [o]. Some one venturing to repreſent to him, that he might quit the throne: Alas! anſwered he, it is as dangerous for a tyrant to leave, as to aſcend the throne [p].

The weight of public affairs growing more and more inſupportable to him, as he was unable to have recourſe to the eldeſt of his ſons, who was an idiot [q], he reſolved to recal Lycophron, and made various offers to induce him to return, which were all received with indignation. He finally propoſed to abdicate the crown, and confine himſelf to Corcyra, whilſt his ſon, quitting that iſland, ſhould take the reins of government at Corinth. This project was on the point of being carried into execution, when the Corcyreans, dreading the arrival of Periander, put Lycophron to death [r]. Nor had his father even the conſolation to complete the vengeance merited by ſo baſe an act of cruelty. He had put on board

[m] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 52.
[n] Id. ibid.
[o] Stob. Serm. 3. p. 46.
[p] Id. Serm. 41. p. 247.
[q] Herodot. ibid. cap. 53.
[r] Id. ibid.

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one of his ships three hundred children, which he had caused to be seized and carried off from the first families of Corcyra, to convey them as a present to the king of Lydia; but the vessel touching at Samos, the inhabitants commiserating these unfortunate victims, found means to save and restore them to their parents [s]. Tormented by impotent rage, Periander died at eighty years of age [t], after a reign of forty-four [u] *.

No sooner had he closed his eyes, than the Corinthians destroyed every monument, and even the slightest traces of tyranny [x]. His successor was a prince little known, who reigned only three years [y]. After this short interval, the Corinthians joining their troops to those of Sparta [z], established a government which has ever since subsisted, because it approaches nearer to an oligarchy than a democracy, and affairs of importance are not submitted to the arbitrary decision of the multitude [a]. Corinth has produced more citizens skilled in the arts of government than any other Grecian city [b]: their wisdom and real knowledge have so happily maintained the constitution, that the jealousy which the poor constantly entertain of the rich has never been able to endanger it [c].

Lycurgus destroyed the distinction between these two classes of citizens at Lacedæmon: Phidon, who appears to have been his contemporary, thought proper to preserve it at Corinth, where he was one of the legislators. A town situated on the high road of commerce, and necessitated continually to admit strangers within its walls, could not be subjected to the same regulations as a city in a corner of Peloponnesus; but Phidon, whilst he suffered the inequality of possessions to remain, was not therefore the less attentive to limit the num-

[s] Id. ibid. cap. 48.
[t] Diogen. Laert. lib. 1. § 95.
[u] Aristot. de Rep. l. 5. c. 12. p. 411.
* The year 585 before Christ.
[x] Plut. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 860.
[y] Aristot. ibid.
[z] Plut. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 859.
[a] Id. in Dion. t. i. p. 981.
[b] Strab. lib. 8. p. 382. Plut. in Dion. ibid. et in Timol. t. i. p. 248.
[c] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 1. cap. 41. § 2.

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ber of families and citizens [d]. This law was conformable to the ſpirit of thoſe remote ages, when men, diſperſed in inconſiderable tribes, knew no other want than that of ſubſiſtence, and no ambition but that of ſelf-defence: each nation was contented with poſſeſſing inhabitants enough to cultivate the earth, and ſufficient ſtrength to reſiſt a ſudden invaſion. Theſe ideas have never varied among the Greeks. Their philoſophers and legiſlators, perſuaded that great population is only a means of increaſing riches, and perpetuating wars, far from favouring it, have beſtowed their whole attention on preventing its exceſs [e]: the former annex too little value to life to be anxious to multiply the human ſpecies; the latter, fixing their attention only on a ſmall ſtate, have perpetually been in fear of overburdening it with inhabitants.

Such was the principal cauſe which formerly ſent out from the ports of Greece thoſe numerous ſwarms of coloniſts, who went in ſearch of ſettlements to diſtant and deſert coaſts [f]. Syracuſe, the ornament of Sicily, and Corcyra, ſome time ſovereign of the ſeas [g], both owe their origin to Corinth.

Sicyon is but a ſmall diſtance from Corinth. To arrive at it we croſſed ſeveral rivers. The diſtrict appertaining to it produces corn, wine, and oil in abundance [h], and is one of the moſt beautiful and richeſt countries in Greece [i].

The laws of Sicyon rigorouſly prohibit the interment of perſons of any rank whatever within the city [k]. We ſaw, to the right and left of the road, tombs, the form of which by no means detracts from the beauty of the country. A little wall, on which are columns that ſuſtain a roof, encloſes the ground containing the grave. In this the body is depoſited, and covered with earth; and, after the cuſtomary cere-

[d] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 6. p. 321.
[e] Plat. de Leg. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 740.
[f] Id ibid.
[g] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 25; lib. 6. cap. 3.
[h] Wheel. a Journey, book 6. p. 443.
[i] Athen. lib. 5. cap. 19. p. 219. Liv. lib. 27 cap. 31. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 909.
[k] Plut. in Arat. t. i. p. 1051.

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monies, the perſons who attend at the funeral call on the deceaſed by name, and take their laſt farewel [l].

We found the inhabitants buſied in preparing for an annual feſtival, which they celebrated the enſuing night. They brought out of a kind of cell appropriated to the purpoſe, ſeveral ancient ſtatues, which they carried about the ſtreets, and placed in the temple of Bacchus. The proceſſion opened with the ſtatue of that god, which was cloſely followed by the others; a great number of torches were carried to give light, and hymns were ſung to airs unknown in other countries [m].

The Sicyonians place the foundations of their city at a period ſcarcely reconcileable with the traditions of other nations. Ariſtratus, at whoſe houſe we reſided, ſhowed us a long liſt of princes who had poſſeſſed the throne during a thouſand years, and the laſt of whom lived about the time of the Trojan war [n]. We begged him not to carry us back to ſuch remote ages, but to keep within the diſtance of three or four centuries. About that time, then, ſaid he, began a ſucceſſion of ſovereigns, known by the name of tyrants, from their poſſeſſing abſolute power; but the only ſecret by which they retained this power for a whole century, was to reſtrain it within juſt bounds by reſpecting the laws [o]. Orthagoras was the firſt, and Cliſthenes the laſt, of theſe princes. The gods, who ſometimes apply violent remedies to inveterate evils, ſent them into the world to deprive us of a liberty more fatal than ſlavery itſelf. Orthagoras, by his prudence and moderation, repreſſed the fury of contending factions [p]; and Cliſthenes rendered himſelf adored for his virtues, and formidable by his courage [q].

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[l] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 7. p. 126.
[m] Id. ibid. p. 127.
[n] Caſtor, ap. Euſeb. Chronic. lib. 1. p. 11; ap. Syncell. p. 97. Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 5. p. 123. Petav. de Doctr. Temp. lib. 9. cap. 16. Marſh. Chron. Can. p. 16 et 336.
[o] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 12. p. 411.
[p] Plut. de Serâ Num. t. ii. p. 553.
[q] Ariſtot. ibid.

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When the council of the Amphictyons had reſolved to arm the nations of Greece againſt the inhabitants of Cirrha *, who had been guilty of impiety againſt the temple of Delphi, they choſe for one of the chiefs of the army Cliſthenes, who poſſeſſed ſufficient greatneſs of mind frequently to ſubmit to the advice of Solon, who alſo was in that expedition [r]. The war was ſpeedily terminated, and Cliſthenes ſet apart his ſhare of the plunder to build a magnificent portico in the capital of his ſtates [s].

A particular circumſtance greatly increaſed his reputation for wiſdom. He had juſt obtained the prize of the chariots with four horſes at Olympia. No ſooner was he declared victor, than a herald advancing towards the innumerable multitude of ſpectators, proclaimed, that all thoſe who aſpired to the hand of Agariſta, daughter of Cliſthenes, might repair, within the ſpace of ſixty days, to Sicyon, and that, at the expiration of a year from that time, the huſband of the princeſs ſhould be declared [t].

Numerous ſuitors ſoon haſtened from different parts of Greece and Italy, who all thought themſelves poſſeſſed of amples titles to be admitted to this illuſtrious alliance. Among the number was Smindyrides, the richeſt and moſt voluptuous of the Sybarites. He arrived in a galley of his own, having a thouſand ſlaves, fiſhermen, fowlers, and cooks, in his retinue [u]. He it was who, at the ſight of a peaſant lifting his ſpade with difficulty, felt his entrails rent within him; and who could not ſleep, if, among the roſe-leaves with which his bed was ſtrewed, a ſingle one was accidentally folded [x]. His effeminacy could be equalled only by his oſtentation, and his oſtentation by his inſolence. When he took his ſeat at table, on the evening of his arrival, he pretended that no

* Towards the year 596 before Chriſt.

[r] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 37. p. 894. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 3. cap. 5.

[s] Id. lib. 2. cap. 9. p. 133.

[t] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 126. p. 496.

[u] Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 230. Athen. lib. 6. cap. 21. p. 273. lib. 12. cap. 11. p. 541.

[x] Senec. de Irâ. lib. 2. cap. 25. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 9. cap. 24.

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perſon had a right to ſit near him, except the princeſs, when he ſhould have made her his bride [y].

Among his rivals were Leocides, of the ancient houſe of Argos; Laphanes of Arcadia, a deſcendant of Euphorion, who is ſaid to have ſhown hoſpitality to the twin deities Caſtor and Pollux; Megacles, of the houſe of the Alcmæonidæ, the moſt powerful family of Athens; and Hippoclides, a native of the ſame city, diſtinguiſhed for his wit, wealth and beauty [z]. The other eight merited, by various illuſtrious qualities, the honour of contending with ſuch rivals.

The court of Sicyon was wholly taken up with feſtivals and entertainments; the liſts were open to competitors for the prize of ſpeed and other exerciſes. Cliſthenes, who had already informed himſelf reſpecting their families, was preſent at theſe conteſts, and attentively ſtudied their reſpective characters, ſometimes in general converſations, and ſometimes in private interviews. A ſecret predilection had from the firſt inclined him to favour one or other of the two Athenians, but the accompliſhments of Hippoclides at length turned the balance in his favour [a].

The day on which he was to make known his choice, opened by a ſacrifice of an hundred oxen, followed by a banquet, to which all the Sicyonians, as well as the competitors, were invited. The company quitted the table, and continued to drink, converſing on muſic and other topics: Hippoclides, who diſplayed his ſuperiority on every ſubject, lenthened out the converſation; on a ſudden he ordered a flute-player to play a certain air, and began dancing a laſcivious dance in a manner that offended Cliſthenes; a moment after he ſent for a table, leaped upon it, and firſt executed the dances of Lacedæmon, then thoſe of Athens. Cliſthenes, ſhocked at ſuch indecent and frivolous behaviour, endeavoured to diſguiſe his

[y] Diod. ibid. Herodot. l.b. 6. cap 127.

[z] Id. ibid. cap. 128.

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feelings; but when he saw him stand on his hands, and make various gestures in the air with his feet: "Son of Tisander," cried he, "you have danced the rupture of your marriage." "In good truth, my lord," replied the Athenian, "Hippoclides cares very little about it." At these words, which have since become proverbial [b], Clisthenes, commanding silence, thanked all the competitors, begged each of them to accept a talent of silver, and declared that he bestowed his daughter on Megacles, son of Alcmæon. From this marriage the celebrated Pericles was descended, by the side of his mother [c].

Aristratus added, that since the time of Clisthenes, reciprocal hatred of the rich and poor, that rooted malady of the Grecian republics, had never ceased to distract their country, and that, but recently, a citizen, named Euphron, having had the address to unite the whole authority in his hands [d], retained it for some time, but was afterwards deprived of it, and assassinated in presence of the magistrates of Thebes, to which city he had gone to solicit their protection. The Thebans did not venture to punish the murderers of a man accused of tyranny; but the people of Sicyon, whom he had always favoured, erected a monument to his memory in the middle of the forum, and still honour him as an excellent citizen, and one of their protectors [e]. I condemn him, said Aristratus, because he frequently had recourse to perfidy, and did not sufficiently respect the party of the rich; but it must be confessed the republic stands in need of a head. These last words revealed to us his intentions, and we learnt, a few years after, that he had obtained possession of the supreme power [f].

We visited the city, the harbour, and citadel [g]. Sicyon will be conspicuous in the history of nations, from the attention with which she has cultivated the arts. I could wish I

[b] Plut. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 867. Lucian. Apol. pro Merced. Cond. t. i. p. 724. Id. in Herc. t. iii. p. 86.

[c] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 131.

[d] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 623. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 382.

[e] Id. ibid. p. 623.

[f] Plut. in Arat. t. i. p. 1032. Plin. lib. 35 cap. 10. t. i. p. 700.

[g] Xenoph. ibid. p. 629.

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were able to aſcertain with preciſion how far ſhe has contributed to the orign of painting, and the improvement of ſculpture: but, as I have already hinted, the progreſs of the arts for whole ages is obſcure; a great diſcovery is but the combination of a multitude of preceding ones of leſs importance, and as it is impoſſible to follow their reſpective tracks, we muſt content ourſelves with obſerving thoſe which are the moſt evident, and limit ourſelves to a few concluſions.

Drawing owed its orign to chance, ſculpture to religion, and painting to the improvement of the other arts.

In the earlieſt times ſome perſon amuſed himſelf with following and tracing out on the ground, or on a wall, the outlines of the projecting ſhadow of a body illuminated by the ſun, or ſome other light: hence men learned the mode of expreſſing the form of objects by ſimple lines.

In ſtill more ancient times, it was thought neceſſary to encourage the religious fervour of the people, by placing before their eyes the ſymbol or image of their worſhip. At firſt a ſtone [h], or the trunk of a tree, were preſented to them as objects of veneration; ſoon after the upper extremity was rounded into the ſhape of a head, then lines were excavated in it to form feet and hands. Such was the ſtate of ſculpture among the Egyptians, when that art was tranſmitted by them to the Greeks [i], who long contented themſelves with a bare imitation of their models. Hence thoſe ſhapeleſs ſtatues ſo frequently met with in the Peloponneſus, and which exhibit only a ſheath, a column, or a pyramid [k], with a head on the top, and ſometimes a rude repreſentation of hands and feet which are not diſjoined from the trunk. The ſtatues of Mercury, called Hermæ, are remains of this ancient practice.

The Egyptains boaſt that they diſcovered ſculpture more than ten thouſand years ago [l]; painting at the ſame time, or

[h] Pauſan. lib. 7. cap. 22. p. 579. Id. lib. 9. cap. 27. p. 761.
[i] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 4.
[k] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 9. p. 132; lib. 3. cap. 19. p. 257; lib. 7. cap. 22. p. 579.
[l] Plat. de Leg. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 656.

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at leaſt ſix thouſand years before it was known to the Greeks [m]. The latter are far from appropriating to themſelves the invention of the firſt of theſe arts, but think they have a juſt claim to the diſcovery of the ſecond [n]. To reconcile theſe different pretenſions, we muſt diſtinguiſh two kinds of paintings: that which merely ſets off the drawing by colours laid on whole and unbroken; and that which, after long efforts, has become the faithful copyiſt of nature.

The former was diſcovered by the Egyptians. In the Thebais we ſee, in the porches of the grottos, which ſerved perhaps as tombs, on the ceilings of the temples, on the hieroglyphics and figures of men and animals, very lively and brilliant colours, and which certainly are of an extremely ancient date [o]. Theſe colours, ſometimes enriched by gold leaf attached to them by an aſtringent, clearly prove that painting, if I may ſo ſpeak, was in Egypt only the art of colouring.

It ſhould ſeem that the Greeks were very little farther advanced at the time of the Trojan war [p]; but towards the firſt Olympaid [q] *, the artiſts of Sicyon and of Corinth, who had already exhibited more intelligence in their deſigns [r], ſignalized themſelves by eſſays ſtill held in rememberance, and which aſtoniſhed that age by their novelty. Whilſt Dædalus of Sicyon † was detaching the feet and hands of ſtatues [s], Gleophantus of Corinth was colouring the features of the human countenance.

Cleophantus made uſe of pounded brick-duſt [t]; a proof that the Greeks then knew nothing of the colours now employed for carnation. About the time of the battle of Marathon, painting and ſculpture emerged from their long infancy,

[m] Plin lib. 35. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 681.
[n] Id. ibid. Strab. lib. 8. p. 382.
[o] Voyag. de Gran. p. 35, 47, 73. Sicard, Miſſ. du Lev. t. ii. p. 221; t. vii. p 37 et 163. Lucas, Voyag. de la Haute Egypt. t. iii. p. 39 et 69. Norden, Voyag. d'Egypt. p. 137, 170, &c. Goguet. Orig des Lois, t. ii. p. 164. Cayl. Rec. d'Antiq. t. v. p. 25.
[p] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 637.
[q] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. t. xxv. p. 267.
* Towards the year 776 before C.
[r] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 681.
† See note at the end of the volume.
[s] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 276. Themiſt. Orat. 26. p. 316. Suid. in Δαιδάλ.
[t] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 682.

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and by a rapid progreſs have attained the degree of ſublimity and beauty at which we this day behold them.

Sicyon, almoſt in our own time, produced Eupompus, the chief of a third ſchool of painting; prior to him no other was known but thoſe of Athens and Ionia. From his ſchool have already proceeded ſeveral celebrated artiſts, and, amongſt others, Pauſias and Pamphilus, under whoſe direction it was during our reſidence in that city, and whoſe talents and reputation procured him many pupils, who each paid him a talent previous to receiving his inſtructions *: on his ſide he engaged to give them, for ten years, leſſons founded on an excellent theory, and juſtified by the ſucceſs of his labours. He exhorted them likewiſe to cultivate letters and the ſciences with which he was himſelf extremely well acquainted [u].

By his advice was it that the magiſtrates of Sicyon ordained that the ſtudy of drawing ſhould from that time conſtitute part of the education of the citizens; a law which reſcued the fine arts from ſervile hands: the other cities of Greece are now beginning to follow this example [x].

We were acquainted with two of his pupils who have ſince acquired a ſplendid reputation, Melanthus and Apelles [y]. He formed high expectations of the former, and ſtill higher of the latter, who congratulated himſelf on having ſuch a maſter: Pamphilus ſoon had reaſon to be proud of having inſtructed ſuch a ſcholar.

We made a few excurſions in the neighbourhood of Sicyon. At the town of Titana, ſituated on a mountain, we ſaw, in a cypreſs wood, a temple of Æſculapius, in whoſe ſtatue, a tunic of white woollen and a mantle, only left viſible the face and hands, and the extremities of the feet. Near it is the ſtatue of Hygeia, the goddeſs of health, covered likewiſe with a robe, and locks of hair, which women have taken from their

* 5400 livres (225 l. Sterling).
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 18. t. ii. p. 694.
[x] Id. ibid.
[y] Plut. in Arat. t. i. p. 1032.

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heads to conſecrate them to this deity [z]. The cuſtom of clothing the ſtatues, ſometimes in very rich dreſſes, is pretty general in Greece, and often affords reaſon for regret, when we perceive how many beautiful productions of art are almoſt entirely concealed by theſe ornaments.

We ſtopped at the town of Phlius [a], the inhabitants of which have acquired in our days a celebrity not to be obtained by riches or by conqueſts. They entered into an alliance with Sparta, whilſt at the zenith of her glory; and when, after the battle of Leuctra, her ſlaves and moſt of her allies revolted againſt her, the Phliuntians flew to her aid; and, on their return home, neither the power of the Thebans and the Argives, nor the horrors of war and famine, could ever compel them to relinquiſh their alliance [b]. This example of fortitude has been exhibited in an age when oaths are ſported with, and that too by one of the ſmalleſt and pooreſt of the Grecian cities.

After paſſing a few days at Sicyon, we entered Achaia, which extends as far as the promontory of Araxus, ſituated oppoſite to Cephallenia. It is a ſlip of land bounded on the ſouth by Arcadia and Elis, and on the north by the ſea of Criſſa. Its ſhores are almoſt every where lined with rocks, which render them inacceſſible. In the interior part of the country the ſoil is poor, and with difficulty rendered productive [c]: good vineyards, however, are to be found in many places [d].

It was formerly inhabited by thoſe Ionians who are now ſettled on the coaſt of Aſia. They were expelled by the Achæans, when the latter were compelled to yield the kingdoms of Argos and Lacedæmon [e] to the deſcendants of Hercules.

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[z] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 11. p. 136.
[a] Id ibid. cap. 12. p. 138.
[b] Xenoph. Hiſt. Grac. lib. 7. p. 624.
[c] Plut. in Arat. t. i. p. 1031.
[d] Pauſan. lib. 7. cap. 26. p. 593.
[e] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 145. Pauſ. ibid. cap. 1. p. 522.

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When ſettled in their new abodes, the Achæans never interfered in the affairs of Greece, not even when Xerxes threatened it with univerſal ſlavery [f]. The Peloponneſian war forced them from that repoſe which conſtituted their happineſs; they united their forces ſometimes with the Lacedæmonians [g], and ſometimes with the Athenians, whom they were always moſt inclined to favour [h]. On this occaſion it was that Alcibiades, endeavouring to perſuade the people of Patræ to extend the walls of their town to the harbour, that the fleets of Athens might be able to aſſiſt them, one of the aſſembly exclaimed, "If you follow this advice, the Athenians will at laſt ſwallow you up." "That may be," anſwered Alcibiades, "but with this difference, that the Athenians will begin by the feet, the Lacedæmonians by the head [i]." The Achæans have ſince contracted other alliances. Some years after our journey, they ſent two thouſand men to the aſſiſtance of the Phocians [k], and their troops diſtinguiſhed themſelves at the battle of Chæronea [l].

Pellene, a ſmall town, as are all the towns in Achaia [m], is built on a hill of ſo irregular a form, that the two quarters of the town ſituated on the oppoſite ſides of it have ſcarcely any communication [n]. Its harbour is at the diſtance of ſixty ſtadia *. The dread of pirates formerly obliged the inhabitants of a diſtrict to unite and form ſettlements on eminences more or leſs remote from the ſea. All the ancient towns of Greece are ſo ſituated.

As we left Pellene, we ſaw a temple of Bacchus, in which the nocturnal feſtival of the lamps is annually celebrated: great numbers are lighted up, and wine is copiouſly diſtributed to the multitude [o]. Oppoſite to it is the ſacred wood of

f Pauſan. ibid. cap. 6. p. 536.
g Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 9.
h Id. lib. 1. cap. 111. Pauſan. lib. 7. cap. 6 p. 537.
i Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 198.
k Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 436.
l Pauſan. ibid.
m Plut. in Arat. t. i. p. 1031.
n Pauſan. lib. 7. cap. 26. p. 594.
* About two leagues and a quarter.
o Id. ibid. cap. 27. p. 595.

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Diana Conſervatrix, into which none but the prieſts are allowed to enter. We next ſaw, in a temple of Minerva, a ſtatue of that goddeſs, of gold and ivory, of ſuch beautiful workmanſhip, that it is aſcribed to Phidias [p].

We proceeded to Ægira, about twelve ſtadia * diſtant from the ſea. Whilſt we were examining ſuch objects as we eſteemed deſerving our curioſity, our conductors informed us, that on a certain occaſion, the inhabitants, unable to oppoſe the Sicyonians who were come to attack them, collected a great number of goats, faſtened lighted torches to their horns, and drove them forward during the night, when the enemy, imagining them to be the allied troops of Ægira, immediately retreated [q].

Further on we entered a grotto, in which is an oracle that employs chance to manifeſt futurity. Near to a ſtatue of Hercules is a number of dice, marked in a particular manner on each ſide: four of theſe are promiſcuouſly taken and rolled on a table, on which correſponding marks are traced, with their interpretation [r]. This oracle is eſteemed as infallible, and is as much frequented as the others.

At ſome diſtance we viſited the ruins of Helice, formerly ſituated twelve ſtadia from the ſea [s] †, and demoliſhed in our time by an earthquake. Theſe dreadful cataſtrophes happen moſt frequently in places adjoining to the ſea [t], and are generally preceded by terrific ſymptoms. For ſeveral months the waters of heaven either deluge the earth, or withhold their beneficial effects; a dimneſs obſcures the ſplendour of the ſun, or his diſk appears red like a burning braſier; impetuous winds ravage the country; ſtreams of fire are ſeen to ſhoot in the air; and other portentous phænomena too ſurely preſage ſome tremendous diſaſter [u].

[p] Id. ibid. p. 594.
* Almoſt half a league.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 26. p. 591.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 25. p. 590.
[s] Heraclid. ap. Strab. lib. 8. p. 384.
† Almoſt half a league.
[t] Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 2. cap. 8. t. i. p. 567.
[u] Pauſan. lib. 7. cap. 24. p. 585.

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After the calamity of Helice, various prodigies were recollected, by which it had been portended. The isle of Delos had shook, and an immense column of fire had risen to the skies [x]. Be this as it may, a very short time before the battle of Leuctra [y] *, in winter, and during the night [z], a north wind blowing from one quarter, and a southerly wind from the other [a], the city, after violent and repeated shocks, which continued till day-break, was totally destroyed, and swallowed up by the sea, which had overflowed its boundaries [b]. The inundation was so great as to rise above the tops of the trees in a wood consecrated to Neptune. By degrees the waters partially subsided; but they still cover the ruins of Helice, leaving only a few trifling vestiges exposed to view [c]. All the inhabitants perished; and attempts were made in vain to recover their bodies, and bestow on them the rites of sepulture [d].

The shocks of this earthquake, it is said, were not felt in the city of Ægium [e], which is only at the distance of forty stadia from Helice [f] †; but their direction was toward the other side, and in the town of Bura, scarcely more distant from Helice than Ægium, walls, houses, temples, statues, men, and animals, were all destroyed or crushed. The citizens who were absent, built on their return the modern town [g]. To Helice has succeeded a small town, where we took a boat, more closely to inspect some ruins scattered on the shore. Our guides made a circuit, to avoid striking on a Neptune of brass, which is on a level with the water, and still standing on its base [h].

[x] Callisth. ap. Senec. Quæst. Nat. lib. 6. cap. 26.
[y] Polyb. lib. 2. p. 128. Strab. lib. 8. p. 384.
* Towards the end of the year 373, or the beginning of the year 372 before Christ.
[z] Heracl. ap. Strab. ibid. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 363.
[a] Aristot. Meteor. lib. 2 cap. 8. t. i. p. 570.
[b] De Mundo ap. Aristot. cap. 4. t. i. p. 608. Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 364. Pausan. lib. 7. cap. 24. p 587.
[c] Pausan. lib. 7. cap. 24. p. 587. Plin. lib. 2. cap. 92. t. i. p. 115.
[d] Heracl. ap. Strab. lib. 8. p. 385.
[e] Senec. Quæst. Nat. lib. 6. cap. 25.
[f] Pausan. ibid. p. 585.
† One league and a half.
[g] Id. lib. 7. cap. 25. p. 590.
[h] Eratosth. ap. Strab. lib. 8. p. 384.

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After the deſtruction of Helice, Ægium took poſſeſſion of its territory, and became the principal city of Achaia. Here the ſtates of the province are convened [j], and aſſemble in a wood conſecrated to Jupiter, near the temple of that god, and on the ſea ſhore [k].

Achaia, from the earlieſt times, was divided into twelve cities, each compriſing ſeven or eight towns within its diſtrict [l]. All have the privilege of ſending deputies to the ordinary aſſembly, which is held at the beginning of their year, or towards the middle of the ſpring [m]. There ſuch regulations are made as circumſtances may require: magiſtrates are nominated to carry them into execution, and inveſted likewiſe with the power of convoking an extraordinary aſſembly, in caſe of war, or the neceſſity of deliberating on an alliance [n].

The government goes forward, if I may uſe the expreſſion, by its own motion. It is a democracy, which owes its origin and continuance to peculiar circumſtances. The country being poor, without commerce, and almoſt without induſtry, its inhabitants peaceably enjoy the liberty and equality afforded them by a wiſe legiſlation. As no ambitious and turbulent ſpirits have ariſen amongſt them [o], they are ſtrangers to the deſire of conqueſts; and as they have little connection with corrupt nations, they never employ fraud or falſehood, even againſt their enemies [p]: as all their cities, in fine, have the ſame laws and the ſame offices of magiſtracy, they form only one body and one ſtate, and the harmony that reigns amongſt them pervades every claſs of citizens [q]. The excellence of their conſtitution, and the probity of their magiſtrates, are ſo univerſally admitted, that the Greek cities of

[j] Polyb. lib. 5. p. 350. Liv. lib. 28. cap. 7; lib. 38. cap. 30. Pauſan. lib. 7. cap. 24. p. 585.
[k] Strab. ibid. p. 385 et 387. Pauſ. ibid p. 584.
[l] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 145. Polyb. lib. 2. p. 128. Strab. ib. p. 337 et 386.
[m] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 305; lib. 5. p. 350. Strab. ibid. p. 385.
[n] Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. p. 855.
[o] Id. lib. 2. p. 125.
[p] Id. lib. 13. p. 672.
[q] Juſtin. lib. 34. cap. 1.

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Italy, wearied with their diſſenſions, have been known to addreſs themſelves to this people to become their arbitrators, and ſome of them even formed a ſimilar confederation. Nay, it is not long ſince the Lacedæmonians and Thebans, mutually claiming the victory at Leuctra, referred this diſpute, in which their honour was ſo materially intereſted [r], and which demanded the moſt impartial deciſion, to the determination of the Achæans.

We frequently ſaw children on the ſhore throwing pebbles with their ſlings, a favourite exerciſe of this people, in which they are ſo ſkilful, that by placing the lead in a particular manner in the ſtrap, they can hit the object at which they aim with the moſt ſurpriſing exactneſs [s].

In our way to Patræ, we paſſed through ſeveral cities and towns, for Achaia is extremely populous [t]. At Pharæ we ſaw, in the forum, thirty ſquare ſtones, which are worſhipped as deities, but the names of which I have forgotten [u]. Near theſe ſtones is a Mercury, terminating in a ſheath, and with a long beard, oppoſite to a ſtatue of Veſta, ſurrounded by a range of braſs lamps. We were told that this Mercury delivered oracles, and that to obtain an anſwer, it was only neceſſary to whiſper a few words in the ear of the ſtatue. At this moment a peaſant came to conſult it; he was firſt to offer incenſe to the goddeſs, then pour oil into the lamps and light them, depoſit a ſmall piece of money on the altar, approach the Mercury, interrogate it in a wiſper, quit the place keeping his ears ſhut, and afterwards obſerve the firſt words he ſhould hear, which were to be the ſolution of his doubts [x]. The people thronged after him, and we returned to our lodgings.

Before we arrived at Patræ, we turned into a delightful wood, where ſeveral young people were exerciſing themſelves

[r] Polyb. lib. 2. p. 126. Strab. lib. 8. p. 384
[s] Liv. lib. 38. cap. 29.
[t] Strab. ibid. p. 386.
[u] Pauſan. lib. 7. cap. 22. p. 579.
[x] Id. ibid.

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in running [y]. In one of the alleys we met a child of twelve or thirteen years of age, dreſſed in a handſome robe, and crowned with ears of corn. When we interrogated him, he anſwered, This is the feſtival of Bacchus Æſymnetes, for by that name he is called; all the children of the town repair to the banks of the Milichus. Thence we ſhall go in proceſſion to the temple of Diana, which you ſee before you; we ſhall lay this crown at the feet of the goddeſs, and, after waſhing in the ſtream, we ſhall take another crown of ivy, and go to the temple of Bacchus, which is beyond the former. I aſked him what was the meaning of the crown of ears of corn.—In this manner we were dreſſed when we were ſacrificed on the ſhrine of Diana.—What! was it the practice to ſacrifice you!—You are then unacquainted with the hiſtory of the handſome Melanippus and the beautiful Cometho, the prieſteſs of the goddeſs? I will tell it you.

They mutually loved ſo affectionately, that it ſeemed impoſſible for either to live without the other. At length they aſked their parents leave to marry, and they cruelly refuſed them. Some time after, there happened a great famine and ſickneſs in the country. The oracle was conſulted, and anſwered, that Diana was incenſed that Melanippus and Cometho ſhould have married in her very temple, on the night of the feſtival, and that, to appeaſe her, a boy and a girl of the greateſt beauty muſt be annually ſacrificed. The oracle afterwards promiſed us that this barbarous cuſtom ſhould ceaſe, when a ſtranger ſhould bring hither a certain ſtatue of Bacchus. At length he came; the ſtatue was placed in that temple, and the proceſſion and ceremonies I have been telling you of were ſubſtituted for the ſacrifice. Adieu, ſtranger [z].

This narrative, which was confirmed to us by well informed perſons, aſtoniſhed us the leſs, as for a long time men could imagine no better means of averting the divine venge-

[y] Id. ibid. cap. 21. p. 577.

[z] Id. ibid. cap. 19. p. 571.

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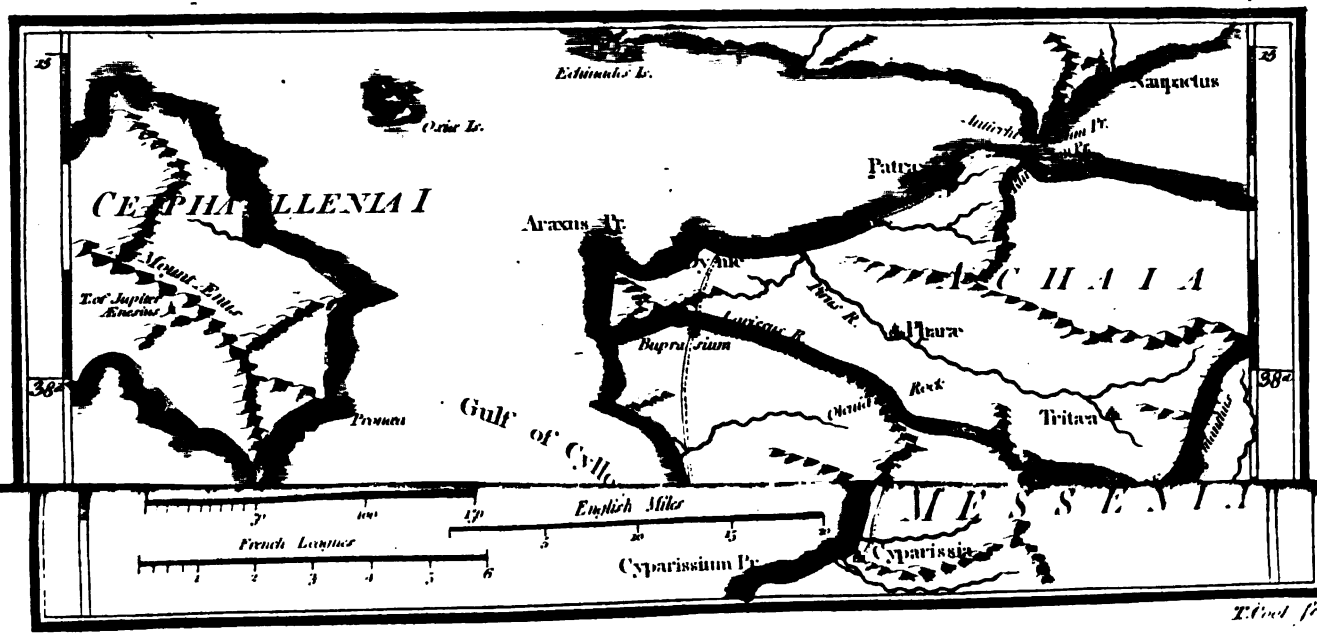

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ance, than by ſhedding human blood, and eſpecially that of a young virgin, on the ſacred altars. The reaſoning which induced them to this practice was the natural conſequence of the abominable principle, that the gods are more attentive to the value of the offerings than the intentions of thoſe who preſent them. This fatal error once admitted, men would firſt offer the moſt valuable productions of the earth, and the choiceſt victims; and as the blood of men is more precious than that of animals, they would at length ſhed that of a virgin, who united youth, beauty, birth, and all the advantages which they themſelves held in the higheſt eſtimation.

After examining the monuments of Patræ, and of another town named Dyme, we croſſed the Lariſſus, and entered into Elis.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Tour of Elis [*]. *The Olympic Games.*

Elis is a ſmall country, the coaſts of which are waſhed by the Ionian ſea, and which is divided into three valleys. In that to the north is the city of Elis, ſituated on the Peneus, a river of the ſame name, but leſs conſiderable than that of Theſſaly; the middle valley is remarkable for the temple of Jupiter, near the river Alpneus; and the laſt of the three is named Triphylia.

The inhabitants of this country long enjoyed the moſt undiſturbed tranquillity. All the ſtates of Greece concurred to conſider them as conſecrated to Jupiter, and carried their reſpect ſo far that foreign troops laid down their arms on entering the country, nor took them up again but at their departure [a]. At preſent they rarely enjoy the benefits of this exemption; yet, notwithſtanding the occaſional wars to which

[*] See the map of Elis.

[a] Strab. lib. 8. p. 358.

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they have been expoſed in later times, and in deſpite of the diſſenſions which ſtill ferment in certain cities, Elis is the moſt plentiful and beſt peopled diſtrict of Peloponneſus [b]. Its plains, which are generally fertile [c], are covered with laborious ſlaves, and agriculture flouriſhes, becauſe the government beſtows on the induſtrious ruſtics the attention merited by theſe uſeful citizens. Tribunals are eſtabliſhed amongſt them to judge their cauſes in the laſt inſtance; nor are they obliged to interrupt their labours and repair to the cities to ſolicit an iniquitous or tardy ſentence. Many rich families ſpend their lives peaceably in the country; and I myſelf ſaw ſome in the vicinity of Elis, not one of whom, for two or three generations, had once entered the capital [d].

After the monarchical government was aboliſhed, the cities aſſociated in a fœderal league; but that of Elis, more powerful than the reſt, has inſenſibly brought them under ſubjection [e], leaving them only the ſhadow of liberty. Together they form eight tribes [f], governed by a body of ninety ſenators, who hold their places for life, and by their influence fill up vacancies at their pleaſure: hence it is that authority reſides only in a very few perſons, and that an oligarchy has been introduced within an oligarchy, which is one of the deſtructive vices of this government [g]. Attempts have, therefore, recently been made to eſtabliſh a democracy [h].

The city of Elis is but modern; it was formed, like many of the Grecian cities, and eſpecially thoſe of the Peloponneſus, by the union of ſeveral hamlets [i]: for, in the ages of ignorance, men dwelt in open and expoſed villages; in more enlightened times they ſhut themſelves up in fortified towns.

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[b] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 336.
[c] Strab. lib. 8. p. 344. Pauſan. lib. 5. cap 4. p. 381.
[d] Polyb. ibid.
[e] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 148. Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 31.
[f] Pauſan. lib. 5. p. 397.
[g] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 394.
[h] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7. p. 635.
[i] Strab. lib. 8. p. 336. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 40.

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On our arrival, we met a proceſſion in its way to the temple of Minerva, and that made part of a ceremony in which the youth of Elis contended for the prize of beauty. The victors were led in triumph: the firſt, with his head bound with ribbands, bore the weapons to be conſecrated to the goddeſs; the ſecond conducted the victim; and the third carried the other offerings [k].

I have often ſeen ſimilar conteſts in Greece, for the young men, as well as for the women and girls. Even among diſtant nations I have ſeen women admitted to public competitions, with this difference, however, that the Greeks decree the prize to the moſt beautiful, and the barbarians to the moſt virtuous [l].

The city is ornamented with temples [m], ſumptuous edifices, and a number of ſtatues, ſome of which are by the hand of Phidias. Among the latter we ſaw ſeveral which diſplayed the judgment no leſs than the ſkill of the artiſt; ſuch is the group of the Graces in the temple dedicated to them. They are habited in a light and brilliant drapery: the firſt holds a myrtle branch in honour of Venus; the ſecond a roſe to denote the ſpring; and the third a die, the ſymbol of infant ſports; and that nothing may be wanting to complete the charms of this compoſition, the figure of Love is placed on the ſame pedeſtal with the Graces [n].

Nothing contributes ſo much to the celebrity of this province as the Olympic games, celebrated every fourth year in honour of Jupiter. Each city in Greece has its feſtivals, which aſſemble all the inhabitants: four grand ſolemnities unite all the Grecian ſtates; theſe are the Pythian or Delphic games, the Iſthmian or Corinthian, the Nemean, and the Olympic. I have ſpoken of the firſt in my journey through Phocis; I ſhall now give ſome account of the latter: the

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[k] Athen. lib. 13. cap. 2. p. 565. Theophr. ap eumd. ibid. p. 609.
[l] Theophr. ap. eumd. p. 609 et 610.
[m] Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 23. p. 511.
[n] Id. ibid. cap. 24. p. 514.

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others I ſhall paſs over in ſilence, as they exhibit nearly the ſame ſpectacle.

The Olympic games, inſtituted by Hercules, were, after having been long diſcontinued, revived by the advice of the celebrated Lycurgus, and by the attention of Iphitus, ſovereign of a diſtrict of Elis [o]. One hundred and eight years after, the name of the perſon who had gained the prize in the courſe of the ſtadium was inſcribed, for the firſt time, in the public regiſter of the Eleans [p]: he was called Chorœbus. This practice was continued, and hence that ſeries of victors whoſe names, indicating the different Olympiads, form ſo many fixed periods in chronology. The games were about to be celebrated, for the one hundred and ſixth time, when we arrived at Elis *.

All the inhabitants of Elis were preparing for this auguſt ſolemnity. The decree which prohibits all hoſtilities had already been proclaimed [q]. Troops who ſhould enter at this time into this ſacred territory [r] would be condemned to pay a penalty of two minæ † for each ſoldier [s].

The direction of the Olympic games has been in the poſſeſſion of the Eleans for four centuries, and they have brought them to the utmoſt degree of perfection, ſometimes by introducing new ſpecies of conteſts, and ſometimes by ſuppreſſing ſuch as did not anſwer the expectations of the aſſembly [t]. It is their province to prevent clandeſtine practices and intrigues, to take care that the deciſions be equitable, and that no natives of foreign nations [u], nor even of the Greek cities, which have [x] violated the laws eſtabliſhed to maintain order during the feſtivals, be admitted to enter the liſts as candidates. They have ſo high an idea of theſe ordinances, that they formerly

[o] Ariſtot. ap. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 39.
[p] Freret, Def. de la Chron. p. 162.
* In the ſummer of the year 356 before Chriſt.
[q] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 397. Pauſan. lib. 5. cap. 20. p. 427.
[r] Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 248.
† 180 livres (7l. 10s. Sterling).
[s] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap 49.
[t] Pauſan. lib. 5. cap. 8. p. 394.
[u] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 22.
[x] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 49. Pauſan. ibid. cap. 21. p. 431.

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ſent deputies into Egypt, to inquire of the ſages of that nation whether they could ſuggeſt any neceſſary regulation which they had omitted. You have forgotten one eſſential article, replied the latter: ſince the judges are Eleans, the Eleans ſhould be excluded from the competition [y]. Notwithſtanding this anſwer, they are admitted, and many of them have gained the prize; nor has the integrity of the judges been ever queſtioned [z]: it is true indeed, that to prevent ſuch a ſuſpicion, the athletæ are permitted to appeal to the ſenate of Olympia from the decree which deprives them of the crown [a].

At each Olympiad, the judges or preſidents of the games are drawn by lot [b], and are eight in number, one being taken from each tribe [c]. They aſſemble at Elis previous to the celebration of the games, and for the ſpace of ten months carefully ſtudy all the particulars of the duties they have to diſcharge: in theſe they are inſtructed by the magiſtrates, whoſe office it is to declare and explain the ordinances I have mentioned [d]. That they may join experience to precepts, they exerciſe, during the ſame interval, the athletæ, who come to have their names enrolled [e] as candidates for the prizes of the courſe, and moſt of the pedeſtrian combats [f]. Several of theſe athletæ were accompanied by their relations and friends, and eſpecially by the maſters by whom they had been taught; the deſire of glory ſparkled in their eyes, and the inhabitants of Elis ſeemed tranſported with the livelieſt joy. I ſhould have been ſurpriſed at the importance they annex to the celebration of their games, were I not acquainted with the ardour of the Greeks for public exhibitions, and the real utility which the Eleans derive from this ſolemnity.

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[y] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 160. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 85.
[z] Dion. Chryſoſt. in Rhod. p. 344.
[a] Pauſan. lib 6. cap. 3 p 458.
[b] Philoſtr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 3. cap. 30. p. 121.
[c] Pauſan. lib. 5 cap. 9. p. 397.
[d] Id lib. 6. cap. 24. p. 514.
[e] Æſchin. Epiſt. 11. p. 212.
[f] Pauſan. ibid. p. 513.

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After having viewed every thing intereſting in the city of Elis, and in Cyllene, which ſerves it for a harbour, and is diſtant only one hundred and twenty ſtadia [g] *, we departed for Olympia, to which there are two roads; one by the plain, three hundred ſtadia in length [h] †; and the other by the mountains and the little town of Aleſium, where a conſiderable fair is held every month [i]. We made choice of the former, which traverſes a fertile and well cultivated country, watered by various rivers, and, after taking a view of Dyſpontium and Letrines as we paſſed [k], we arrived at Olympia.

This city, known likewiſe by the name of Piſa [l], is ſituated on the right bank of the Alpheus, at the foot of an eminence called the Mount of Saturn. The Alpheus has its ſource in Arcadia [m]. It alternately appears and diſappears [n], and, after receiving the waters of ſeveral rivers [o], falls into the adjoining ſea [p].

Within the Altis, which is a ſacred wood [q], of great extent, ſurrounded with walls [r], are the temple of Jupiter and that of Juno, the ſenate-houſe, the theatre [s], and many other beautiful edifices, as alſo an innumerable multitude of ſtatues.

The temple of Jupiter was built in the laſt century with the ſpoils taken by the Eleans from certain ſtates which had revolted from their obedience [t]; it is of the Doric order, ſurrounded with columns, and conſtructed with a ſtone brought from the adjoining quarries, which, though much lighter than Parian marble, is equally ſhining and hard [u]. It is ſixty-

[g] Id. ibid. cap. 26. p. 518.
* About 4 leagues and a half.
[h] Strab. lib. 8. p. 367. Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 22. p. 510.
† Eleven leagues and about one third.
[i] Id. ibid. p. 341.
[k] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 3. p. 491. Strab. ibid. p. 357. Pauſan. ib. p. 510.
[l] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 7. Pind. Olymp. 2, 3. 8, &c. Steph. in Ὀλυμπία. Ptolem. p. 101.
[m] Pauſan. lib. 5. cap. 7. p. 390.
[n] Id. lib. 8. cap. 54. p. 709.
[o] Id. ibid. Strab. lib. 8. p. 344.
[p] Strab. p. 343.
[q] Pind. Olymp. 8. v. 12. Schol. ibid. Pauſan. lib. 5. cap. 10. p. 397.
[r] Pauſan. ibid. p. 441 et 443.
[s] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7. p. 639.
[t] Pauſan. ibid. p. 397.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 398. Plin. lib. 36. cap. 17. t. ii. p. 747.

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eight feet high, two hundred and thirty long, and ninety-five broad *.

This edifice was built by an able architect, named Libon. Two ſculptors, of equal ſkill, enriched the pediments of the principal front with learned and elegant ornaments. In one of theſe pediments, amidſt a great number of figures, we ſee Œnomaus and Pelops ready to diſpute, in preſence of Jupiter, the prize of the race; in the other, the battle of the Centaurs and the Lapithæ [x]. The gate by which it is entered is of braſs, as is that on the oppoſite ſide. On both are ſculptured a part of the labours of Hercules [y]. The roof is covered with pieces of marble cut in the ſhape of tiles. On the ſummit of each pediment is a victory of gilt braſs, and at each angle a large vaſe of the ſame metal alſo gilt.

The temple is divided by columns into three aiſles or porticos [z], which, as well as the veſtibule, contain a number of offerings conſecrated by piety and gratitude [a]; but the eye, overlooking theſe objects, is rapidly attracted to the ſtatue and throne of Jupiter. This maſterpiece of Phidias, and of the art of ſculpture, at the firſt glance fills the ſpectator with an admiration which can only be increaſed by a cloſer examination.

The figure of Jupiter is of gold and ivory, and, though ſeated, riſes almoſt to the cieling of the temple [b]. In his right hand he holds a victory likewiſe of gold and ivory; in his left, a ſceptre of beautiful workmanſhip, enriched with various ſpecies of metals, with an eagle on the top of it [c]. The buſkins are of gold, as is the mantle, on which are engraven figures of animals, and flowers, particularly the lily [d].

* The height about 64 French feet, the length 217, the width 90 (or 68, 231, 96 feet Engliſh).

[x] Id. lib. 5. cap. 10. p. 399.

[y] Id. ibid. p. 400.

[z] Id. ibid.

[a] Id. ibid. p. 405. Strab. lib. 8. p. 353.

[b] Strab. ibid.

[c] Pauſan. lib. 5. cap. 11. p. 400. Plin. lib. 34. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 648.

[d] Id. ibid. p. 401.

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The throne is ſupported by four feet, as well as by intermediate columns of the ſame height. The richeſt materials, the nobleſt arts, have all concurred in the embelliſhment of this throne. It is reſplendent with gold, ivory, ebony, and precious ſtones, and is decorated in every part with paintings and baſſo-relievos.

Four of theſe baſſo-relievos adorn the front of each of the fore-feet. The higheſt repreſents four victories in the attitude of women dancing; the ſecond, ſphinxes carrying away the children of the Thebans; the third, Apollo and Diana piercing with their darts the children of Niobe; and in the laſt are four other figures of victory.

Phidias has not left the ſmalleſt intervals without an ornament. On the four beams which bind the feet of the throne, I enumerated no leſs than thirty-ſeven figures, ſome repreſenting wreſtlers, others the combat of Hercules with the Amazons [d]. Over the head of Jupiter, on the upper part of the throne, we ſee on one ſide the three Graces, whom he had by Eurynome, and the three Seaſons, whom he had by Themis [e]. On the footſtool, as alſo on the baſe or eſtrade which ſuſtains this enormous maſs, are other baſſo-relievos; moſt of them executed in gold, and repreſenting the deities of Olympus. At the feet of Jupiter is this inſcription [f]: *I am the work of Phidias the Athenian, the ſon of Charmides.* Beſides his own name, the artiſt, to perpetuate the memory and beauty of a young man, named Pantarces [g], has engraved his name on one of the fingers of Jupiter †.

It is not poſſible to approach the throne ſo near as the curious obſerver might wiſh. He is ſtopped at a certain diſ-

[d] See note at the end of the volume.
[e] Id. ibid. p. 402. Heſiod. Deor. Gener. v. 900.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 10. p. 397.
[g] Clem. Alex. Cohort. p. 47.
† This inſcription was: *Pantarces is beautiful.* Had this been imputed as a crime to Phidias, he might have juſtified himſelf, by alleging, that it was meant to be applied to Jupiter; the word *Pantarces* really ſignifying *he who ſuffices for all.*

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tance by a baluſtrade which encompaſſes it on every ſide [h], and is ornamented with excellent paintings by Panenus, a pupil and relation of Phidias, who jointly with Colotes, another ſcholar of this great man, was employed to execute ſome of the principal parts of this ſtupendous work [i]. It is ſaid, that after it was completed, Phidias took off the veil which covered it, conſulted the public taſte, and corrected his performance by the opinion of the multitude [k].

The ſpectator can never ſufficiently admire the grandeur of the deſign, the richneſs of the materials, the excellence of the workmanſhip, and happy conſonance of all its parts; but he is ſtill more aſtoniſhed at the ſublime expreſſion which the genius of the artiſt has given to the head and countenance. In it the divine nature is imaged with all the majeſty of power, all the profundity of wiſdom, and all the mildneſs of clemency. Heretofore artiſts had repreſented the ſovereign of the gods only with ordinary features, devoid of elevation, and marked by no diſtinctive character: Phidias was the firſt who, if I may uſe the expreſſion, attained to the divine majeſty, and added a new motive to the veneration of nations, by exhibiting to their ſenſes what they had before adored [l]. From what ſource had he derived theſe exalted ideas? Poets would ſay that he had aſcended into heaven, or that the god had come down upon earth [m]; but he himſelf gave a ſimpler and a nobler anſwer to thoſe who put to him this queſtion [n]: he quoted the verſes of Homer, in which that poet ſays that a look of Jupiter ſuffices to ſhake Olympus [o]. Theſe verſes, by awaking in the ſoul of Phidias the image of the truly beautiful, of that ideal beauty which is diſcoverable only by the man of genius [p], produced the Jupiter of Olympia; and

[h] Pauſan. lib. 5. cap. 11. p. 401.
[i] Id ibid. p. 402. Strab. lib. 8. p. 354. Plin. lib. 34. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 657; lib. 35. cap. 8. p. 689.
[k] Lucian. pro imag cap. 14. t. ii. p. 492.
[l] Quintil. Inſt. Orat. lib. 12. cap. 10. p. 744. Liv. lib. 45 cap. 28.
[m] Anthol. lib. 4. cap. 6. p. 301.
[n] Strab. lib 8 p. 354. Plut. in Æmil. t. i. p. 270. Valer. Max. lib. 3. cap. 7.
[o] Homer Iliad. lib. 1. v. 530.
[p] Cicer. Orat. cap. 2. t. i. p. 421.

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whatever may be the fate of the predominant religion of Greece, the Olympian Jupiter will always remain a model for artiſts who ſhall wiſh worthily to repreſent the Supreme Being.

The Eleans know the value of this admirable performance, and ſtill point out to ſtrangers the workſhop of Phidias [q]. They have extended their bounty to the deſcendants of this great artiſt, and confided to them the care of maintaining the ſtatue in all its ſplendour [r]. As the temple and its precinct are ſituated in a marſhy ground, one of the methods employed to protect the ivory againſt humidity, is by frequently pouring oil around the foot of the throne, on a part of the pavement appropriated for the purpoſe [s].

From the temple of Jupiter we proceeded to that of Juno [t], which is likewiſe of the Doric order, and ſurrounded with columns, but much more ancient than the former. Moſt of the ſtatues we ſee there, whether of gold or ivory, exhibit the rudeneſs of an infant art, though their antiquity does not exceed three hundred years. We were ſhown the coffer of Cypſelus [u], in which that prince, who afterwards made himſelf maſter of Corinth, was ſhut up from his tendereſt infancy by his mother, to conceal him from the reſearches of the enemies of his family. It is of cedar; the lid and the four ſides are adorned with baſſo-relievos, ſome of them executed in the wood itſelf, the others in ivory and gold; they repreſent battles, games, and other ſubjects relative to the heroic ages, and are accompanied with inſcriptions in ancient characters. We examined with pleaſure the minute parts of this work, as they exhibited the rude ſtate of the arts in Greece three centuries ago.

Near this temple games are celebrated [x], over which preſide ſixteen women, ſelected from the eight tribes of the Ele-

[q] Pauſan. lib. 5. cap. 15. p. 413.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 412.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 11. p. 403.
[t] Pauſan. lib. 5. cap. 17. p. 418.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 419.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 16. p. 417.

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ans, and reſpectable for their virtue as well as birth. It is their duty to maintain two choruſes to ſing hymns in honour of Juno, to embroider the ſuperb veil which is diſplayed on the day of the feſtival, and to decree the prize of running to the girls of Elis. As ſoon as the ſignal is given, theſe youthful competitors dart into the courſe almoſt half naked, and with their hair floating on their ſhoulders: the heroine who gains the victory receives an olive crown, and the ſtill more flattering permiſſion of placing her portrait in the temple of Juno.

On leaving it, we viſited the avenues of the ſacred precinct. Through the plane and olive trees, which every where preſent their ſhades [y], we beheld on all ſides columns, trophies, triumphal cars, ſtatues without number, in braſs and marble, ſome of the gods, and others of the victors [z]; for this temple of glory is open only to thoſe who have a claim to immortality.

Several of theſe ſtatues reſt againſt columns, or are placed on pedeſtals, and all of them are accompanied with inſcriptions ſpecifying the motives of their conſecration. We ſaw more than forty ſtatues of Jupiter by different hands, the offerings of nations or individuals, ſome twenty-ſeven feet in height [a]. Thoſe of the athletæ are extremely numerous; they have been placed here either by themſelves [b], their native cities [c], or by nations of whom they had merited well [d].

Theſe monuments, which have greatly multiplied in four centuries, preſent, as it were, thoſe who have obtained them to the admiration of poſterity. They are expoſed every fourth year to the view of an incredible concourſe of ſpectators from all countries, who repair hither to witneſs the glory of the victors, to hear the recital of their combats, and with tran-

[y] Pauſan. 5. cap. 16. p. 450. Phleg. de Olymp. in Theſ. Antiq. Græc. t. ix. p. 1295.
[z] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 21. p. 429.
[a] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 24. p. 440.
[b] Pauſan. lib. 6. p. 497.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 493.
[d] Id. ibid. p. 480 et 492.

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ſport to point out to each other ſuch as they are proud to rank in the number of their fellow-citizens. What happineſs for humanity were ſuch a ſanctuary open only to virtuous men! No, I miſtake; it would ſoon be violated by intrigue and hypocriſy, to which the applauſe and veneration of the people is infinitely more neceſſary than to virtue.

Whilſt we were admiring theſe works of ſculpture, and obſerving the progreſs and laſt efforts of this art, our guides amuſed us with long narrations, and gave us many anecdotes of the perſons whoſe reſemblance we had before us. After directing our attention to two brazen cars, in one of which was Gelon king of Syracuſe, and in the other Hieron his brother and ſucceſſor [e]: Near Gelon, added they, you ſee the ſtatue of Cleomedes; this athleta, having unfortunately ſlain his adverſary in wreſtling, the judges, by way of puniſhment, withheld from him the crown, with which he was ſo afflicted that he loſt his reaſon. Some time after he entered a houſe appropriated to the education of youth, ſeized a column which ſupported the roof, and overturned it. Near ſixty children periſhed under the ruins of the building [f].

There is the ſtatue of another athleta, named Timanthes. In his old age he continued daily to exerciſe himſelf with his bow; but being obliged to ſuſpend this exerciſe during a journey, he found his ſtrength ſo diminiſhed at his return as to be unable to reſume it, on which he prepared his own funeral pile, and threw himſelf into the flames [g].

That mare, of which you ſee the figure, was ſurnamed the Wind, on account of her wonderful ſpeed. One day, when ſhe was running in the courſe, Philotas, who rode her, happened to fall; but ſhe continued the race, doubled the pillar, and ſtopped when ſhe came to the judges, who decreed the crown to her maſter, and permitted him to be repreſented here with the partner of his victory [h].

[e] Id. ibid. cap. 9. p. 473. cap. 12. p. 479.
[f] Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 9. p. 474.
[g] Id ibid. cap 8. p. 471.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 13. p. 484.

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This wreſtler was named Glaucus [i]. When young and employed in tilling the ground, his father perceived, with aſtoniſhment, that to drive in the plough-ſhare which had got looſe, he made uſe of his hand as he would of a hammer. This ſuggeſted to him the idea of bringing him here, where he propoſed him for the combat of the ceſtus. Glaucus being preſſed by an antagoniſt, who alternately employed addreſs and ſtrength, was on the point of yielding the conteſt, when his father called out to him, Strike, ſon, as you would on the plough; on which the youth redoubled his blows, and was proclaimed victor.

The next is the ſtatue of Theagenes, who, at the different games of Greece, it is ſaid, obtained the prize twelve hundred times, at running, wreſtling, and other exerciſes [k]. After his death, the ſtatue erected to him by the city of Thaſos, his native country, ſtill excited the jealouſy of a rival of Theagenes; every night he came to ſatiate his vengeance on the braſs, and ſo ſhook it by his repeated blows, that he threw it down, and was cruſhed under it: the ſtatue was brought to a regular trial, and thrown into the ſea. The city of Thaſos being afterwards afflicted with a famine, the oracle of Delphi was conſulted; which replied, that they had neglected the memory of Theagenes [l]. Divine honours were conſequently decreed to him, after they had recovered the ſtatue from the water, and replaced it on its baſe *.

That other athleta bore his ſtatue on his ſhoulders, and conveyed it to this place. He was the celebrated Milo, the ſame who in a war between the inhabitants of Croton, his native country, and the Sybarites, was placed at the head of the troops, and gained a ſignal victory. He appeared in the battle with a club, and the other inſignia of Hercules, re-

i Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 13. p. 475.
k Plut. de Reip. Ger. Præcept t. ii. p. 811 Pauſan. ibid cap. 11. p. 477.
l Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 11. p. 479.

* The worſhip of Theagenes afterwards became more extenſive; recourſe was had to him more eſpecially in ſickneſs (Pauſan ibid.)

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calling that hero to the memory of the combatants by his appearance [m]. He often triumphed at our games and thoſe of Delphi, and made frequent trials of his prodigious ſtrength. Sometimes he placed himſelf on a quoit with oil poured on it to render it more ſlippery, and the moſt violent ſhocks were unable to ſtir him [n]: at other times he would hold a pomegranate, and, without cruſhing it, keep his hand ſo cloſe, that the moſt vigorous athletæ tried in vain to wreſt it from him, by forcing open his fingers; but his miſtreſs made him quit his hold [o]. It is likewiſe told of him, that he made the circuit of the ſtadium with an ox on his ſhoulders [p]; that being one day in a houſe with ſome diſciples of Pythagoras, he ſaved their lives by ſuſtaining the column which ſupported the roof, and was on the point of falling [q]; and that in his old age he became the prey of wild beaſts, his hands being caught in the trunk of a tree, which had been partly ſplit by wedges, while he attempted completely to divide it [r].

We next ſaw ſome columns on which were engraven treaties of alliance between different ſtates of Greece [s]: they were depoſited here that they might be held more ſacred. But all theſe treaties have been violated, with the oaths by which they were confirmed; and the remaining columns do but teſtify the melancholy truth, that poliſhed nations never are leſs ſincere than when they engage to live in peace.

To the north of the temple of Juno, at the foot of Mount Saturn [t], is a cauſeway which extends as far as the courſe, on which ſeveral Greek ſtates and foreign nations have erected edifices known by the name of treaſuries. Similar repoſitories are ſeen at Delphi, but they are filled with precious offerings, whilſt thoſe of Olympia contain nothing but ſtatues and monuments in a bad taſte, or of little value. When we

[m] Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p 77.
[n] Pauſan ibid. cap. 14. p. 486.
[o] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 24.
[p] Athen. lib. 10. p. 412.
[q] Strab. lib. 6. p. 263.
[r] Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 14. p. 487.
[s] Id. lib. 5. cap. 12. p. 407. cap. 23. p. 437.
[t] Id. lib. 6. cap. 19. p. 497.

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inquired the reaſon of this difference, one of the guides anſwered, We have an oracle it is true, but it is in no great credit, and will ſoon poſſibly be ſilent [u]. Two or three predictions, juſtified by the event, have procured to that of Delphi the confidence of a few ſovereigns, and the example of their liberality has been followed by all nations.

In the mean time the people were thronging to Olympia [x]. By ſea and land, from all parts of Greece, and from the moſt diſtant countries, multitudes were haſtening to be preſent at theſe feſtivals, which in celebrity infinitely ſurpaſs all other ſolemnities, notwithſtanding they are deſtitute of a charm which would render them more brilliant. Women are not admitted to them, on account, doubtleſs, of the nudity of the athletæ. The law excluding them is ſo ſevere, that every female who dares to violate it is thrown from the ſummit of a rock [y]. Yet the prieſteſſes of a temple have an appointed place [z], and may be preſent at certain exerciſes.

The firſt day of the games falls on the eleventh of the month Hecatombæon, which begins with the new moon following the ſummer ſolſtice: they continue five days, and at the end of the laſt, which is the time of the full moon, the ſolemn proclamation is made of the names and country of the victors [a]. They opened in the evening * with ſeveral ſacrifices offered up on altars erected in honour of different deities, either in or near the temple of Jupiter [b]. All were adorned with feſtoons and garlands [c], and all ſucceſſively ſprinkled with the blood of the victims [d]. The firſt ſacrifice was of-

[u] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 4. p 533. Strab. lib. 8. p. 353.

[x] Philoſtr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 8. cap. 18. p. 361.

[y] Pauſan lib. 5. cap. 6. p. 389.

[z] Id. lib. 6. cap. 20. Sueton. in Neron. cap. 12.

[a] Pind Olymp. 3. v. 33. et 5. v. 14. Schol. ibid. Dodwel. de Cycl. diſſ. 4. § 2 et 3. Corſin. Differt. Agon. p. 13. Id. Faſt. Attic. diſſert. 13. p. 295.

* In the firſt year of the 106th Olympiad, the firſt day of Hecatombæon fell on the evening of the 17th of July, of the Julian proleptic year 356 before Chriſt; and the 11th of Hecatombæon began on the evening of the 27th of July.

[b] Pauſan. lib. 5. cap. 14. p. 411.

[c] Schol. Pind. Olymp. 5. v. 13.

[d] Pauſan. ibid.

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fered on the grand altar of Jupiter, ſituated between the temple of Juno and the precinct of Pelops [e]. This is the principal object of national devotion; there the Eleans offer daily ſacrifices, and foreigners at all ſeaſons of the year. It ſtands on a large ſquare baſe, the aſcent to which is by ſtone ſteps. On it is a ſort of terrace, on which the victims are ſacrificed; and in the middle is the altar, which is twenty-two feet in height: the aſcent to the upper part of it is by ſteps formed by the aſhes of the victims, kneaded with the water of the Alpheus.

The ceremonies were continued till the night was far advanced, and were performed to the ſound of inſtruments, and by the light of the moon, which was near its full, with a regularity and magnificence, which at once inſpires aſtoniſhment and reſpect. At midnight, as ſoon as theſe were ended, moſt of the perſons preſent, with an earneſtneſs which never ceaſes during the whole time of the feſtivals [f], went inſtantly to take their places in the courſe, the better to enjoy the ſpectacle of the games, which were to commence at day-break.

The Olympic courſe is divided into two parts, the ſtadium and the hippodromus [g]. The ſtadium is a cauſeway ſix hundred feet long * [h], and of a proportionable width: this is the place for the foot races, and moſt of the combats. The hippodromus is appropriated to races of chariots and horſes. One ſide of it ſtretches along a hill; the other ſide, which is ſomething longer, is formed by a cauſeway [i]: it is ſix hundred feet broad, and twelve hundred long [k] †, and is ſeparated from the ſtadium by a building called a barrier. This is a portico, in front of which is a ſpacious court, in the form of

[e] Id. ibid. p. 409.
[f] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xiii. p. 481.
[g] Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 20. p. 502.
* 94 toiſes 3 feet (or 604 feet Engliſh).
[h] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 149. Cenſorin. de Die Nat. cap. 13. Aul. Gell. lib. 1. cap. 1.
[i] Pauſan. ibid. p. 504 et 505.
[k] Id. lib. 6. cap. 16. p. 491. Id. lib. 5. cap. 2. p. 406. Plut. in Sol. t. i. 91.
† 189 toiſes (1208 feet Engliſh).

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the prow of a ſhip, the walls of which approach each other, and having an opening at the extremity large enough to permit ſeveral chariots to enter abreaſt. In the inſide of this court are erected, in different parallel lines, outhouſes for the chariots and horſes [l]. Theſe are drawn for by lot, ſome being more advantageouſly ſituated than others. The ſtadium and the hippodromus are decorated with ſtatues, altars, and other monuments [m], to which were affixed the liſt and order of the combats to be exhibited during the feſtivals [n].

The order of the combats has ſometimes varied [o] †: the general rule obſerved at preſent is to dedicate the morning to what are called the lighter exerciſes, ſuch as races of every kind; and the afternoon to thoſe which are termed heavy or violent [p], as wreſtling, pugilliſtic combats, &c. [q].

At the firſt dawn of day we repaired to the ſtadium, which was already filled with athletæ, exerciſing themſelves in preparatory ſkirmiſhes [r], and ſurrounded by a multitude of ſpectators; while others, in ſtill greater numbers, were ſtationing themſelves confuſedly on a hill in form of an amphitheatre above the courſe. Chariots were flying over the plain: on all ſides was heard the ſound of trumpets, and the neighing of horſes mingled with the ſhouts of the multitude. But when we were able to divert our eyes for a moment from this ſpectacle, and to contraſt with the tumultuous agitations of the public joy the repoſe and ſilence of nature, how delightful were the impreſſions we experienced from the ſerenity of the ſky, the delightful coolneſs of the air, the Alpheus, which here forms a magnificent canal [s], and the fertile fields receiving new embelliſhments from the firſt rays of the ſun!

A moment after we ſaw the athletæ ſuſpend their exerciſes, and take the road to the ſacred precinct. We followed them,

[l] Id. ibid. cap. 20. p. 503.
[m] Id. ibid.
[n] Dion. lib. 79. p. 1359.
[o] Pauſan lib. 5. cap. 9. p. 396.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[p] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 232.
[q] Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 24. p. 513.
[r] Fabr. Agon. lib. 2 cap. 34.
[s] Pauſan. lib. 5. cap. 7. p. 389.

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and saw in the chamber of the senate the eight presidents of the games dressed in rich habits and all the insignia of their dignity [t]. Here, at the foot of a statue of Jupiter, and on the bleeding members of the victims [u], the athletæ called the gods to witness that they had been exercised ten months at the combats in which they were about to engage. They solemnly vowed not to employ unfair means, but to conduct themselves with honour. Their relations and instructors likewise took the same oath [x].

This ceremony ended, we returned to the stadium. The athletæ entered the barrier at the hither end of it, stripped off all their clothes, put buskins on their feet, and had their whole bodies rubbed with oil [y]. Subordinate officers were stationed on all sides, both in the course and amongst the numerous crowd of spectators, to preserve order [z].

When the presidents had taken their places, a herald proclaimed: "Let the runners in the stadium advance [a]." A great number instantly appeared, and stationed themselves in a line, according to the rank assigned them by lot [b]. The herald recited their names, and the country whence they came [c]: if any of these names had been rendered illustrious by some preceding victory, they were received with the loudest applauses. After the herald had added, "Can any one reproach these athletæ with having been in bonds, or of leading an irregular life [d]?" there reigned a profound silence, and I felt myself animated by the same interest which actuated every heart, and which is not to be experienced in the spectacles of other nations. Instead of beholding, at the opening of the lists, a number of the populace about to contend for a few olive leaves, I no longer saw any but free men,

[t] Fabr. Agon. lib. 1. cap. 19.
[u] Pausan. lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 441.
[x] Id. ibid.
[y] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 6. Poll. lib. 3. § 155.
[z] Etymol. Magn. in Ἀλυταρχ.
[a] Plat. de Leg. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 833. Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 4. p. 159.
[b] Pausan. lib. 6. cap. 13. p. 482.
[c] Heliod. ibid. p. 162.
[d] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xiii. p. 481.

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who, intruſted with the glory [e] or diſgrace of their country, by the unanimous conſent of Greece, were expoſing themſelves to the alternative of contempt or honour, in preſence of many thouſand witneſſes [f], ready to return home with the names of the victors and the vanquiſhed. Hope and fear were depicted in the anxious countenances of the ſpectators; and their ſenſations became more lively as the moment approached which was to decide their doubts. This moment arrived. The trumpet gave the ſignal [g]; the runners ſet off, and like lightning reached the goal, where ſat the preſidents of the games. The herald proclaimed the name of Porus of Cyrene [h], which was re-echoed by a thouſand voices.

The honour which he obtained is the firſt and moſt ſplendid of thoſe decreed at the Olympic games, the ſimple race of the ſtadium being the moſt ancient of any that are practiſed at theſe feſtivals [i]: in proceſs of time it has been much diverſified. We ſaw it ſucceſſively performed by children ſcarcely in their twelfth year [k], and by men who ran with a helmet and buckler, and a ſort of buſkins [l].

On the following days, other champions were called upon to run the double ſtadium, that is, after reaching the extremity and doubling the goal, they were to return to the place of their departure [m]. Theſe were followed by athletæ, who ran twelve times the length of the ſtadium [n]. Some were competitors in ſeveral of theſe exerciſes, and carried off more than one prize [o]. Among the incidents which at intervals awakened the attention of the aſſembly, we ſaw ſome of the runners make off, and eſcape from the inſults of the ſpecta-

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[e] Pind. Olymp. 5. v. 8. Schol. ibid.
[f] Lucian. de Gymn. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 890.
[g] Sophocl. in Electr. v. 713.
[h] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. cap. 2. p. 406. Afric. ap. Euſeb. in Chron. Græc. p. 41.
[i] Pauſan. lib. 5. cap. 8. p. 394.
[k] Id. lib. 6. cap. 2. p. 456; lib. 7. cap. 17. p. 567.
[l] Id. lib. 6. cap. 10. p. 475. et cap. 17. p. 493.
[m] Id lib. 5. cap. 17. p. 420.
[n] Bernard. de Pond. et Menſ. lib. 3. No. 32. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Let. t. iii. p. 309. et 311. t. ix. p. 390.
[o] Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 13. p. 482, &c.

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tors; and others, on the point of attaining the ſummit of their wiſhes, ſuddenly fall on a ſlippery piece of ground. Some again were pointed out to us, who ſcarcely left the impreſſion of their feet [p]. Two men of Croton long kept the multitude in ſuſpenſe; they had got greatly the ſtart of their adverſaries, when one of them having puſhed the other down, a general outcry was raiſed againſt him, and he was deprived of the honour of the victory; for ſuch methods of procuring it are expreſsly prohibited [q], the ſpectators alone being allowed to animate by their ſhouts the runners in whoſe ſucceſs they are intereſted [r].

The victors could only be crowned on the laſt day of the feſtivals [s]; but at the end of the race they received, or rather carried off a temporary palm [t]. This moment was the commencement of a ſeries of triumphs. Every one thronged to ſee and congratulate them; their relations, friends, and countrymen, ſhedding tears of tenderneſs and joy, lifted them on their ſhoulders to ſhow them to the crowd, and held them up to the applauſes of the whole aſſembly, who ſtrewed handfuls of flowers over them [u].

The next day we repaired early to the hippodromus, where horſe and chariot races were to be held. Theſe can only take place between the rich, as they require a very great expence [x]. Through all Greece individuals make a ſtudy and a merit of breeding the ſpecies of horſes proper for the courſe, and of preparing and bringing them into the liſts at the public games [y]. As the candidates for theſe prizes are not obliged perſonally to contend for them, ſovereigns and republics frequently rank themſelves among the competitors, intruſting

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[p] Solin. cap. 1. p. 9.

[q] Lucian. de Calum cap. 12. t. iii. p. 141 Pauſan. lib. 5 p. 411.

[r] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 61. Iſocr. in Evag. t. ii. p. 111.

[s] Schol. Pind. Olymp. 3. v. 33; Olymp. 5 v. 14.

[t] Plut. Sympoſ. lib. 8. quæſt. 4 Pollux, lib. 3. § 145. Etymol. Magn. in Βραβ.

[u] Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 7. p. 469. Clem. Alex. Pædotr. lib. 2. cap. 8. p. 213

[x] Iſocr. de Bigis, t ii. p. 437

[y] Pind. Iſthm 2. v. 55 Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 1. p. 453; cap. 2, 12, &c.

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their glory to able horſemen. In the liſt of victors we find Theron, king of Agrigentum; Gelon and Hiero, kings of Syracuſe [z]; Archelaus, king of Macedon; Pauſanias, king of Lacedæmon; and many others, as well as ſeveral Grecian cities. It may eaſily be imagined, that ſuch rivals muſt excite the warmeſt emulation. Individuals not only attempt to equal, but even ſometimes ſurpaſs, the magnificence they diſplay. It is ſtill remembered, that at the games in which Alcibiades was crowned, ſeven chariots entered the courſe in the name of that celebrated Athenian, and that three of them obtained the firſt, ſecond, and fourth prizes [a].

Whilſt we were waiting for the ſignal, the perſons near us directed our attention to a braſs dolphin placed at the entrance of the liſts, and an eagle of the ſame metal reſting on an altar in the middle of the barrier. We preſently ſaw the dolphin ſink and hide itſelf in the ground, and the eagle riſe up with its wings ſpread, and ſhow itſelf to the ſpectators [b]: a number of horſemen then darted forward into the hippodromus, paſſed by us with the rapidity of lightning, turned round the goal at the extremity, ſome ſlackening and others increaſing their ſpeed, till one of them redoubling his efforts, left behind him his mortified antagoniſts.

The victor had contended for the prize in the name of Philip, king of Macedon, who aſpired to every ſpecies of glory, and that with ſo much ſucceſs, that he entreated Fortune to temper her favours by ſome adverſe accident [c]: for within the ſpace of a few days he had gained this victory at the Olympic games; Parmenio, one of his generals, had defeated the Illyrians; and his wife Olympias was brought to bed of a ſon, the celebrated Alexander [d].

After ſome athletæ, who had ſcarcely attained the age of manhood, had run the ſame courſe [e], it was filled by a num-

[z] Pind. Olymp 1, 2 Pauſ. p. 473 et 479. Plut. Apophth. Lac. t. ii. p. 230. Solin. cap. 9 p. 26.

[a] Thucyd. l. 6. c. 16. Iſocr. de Bigis, p. 437. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 196.

[b] Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 20. p. 503.

[c] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 177.

[d] Id. in Alex. t. i. p. 666. Juſtin. lib. 12. cap. 16.

[e] Pauſan. lib. 6 cap. 2. p. 455.

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ber of chariots following each other. In one race they were drawn by two horſes [f], in another by two mares, and in the laſt by four horſes, which is the moſt ſplendid and glorious of all.

To obtain a better ſight of the preparations, we went within the barrier, where we ſaw ſeveral magnificent chariots kept in by ropes, which extended along each range, and which were to be let fall one after the other [g]. The perſons who drove them were dreſſed only in a light ſtuff. Their courſers, whoſe ardour they could ſcarcely reſtrain, attracted every eye by their beauty, and ſome alſo by the victories they had already gained [h]. As ſoon as the ſignal was given, they advanced as far as the ſecond line [i], and joining in this manner the other lines, they all formed but one front at the ſtarting place of the courſe. In an inſtant we ſaw them covered with duſt [k], croſſing and joſtling each other, and driving along their chariots with ſuch rapidity that the eye could ſcarcely follow. Their impetuoſity redoubled when they came to the ſtatue of a genius, who is ſaid to inſpire them with a ſecret terror [l], and ſtill more increaſed on hearing the ſhrill ſound of the trumpets [m], placed near a certain boundary, famous for the accidents it occaſions. This ſtretches acroſs the courſe, and a narrow paſs only is left for the chariots, which often baffles the ſkill of the drivers. The danger is the more imminent, as this boundary muſt be doubled no leſs than twelve times; for they are required to run twelve times the length of the hippodromus in going and returning [n].

At each time of paſſing it ſome accident happened that excited pity, or inſulting laughter, from the aſſembly. Some chariots had been hurried out of the liſts; others had been

[f] Id. lib. 5. cap. 8. p. 395.
[g] Id. lib. 6. cap. 20. p. 503.
[h] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 103.
[i] Pauſan. ibid.
[k] Sophocl. in Electr. v. 716. Horat. Od. 1.
[l] Pauſan. ibid. p. 504.
[m] Id. ibid. cap. 13. p. 484.
[n] Pind. Olymp. 3. v. 59; Schol. ib. Olymp. 6. v. 126. Schol. ib. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 314. t. ix. p. 392.

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daſhed to pieces, and the courſe was covered with their fragments, which added to the danger of the race. But five competitors now remained, a Theſſalian, a Libyan, a Syracuſan, a Corinthian, and a Theban. The three firſt were on the point of doubling the boundary for the laſt time, when the Theſſalian, ſtriking againſt it [o], fell entangled among the reins; and whilſt his horſes were rolling over thoſe of the Libyan, who was cloſe to him, the horſes of the Syracuſan plunged into a ditch on the edge of the courſe [p]. The hippodromus reſounded with loud ſhouts and piercing cries. In the mean time the Corinthian and Theban came up, ſeized the favourable moment, paſſed the boundary, goaded their fiery ſteeds, and preſented themſelves to the judges, who decreed the firſt prize to the Corinthian, and the ſecond to the Theban.

During the continuance of the feſtival, and in the vacant moments of the day, we quitted the hurry of the courſe, and viſited the environs of Olympia. Sometimes we amuſed ourſelves with obſerving the theoriæ or deputations, who came to offer to Jupiter the homage of almoſt all the nations of Greece [q]: ſometimes we admired the addreſs and activity of the foreign traders, who reſorted hither to expoſe to ſale their merchandiſe [r]; and at others, were preſent at thoſe ceremonies by which particular cities conferred marks of diſtinction on each other [s]. For this purpoſe they had paſſed edicts, mutually decreeing crowns and ſtatues, which were read at the Olympic games, to render their gratitude as public as the favours they had received.

Walking one day beſide the Alpheus, the banks of which, ſhaded with various kinds of trees, were covered with tents of different colours [t], we ſaw a handſome youth throwing in-

[o] Sophocl. in Electr. v. 747.
[p] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. ix. p. 384.
[q] Dinar. in Demoſth. p. 100. Pauſan. lib. 5. cap. 15. p. 414.
[r] Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 5. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 362.
[s] Demoſth. de Cor. p. 487.
[t] Andocid. in Alcib. p. 33.

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to the river pieces of a palm branch that he held in his hand, and accompanying this offering with ſecret vows. He had juſt gained the prize of running, and was ſcarcely in his third luſtrum. On our queſtioning him, he anſwered, Alpheus, whoſe copious and limpid waters fertilize this country, was a hunter of Arcadia [u]; he ſighed for Arethuſa, who fled him, and to eſcape from his purſuit took refuge in Sicily. She was changed into a fountain, and he into a river; but as his love was not extinguiſhed, the gods, to crown his conſtancy, granted him a paſſage through the ſea, and permitted him to unite with Arethuſa. The youth, as he ended theſe words, ſighed.

We frequently returned to the ſacred precinct. Here the athletæ who had not yet entered the liſts were endeavouring to diſcover their deſtiny in the entrails of the victims [x]. There trumpeters, ſeated on a great altar, were contending for the prize, the ſole object of their ambition [y]. Further on a crowd of ſtrangers, ranged around a portico, were liſtening to an echo which repeated their words ſeven times [z]. Every where we had before our eyes ſignal examples of vanity and oſtentation; for theſe games attract not only thoſe who have already acquired celebrity, but all who wiſh to diſtinguiſh themſelves by their talents, their knowledge, or their riches [a]. Hither they reſort to exhibit themſelves to the multitude, ever eager to run after thoſe who poſſeſs, or affect to poſſeſs, ſuperiority.

After the battle of Salamis, Themiſtocles appeared in the midſt of the ſtadium, which inſtantly rang with ſhouts of applauſe. The games were neglected, and all eyes fixed on him during the whole day: with exclamations of joy and admiration, they pointed out to ſtrangers the man who had ſav-

[u] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 7. p. 390.
[x] Pindar. Olymp. 8. v. 3. Schol. ibid.
[y] Pauſan. lib. 5. cap. 21. p. 434.
[z] Plut. de Garrul. t. ii. p. 502. Pauſan. ibid.
[a] Iſocr. de Bigis, p. 436.

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ed Greece; and Themiſtocles himſelf acknowledged this to be the nobleſt day of his life [b].

We were likewiſe informed that Plato was honoured in nearly the ſame manner at the laſt Olympiad. When he appeared at the games, the whole aſſembly viewed him with delight, and teſtified their joy at his preſence by the moſt flattering expreſſions [c].

We were witneſſes to a ſtill more affecting ſcene. An old man was looking for a place, and after in vain attempting to find one on ſeveral benches, from which he was repulſed with offenſive pleaſantries, he came to that of the Lacedæmonians; when immediately all the youth, and moſt of the men, reſpectfully roſe, and offered him their ſeats. The loudeſt plaudits were inſtantly heard on all ſides; upon which the old man could not refrain from ſaying, "All the Greeks know the rules of decorum, but the Lacedæmonians practiſe them [d]."

Within the circle I ſaw a pupil of Zeuxis the painter, who, after the example of his maſter [e], was walking in a magnificent purple robe, on which his name was inſcribed in golden letters. The people every where cried out to him, Thou mayeſt imitate the vanity of Zeuxis, but thou art not Zeuxis.

I ſaw a Cyrenean and a Corinthian, one of whom enumerated his riches, while the other diſplayed a long liſt of anceſtors. The Cyrenean appeared offended at the oſtentation of his neighbour, while the latter laughed at the pride of the Cyrenean.

I likewiſe ſaw an Ionian, who with very moderate abilities had ſucceeded in a negociation confided to him by his country. He had in his favour that reſpect which fools always entertain for upſtarts. One of his friends left him to whiſ-

[b] Plut. in Themiſt. t. i. p. 120.
[c] Neanth. ap. Laert. lib. 3. § 25.
[d] Plut. Apophth. Lac. t. ii. p. 235.
[e] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 691.

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per me in the ear, that he never could have thought it so easy to become a great man.

Not far from thence was a sophist, holding a vessel filled with perfumes, and a large comb, as if going to the baths. After laughing at the impertinence of others, he mounted on one of the sides of the temple of Jupiter, placed himself in the middle of the colonnade [f], and from that elevated station cried out to the people, You see this ring, I engraved it; this vessel and comb I made myself; my buskins, my cloak, my tunic and sash, are all of my own workmanship. I am ready to read to you heroic poems, tragedies, dithyrambics, and all kinds of works in prose and verse, which I have composed on all sorts of subjects. I am ready to discourse on music and grammar. Here I stand, in fine, to answer all sorts of questions [g].

Whilst this sophist was so complacently exhibiting his inordinate vanity, painters were exposing to the public eye their newly finished pictures [h], and rhapsodists sang fragments of Homer and of Hesiod: one of them gave us a whole poem of Empedocles [i]. Poets, orators, philosophers, and historians, had stationed themselves in the peristyles of the temples, and in all the most conspicuous places, and recited their productions [k]: some treated on moral subjects, others pronounced eulogies on the Olympic games, or their respective countries, or on princes to whom they were humble suitors for protection [l].

About thirty years since, Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, was desirous to attract the admiration of this assembly. Under the direction of his brother Thearides, he sent a solemn deputation, laden with offerings for Jupiter; several chariots

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f Philostr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 4. cap. 31. p. 170.

g Plat. Hipp. t. i. p. 363 et 368.

h Lucian. in Herod. cap. 4. t. i. p. 834.

i Athen. lib. 14. cap. 3. p. 620.

k Lucian. ibid. cap. 3. Plut. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 836. Pausan. lib. 6. cap. 17. p. 495, &c. Philostr. Vit. Soph. lib. 1. cap. 9. p. 493, &c.

l Plut. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 845.

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with four horſes to contend for the prize in the hippodromus; a great number of rich tents, which were erected in the country; and a multitude of able declaimers, publicly to recite the poetry he had compoſed. The abilities and harmonious voices of theſe performers at firſt engaged the attention of the Greeks, already prepoſſeſſed by ſuch magnificent preparations; but ſoon wearied with this inſipid haranguing, they vented the moſt bitter ſarcaſms againſt Dionyſius, and carried their contempt ſo far as to throw down and pillage his tents. To complete his diſgrace, his chariots ran out of the courſe, or were daſhed to pieces againſt each other, and the veſſel which carried back this pompous train was thrown by a tempeſt on the coaſt of Italy. Whilſt it was ſaid in the city of Syracuſe that the verſes of Dionyſius had entailed ill fortune on the declaimers, the horſes and the ſhip, the courtiers inſiſted that envy was the inſeparable concomitant of tranſcendent abilities [m]. Four years after, Dionyſius ſent new productions, and more able reciters; but they failed ſtill more diſgracefully than the former. At this intelligence he fell into the moſt violent paroxyſms of phrenzy; and having nothing to ſolace his affliction but the reſource of tyrants, he baniſhed ſome of his ſubjects, and ſtruck off the heads of others [n].

We aſſiduouſly attended the lectures which were given at Olympia. The preſidents of the games ſometimes attended, and the people crowded to hear them. One day, while they were liſtening with more than ordinary attention, the name of Polydamas on a ſudden reſounded on all ſides, and moſt of the auditors ran to ſee him. He was a Theſſalian athleta, of prodigious ſize and ſtrength. It is told of him, that being unarmed on Mount Olympus, he beat down an enormous lion; that having ſeized a furious bull, the animal could only eſcape by leaving part of his hoof in the hands of the athle-

[m] Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 318.

[n] Id. ibid. p. 332.

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ta; and that the ſtrongeſt horſes were unable to move a chariot when he held it with a ſingle hand. He had gained ſeveral victories at the public games, but arriving too late at Olympia, was precluded from the competition. We afterwards learned the tragical end of this extraordinary man. Having entered a cave with ſome of his friends to ſhelter himſelf from the heat, the ground above opened, and his friends made their eſcape; but Polydamas attempting to ſuſtain the mountain, was cruſhed to death [q] *.

The greater the difficulty men find to diſtinguiſh themſelves in poliſhed nations, the more reſtleſs does their vanity become, and the more capable is it of proceeding to abſurd exceſſes. In another journey which I made to Olympia, I ſaw a phyſician of Syracuſe, named Menecrates, attended by ſeveral of the patients he had cured, and with whom he previouſly ſtipulated that they ſhould follow him wherever he went [p]. One appeared with the attributes of Hercules, another with thoſe of Apollo, and others again with thoſe of Mercury or Æſculapius; while he, clad in a purple robe, with a golden crown on his head, and a ſceptre in his hand, preſented himſelf, to the admiration of the public, under the name of Jupiter, and travelled through different countries eſcorted by theſe counterfeit deities. He once wrote the following letter to the king of Macedon:

"Menecrates-Jupiter to Philip, greeting. Thou reigneſt in Macedonia, and I in medicine: thou giveſt death to thoſe who are in good health; I reſtore life to the ſick: thy guard is compoſed of Macedonians; the gods themſelves conſtitute mine." Philip anſwered him in a word, that he wiſhed him reſtored to reaſon †. Learning ſome time after that he was in Macedon, Philip ſent for him, and invited him to an entertainment. Menecrates and his companions were plac-

[q] Pauſan. p 463.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[p] Athen. lib. 7, cap. 10. p. 289.

† Plutarch (Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 213.) attributes this anſwer to Ageſilaus, to whom, according to him, the letter was addreſſed.

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ed on rich and lofty couches; before which was an altar, covered with the firſt fruits of the harveſt; and whilſt an excellent repaſt was ſerved up to the other gueſts, perfumes and libations only were offered to theſe new gods, who, unable to endure the affront, haſtily left the palace, in which they never more made their appearance.

Another anecdote will ſerve to depict, in no leſs ſtriking colours, the manners of the Greeks and the frivolity of their character. Eight years ago an affray happened within the ſacred precinct, during the celebration of the games. The people of Piſa had uſurped the direction of the games [p] † from the Eleans, who endeavoured to recover their rights. Both parties, ſupported by their reſpective allies, entered the incloſure, and a ſharp bloody conteſt enſued. The numberleſs ſpectators who had aſſembled at the feſtival, and who were moſt of them crowned with garlands, ranged themſelves round the field of battle to ſee the fight, without ſeeming to be more intereſted on the occaſion than by the combats of the athletæ, and alternately applauded with the ſame ardour the ſucceſs of either party [q].

It now remains for me to ſpeak of the exerciſes which require more ſtrength than the preceding, ſuch as wreſtling, boxing, the pancratium, and the pentathlon or quinquertium. Without obſerving the regular ſucceſſion of theſe combats, I ſhall begin with wreſtling.

In this exerciſe, the ſtruggle is to bring the adverſary to the ground, and force him to acknowledge himſelf vanquiſhed. The candidates to the number of ſeven, remained in an adjoining portico until they were called at noon [r]. Seven billets were thrown into a box placed before the preſidents [s]: two of them marked with the letter A, two with the letter B, two with a C, and the ſeventh with a D. After ſhaking them in the box, each athleta drew out his, and one of the preſidents

[p] † Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 4. p. 460.
[q] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7. p. 639. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 387.
[r] Philoſtr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 6. cap. 6. p. 235.
[s] Lucian in Hermot. cap. 40. t. i. p. 783. Fabr. lib. 1. cap. 24.

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matched the two who had drawn the ſame letter. Thus there were three pair of wreſtlers, and the ſeventh was reſerved to combat the conquerors of the others [t]. They ſtripped off all their clothes, and being rubbed with oil [u], rolled themſelves in the duſt, to give their antagoniſts a better hold in grappling [x].

A Theban and an Argive immediately advanced into the ſtadium; they approached, and, after eying each other, began the onſet by grappling with their arms. Now reſting againſt each other's forehead [y], they puſhed with equal ſtrength; then for a while ſeemed motionleſs, and again exhauſted themſelves with ineffectual efforts; now ſhaking their whole bodies with the moſt violent agitations, they intertwined their limbs like ſerpents, ſtretching them out and contracting them alternately; and now they writhed themſelves into every attitude, backward, forward, and on each ſide [z], while a copious ſweat flowed from their enfeebled limbs. They then took a ſhort breathing; but preſently graſping each other by the middle, after freſh exertions of ſtratagem and force, the Theban lifted up his adverſary, but ſinking beneath his weight, they fall, roll in the duſt, and each is uppermoſt in his turn. At length the Theban, locking faſt the legs and arms of his opponent, prevented him from moving, and keeping him under, ſeized him by the throat, until he lifted his hand in token of defeat [a]. This is not enough however to obtain the crown; the victor muſt give his antagoniſt at leaſt two falls [b], and in general the conteſt is extended to three [c]. The Argive had the advantage in the ſecond ſtruggle, and the Theban reſumed his ſuperiority in the third.

After the two other pairs of wreſtlers had finiſhed their combats, the vanquiſhed withdrew, overwhelmed with ſhame

[t] Julian. Cæſar. p. 317.
[u] Fabr. Agon. lib. 2. cap. 5.
[x] Lucian. in Anach. t. ii. p. 910.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 884.
[z] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 237.
[a] Fabr. Agon. lib. 1. cap. 8.
[b] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 250.
[c] Æſchyl. in Eumen. v. 592. Schol. ibid. Plat. in Euthyd. t. i. p. 277, &c.

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and grief [d]. There remained three victors, an Agrigentine, an Epheſian, and the Theban. A Rhodian likewiſe remained who had drawn the ſeventh lot. He had the advantage of entering freſh into the liſts, but could not gain the prize without being more than once victorious [e]. He triumphed over the Agrigentine, and was thrown by the Epheſian, who being worſted by the Theban, the latter carried off the palm. Thus a firſt victory muſt be followed by others; and in a competition of ſeven athletæ, it may ſo happen that the victor may be obliged to wreſtle with four antagoniſts [f], and have with each of them three ſeparate onſets.

The wreſtler is not allowed to give his adverſary any blows; in pugiliſtic exerciſes the conteſt is confined to ſtriking. Eight athletæ preſented themſelves to the judges, and were matched, like the wreſtlers, by lot. They had their heads covered with braſs caps [g]: and their cloſed hands were bound with a ſort of gauntlet formed of leathern thongs twiſted in every direction [h].

The attacks were as various as the accidents that followed them. Sometimes we ſaw two boxers make different ſhifts to keep the ſun from their eyes, paſs whole hours in obſerving each other, and watching the moment when the adverſary ſhould leave any part of his body expoſed [i], holding their arms uplifted, and ſo ſtretched as to cover the head, and rapidly moving them to keep the enemy from approaching [k]. Sometimes they ſet to with fury, and made their bodies quiver with a ſhower of blows. Some we ſaw, who, miſſing a blow darted at their enemy, fell violently with their whole weight on the ground, and deſperately bruiſed their bodies; others who, ſpent with fatigue and covered with mortal wounds, ſuddenly roſe, and acquired new ſtrength from deſ-

[d] Pind. Olymp. 8. v. 90.
[e] Æſchyl. in Choeph. v. 866.
[f] Pind. Olymp. 8. v. 90.
[g] Euſtath. in Iliad. 23. p. 1324. lin. 38.
[h] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 267.
[i] Lucian. de Calumn. t. iii. p. 139.
[k] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 273.

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pair; others again carried off from the field of battle [l] with not a feature of their faces to be diſtinguiſhed, and no other ſign of life but the blood which they vomited in copious ſtreams.

I ſhuddered at the ſight of this ſpectacle; but ſtill more lively were my feelings when I beheld children initiated in this cruel art [m]: for they are called to the combats of wreſtling and the ceſtus prior to thoſe of the grown men [n]. The Greeks nevertheleſs enjoyed theſe ſcenes of horror, and by their ſhouts animated theſe wretches, exaſperated as they were againſt each other [o]. Yet are the Greeks gentle and humane! Certainly the gods made us a very fatal and humiliating preſent, when they beſtowed on us the power of accuſtoming ourſelves to every thing, even ſo as to make a ſport of barbarity as well as vice.

The cruel exerciſe to which theſe children are brought up, exhauſt them at ſo early an age, that in the liſt of victors at the Olympic games we ſcarcely find more than two or three who have gained the prize in their infancy and again in a more advanced time of life [p].

In the other exerciſes it is eaſy to decide on the ſucceſs; but in boxing this can only be determined by one of the combatants acknowledging his defeat. So long as he has any ſtrength remaining, he never deſpairs of the victory, as it may depend on his efforts and firmneſs. We were told that one of theſe men having his teeth broken by a dreadful blow, ſwallowed them; and that his antagoniſt, finding this ſtroke ineffectual, deſpaired of ſucceſs, and owned himſelf vanquiſhed [q].

It is this hope that makes the athleta conceal his pain under a menacing and fierce countenance, and frequently riſk his

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[l] Anthol. lib. 2. cap. 1. epigr. 14.
[m] Pauſan. lib. 5. cap. 8. p. 395; lib. 6. cap. 1. p. 452.
[n] Plut. Sympoſ. lib. 2. c. 5. p. 639.
[o] Fabr. Agon. lib. 2. cap. 30.
[p] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 453.
[q] Ælian, Var. Hiſt. lib. 10. cap. 19.

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life, nay ſometimes actually expire [r], notwithſtanding the attention of the victor, and the ſeverity of the laws, which prohibit the latter from killing his adverſary, under penalty of forfeiting the crown [s]. But if they eſcape this danger, moſt of them are lamed for life, or disfigured by ſcars [t]. Hence it is, that this is the leaſt eſteemed of any of the exerciſes, and is almoſt wholly abandoned to the lower claſſes of the people [u].

But theſe hardy and ferocious men ſupport blows and wounds more eaſily than the heat which overpowers them [x], for theſe combats take place in the hotteſt part of Greece, in the ſeaſon of the year, and at the hour of the day, when the rays of the ſun are ſo ardent as to be almoſt intolerable to the ſpectators [y].

It was at a time when they ſhone with redoubled violence, that the combat of the pancratium began, an exerciſe compoſed of boxing and wreſtling [z], with this difference, that as the athletæ are not to ſeize the body, their hands are not armed with gauntlets, and give leſs dangerous blows. The action was ſoon terminated; a Sicyonian named Soſtratus, a champion celebrated for the number of prizes he had won, and the ſtrength and ſkill which had procured them, had arrived the preceding day [a]. The greater part of the combatants yielded up all pretenſions to the crown as ſoon as he appeared [b], and the others on the firſt trial; for in thoſe preliminary eſſays in which the athletæ try their ſtrength by taking each other's hands, he ſqueezed and twiſted the fingers of his adverſaries with ſuch violence as inſtantly to decide the victory in his favour.

The athletæ I have mentioned exerciſed themſelves only in this way; thoſe of whom I am about to ſpeak were verſed

[r] Schol. Pind. Olymp. 5. v. 34.
[s] Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 9. p. 474.
[t] Anthol. lib. 2. cap. 1. epigr. 1 et 2.
[u] Iſocr. de Bigis, p. 437.
[x] Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 69. t. i. p. 394.
[y] Ariſtot. Problem. 38. t. ii. p 837. Ælian. Var. Hiſt lib. 14 cap. 18.
[z] Id. de Rhet. t. ii. p. 524. Plut. Sympoſ. lib 2. cap. 4. t. ii p. 628.
[a] Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 4. p 460.
[b] Philon. de eo quod deter. p. 160.

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in every ſpecies of combat: for the pentathlon compriſes not only foot racing, wreſtling, boxing, and the pancratium, but leaping and throwing the quoit and javelin [c].

In the latter exerciſe it is only neceſſary to dart the javelin, and hit the mark. Quoits are pieces of ſtone or metal, of a lenticular form, that is to ſay, round, and thicker in the middle than at the edges, very heavy, and with a poliſhed ſurface, which renders them extremely difficult to hold [d]. Three of theſe are kept at Olympia, and produced at the games [e]; one of them is perforated to introduce a ſtrap [f]. The athleta ſtands on a little eminence [g] thrown up in the ſtadium, and holding the quoit in his hand, or whirling it round by means of a ſling [h], launches it with all his ſtrength, till it falls at length, and rolls along the courſe. The place where it ſtops is marked, and the object of the antagoniſts is to go beyond it.

The ſame advantage muſt be gained in leaping, all the motions of which exerciſe are executed to the ſound of the flute [i]. The athletæ hold balance poles in their hands, which enable them, as they pretend, to leap a great diſtance [k]. Some of them jump upwards of fifty feet [l] *.

The athletæ who diſpute the prize of the pentathlon, muſt have triumphed at leaſt, in the three firſt conteſts they had undertaken [m]. Though unable to enter the liſts individually with the athletæ of each particular profeſſion, they are held nevertheleſs in high eſtimation [n], ſince by applying them-

[c] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 320.
[d] Id. ibid. p. 334.
[e] Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 19. p. 498.
[f] Euſtath. in Iliad. 8. p. 1591.
[g] Philoſtr. Icon. lib. 1. cap. 24. p. 798.
[h] Homer. Iliad. lib. 23. v. 840 Odyſſ. lib. 8. v. 189.
[i] Pauſan. lib. 5. cap. 7. p. 392; cap. 17. p. 421.
[k] Ariſtot. Problem 5. t. ii. p. 709; de Animal. Inceſſ. cap. 3. t. i. p. 374. Pauſan. lib. 5. cap. 26. p. 446. Lucian. de Gymnaſ. t. ii. p. 909.
[l] Euſtath. in Odyſſ. lib. 8. t. iii. p. 1591. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 213.
* 47 French feet 2 inches, (50 feet 2 inches Engliſh).
[m] Plut. Sympoſ. lib. 9. t. ii. p. 738. Pauſan. lib. 5. cap. 11. p. 232.
[n] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. ii. p. 322.

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ſelves to give the body all the ſtrength, ſuppleneſs and activity of which it is capable, they accompliſh every object propoſed in the inſtitution of the gymnaſtic games.

The laſt day of the feſtival was ſet apart to crown the victors [o]. This ceremony, ſo glorious for them, was performed in the ſacred wood [p], and preceded by pompous ſacrifices. When finiſhed, the victors repaired, in the retinue of the preſidents of the games, to the theatre, dreſſed in rich habits [q], and holding palms in their hands [r]. They marched, intoxicated with joy [s], to the ſound of flutes [t], and ſurrounded by an immenſe multitude, who made the air ring with their applauſes. Other athletæ next made their appearance, mounted on horſes and in chariots. Their ſtately courſers, adorned with flowers [u], diſplayed themſelves with all the pride of victory, and ſeemed to participate in the triumph.

When they arrived at the theatre, the preſidents of the games ordered the choruſſes to begin the hymn formerly compoſed by the poet Archilochus, to exalt the glory of the victors, and heighten the ſplendour of the ceremony [x]. After the ſurrounding multitude had joined, at each chorus, their voices to thoſe of the muſicians, the herald aroſe, and proclaimed that Porus, a native of Sicyon, had gained the prize of the ſtadium. This athleta then preſented himſelf to the chief of the preſidents [y], who placed on his head a crown of wild olive, gathered, like all thoſe diſtributed at Olympia, from a tree growing behind the temple of Jupiter [z], and which, from the uſe to which it is applied, is become an object of public veneration. At this moment all the expreſſions of joy and admiration, with which he was honoured at the moment of victory, were renewed with ſuch

[o] Schol. Pind. in Olymp. 3. v. 33. Id in Olymp. 5. v. 14. p. 56.
[p] Philoſtr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 8. cap. 28.
[q] Lucian. in Demon. t. ii. p. 382.
[r] Plut. Sympoſ. lib. 8. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 723. Vitruv. Præfat. lib. 9. p. 173.
[s] Pind. Olymp. 9. v. 6.
[t] Pauſan. lib. 5. p. 392.
[u] Pind. Olymp. 3. v. 10.
[x] Id. Olymp. 9. v. 1. Schol. ibid.
[y] Id. ibid. 3. v. 21.
[z] Pauſan. lib. 5. cap. 15. p. 414.

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ardour and profuſion, that Porus appeared to me to have attained the utmoſt ſummit of human glory [a]. In this light indeed is he viewed by the whole aſſembly, and I no longer felt any ſurpriſe at the difficulties and labour to which the athletæ ſubmit, nor at the extraordinary effects this concert of applauſes has more than once produced. We were told that, on a ſimilar occaſion, the ſage Chilo expired with joy, while embracing his ſon who had juſt gained the victory [b], and that the whole aſſembly at the Olympic games made a point of attending at his funeral. In the laſt century, added our informants, a ſtill more intereſting ſcene was witneſſed by our fathers.

Diagoras of Rhodes, who to his illuſtrious birth had added the glory of a victory gained at our games [c], brought two of his ſons hither, who became candidates and merited the crown [d]. No ſooner did they receive it than they placed it on the head of their father, and, lifting him on their ſhoulders, bore him in triumph through the midſt of the ſpectators, who threw flowers over him, ſome of them exclaiming, Die, Diagoras; for thou haſt nothing more to wiſh [e]. The old man, overcome by his happineſs, expired in the ſight of the aſſembly, impreſſed with the livelieſt emotions at the ſcene, and bathed with the tears of his children who preſſed him in their arms [f].

Theſe commendations beſtowed on the victors are ſometimes diſturbed, or rather honoured, by the important rage of envy. On ſome occaſions I heard hiſſes mingled with the public acclamations, proceeding from individuals born in the cities hoſtile to thoſe of which the conquerors were natives [g].

Theſe tokens of jealouſy I ſaw ſucceeded by other not leſs remarkable inſtances of generoſity or adulation. Some of the

[a] Pind. Olymp. 3. v. 77. Schol. ibid.
[b] Diogen. Laert. lib. 1. cap. 72. Plin. lib. 7. cap. 32. t. i. p. 394.
[c] Pind. Olymp. 7.
[d] Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 7. p. 469.
[e] Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 1. cap. 47. t. ii. p. 272. Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 297.
[f] Aul. Gell. lib. 3. cap. 15.
[g] Plut. Lacon. Apoph. t. ii. p. 230.

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ſucceſsful candidates at the horſe and chariot races had other perſons proclaimed in their ſtead, whoſe favour they were courting, or for whom they entertained a friendſhip [h]. The athletæ who triumph at the other games, having it not in their power to transfer that honour, find means however to gratify their avarice, by calling themſelves natives of a city from which they have received preſents [i] at the time of proclamation, thus riſking the danger of baniſhment from their real country, whoſe glory they have ſacrificed [k]. Dionyſius, king of Syracuſe, who found it eaſier to render his capitol illuſtrious than to beſtow on it happineſs, more than once ſent emiſſaries to Olympia, to engage the victors at the games to declare themſelves Syracuſans [l]: but as honour is not to be purchaſed with money, it was as diſgraceful for him to have corrupted ſome, as to have been unable to corrupt others.

Bribery is often employed to get rid of a formidable competitor, to induce him to yield the victory by not exerting his ſtrength [m], or to tempt the integrity of the judges; but the athletæ convicted of theſe intrigues are ſcourged with rods [n], or ſentenced to heavy penalties. We ſee at Olympia many brazen ſtatues of Jupiter, erected with the ſums ariſing from theſe fines. The nature of the offence and the names of the delinquents are perpetuated by inſcriptions [o].

On the day of their coronation, the victors offered up ſacrifices by way of thankſgiving [p]. They were enrolled in the public archives of the Eleans [q], and magnificently entertained in one of the halls of the prytaneum [r]. The following days they themſelves gave entertainments, the pleaſure of which was heightened by muſic and dancing [s]. Poetry was

h Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 103.
i Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 459 et 481.
k Id. ibid. p. 497.
l Id. ibid. p. 455.
m Id. lib. 5. cap. 21. p. 430 et 434.
n Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 50. Pauſan lib. 6. cap. 2. p. 454. Philoſtr. Vit. Apollon. lib. 5. cap. 7. p. 192.
o Pauſan. lib. 5. cap. 21. p. 430.
p Schol. Pind. in Olymp. 5. p. 56.
q Pauſan. ibid. p. 432 et 466.
r Id. ibid. cap. 15. p. 416.
s Pind. Olymp. 9. v. 6; Olymp. 10. v. 92. Schol. p. 116. Athen. lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 3. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 196.

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next employed to immortalize their fame, and ſculpture to repreſent them in marble or in braſs, ſome in the very attitude in which they had gained the victory [t].

According to ancient cuſtom, theſe men, already loaded with honours on the ſcene of action, return into their country with all the pageantry of triumph [u], preceded and followed by a numerous train clothed in a purple robe [x], and ſometimes enter the city in a chariot drawn by two or four horſes [y], through a breach made in the walls [z]. A native of Agrigentum in Sicily, named Exænetus [a], is recorded to have appeared in that city in a magnificent chariot, followed by a great number of others, among which were three hundred, each of them drawn by two white horſes.

In certain places the victors have a competent ſubſiſtence furniſhed them by the public treaſury [b]; in others they are exempt from all taxes: at Lacedæmon they have the honour to combat near the king [c] in the day of battle; almoſt every where they have precedency at the local games [d]; and the title of Olympic victor, added to their names, enſures them an attention and reſpect which conſtitute the happineſs of their future lives [e].

Some, in gratitude for the diſtinctions they have received, recompence the horſes which have procured them; they ſecure to them a comfortable old age, give them an honourable burial [f], and ſometimes even erect pyramids over their graves [g].

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[t] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 27. p. 450; lib. 6. cap. 13. p. 483. Nep. in Chabr. cap. 12. Fabr. Agon. lib. 2. cap. 20.

[u] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. i. p. 274.

[x] Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 70. Schol. Theocr. in Idyl. 2. v. 74.

[y] Vitr. Præf. lib. 9 p. 173. Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 204.

[z] Plut. Sympoſ. lib. 2. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 639.

[a] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 204.

[b] Timocl. ap. Athen. lib. 6. cap. 8. p. 237. Diogen. Laert. in Solon. lib. 1. § 55. Plut. in Ariſtid. t. i. p. 335.

[c] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 53. Id. Sympoſ. lib. 2. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 639.

[d] Xenoph. ap. Athen. lib. 10. cap. 2. p. 414.

[e] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 465 et 466.

[f] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 103. Plut. in Caton. t. i. p. 339. Ælian. de Animal. lib. 12. cap. 10.

[g] Plin. lib. 8. cap. 42.

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CHAP. XXXIX.

Continuation of the Journey into Elis. Xenophon at Scillus.

XENOPHON had a houſe at Scillus, a ſmall town, ſituated at the diſtance of twenty ſtadia from Olympia [a] *. The troubles of Peloponneſus had once obliged him to leave it [b], and go to reſide at Corinth, where I found him on my arrival in Greece †. As ſoon as theſe were appeaſed, he returned to Scillus ‡, and, on the day after the games, we viſited him, in company with his ſon Diodorus, who had never quitted us during the whole time that theſe had laſted.

The eſtate which Xenophon poſſeſſed here was conſiderable. He was indebted for one part of it to the generoſity of the Lacedæmonians [c], and he had purchaſed the other to conſecrate it to Diana, and thus acquit himſelf of a vow which he had made when returning from Perſia. He reſerved the tenth of its produce for the maintenance of a temple which he had erected to that goddeſs, and to defray the expence of a ſumptuous ſacrifice which he offered every year [d].

Near the temple is an orchard which produces various kinds of fruits. The Selinus, a ſmall river abounding with fiſh, ſlowly rolls its limpid waters at the foot of a fertile hill, and through meadows, in which the animals deſtined to ſacrifice feed undiſturbed. Within and without the ſacred grounds are woods diſtributed in the plain or on the mountains, which are the retreats of roebucks, ſtags, and wild boars [e].

In this delightful abode was it that Xenophon compoſed the greater part of his works [f], and for a number of years dedicated his days to the ſtudy of philoſophy, to benevolence, agri-

[a] Xenoph. Exped Cyr. l. 5. p. 350.
* About three quarters of a league.
[b] Diogen. Laert. lib. 2. § 53.
† See chap. ix. of this work.
‡ See note at the end of the volume.
[c] Pauſan. lib. 5. cap. 6. p. 388. Dinarch. ap. Diogen Laert. lib. 2. § 52.
[d] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 350.
[e] Id. ibid. Pauſan. lib. 5. cap. 6. p. 388.
[f] Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 605. Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 52.

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culture, the chaſe, and thoſe exerciſes which beſt maintain the freedom of the mind, and preſerve the health of the body. His firſt care was to procure us the amuſements ſuitable to our age, and thoſe which the country offers to a more advanced period of life. He ſhowed us his horſes, his plantations, and gave us a particular account of his houſehold economy; and we every where perceived that he had reduced to practice the precepts which he has given in his different works [g]. At other times he adviſed us to take the diverſion of the chaſe, which he never ceaſed to recommend to young perſons as the exerciſe moſt proper to accuſtom them early to the labours and fatigues of war [h].

His ſon Diodorus frequently took us with him to catch quails, partridges, and various other kinds of birds [i]. We carried with us ſome of the ſame ſpecies, which we took out of their cages, and faſtened in the middle of the nets; and theſe, by their chirping and cries, drew others of the ſame kind into the ſnare, where they loſt either their lives or their liberty [k].

Theſe ſports were introductory to others more animated and more varied. Diodorus had ſeveral packs of hounds, one trained to courſe the hare, another the ſtag, and a third, of the Laconian or Locrian breed, the wild boar [l]. He knew all the dogs of every pack by their names *, and was acquainted with all their defects and good qualities [m]. No perſon better underſtood the tactics of this ſpecies of war, and he converſed on the ſubject with as much accuracy as his father had written on it [n]. The following is the manner in which the hare was hunted.

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[g] Xenoph. p. 818 et 932.
[h] Id. de Venat. p. 974 et 995.
[i] Id. Memorab. p. 784.
[k] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 1083. Schol. ibid.
[l] Xenoph. de Venat. p. 991.
* The ancients were careful to give to their dogs names that were very ſhort, and commonly conſiſting of two ſyllables; ſuch as Thymos, Lochos, Phylax, Phonex, Bremon, Pſyche, Hebe, &c. (Xenop. de Venat. p. 987).
[m] Id. ibid. p. 987 et 996.
[n] Id. ibid. p. 972.

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Nets of different ſizes were placed in the paths and ſecret paſſages, by which the animal might eſcape [o]. We went out to the chaſe in a light dreſs, and with ſtaves in our hands [p]. The huntſman let looſe one of the dogs, and as ſoon as he perceived he had taken the ſcent, uncoupled the others, and preſently the hare was rouſed. At this moment every object concurred to intereſt and animate us; the cries of the dogs, the ſhouts of the huntſmen who encouraged them [q], and the windings and ſtratagems of the hare, which we ſaw in the twinkling of an eye croſs the plains and hills, leap ditches, plunge down precipices, appear and diſappear ſeveral times, and at length end his career by entangling himſelf in one of the nets placed to intercept him. A man ſtationed near the ſpot ſeized the prey, and held it up to the huntſmen, to whom he ſignified their victory both by his ſhouts and geſtures [r]. In the joy of triumph we began a new chaſe, and hunted ſeveral more hares in the courſe of the day [s], ſome of which eſcaped us by ſwimming over the river Selinus [t].

We ſoon after engaged in a more noiſy and dangerous kind of hunting, in conſequence of the ſacrifice which Xenophon offered every year to Diana [u], During the days which he dedicated to this feſtivity, all his neighbours, both men and women, repaired to Scillus. He welcomed his friends to his own houſe [x]: the treaſures of the temple were expended to provide for the remainder of the gueſts [y]. They were furniſhed with wine, bread, meal, fruits, and a part of the victims which were ſacrificed. Among them likewiſe were diſtributed the wild boars, ſtags, and deer, which had been killed in hunting by the youth of the neighbouring country, who, to participate in the various ſports, had reſorted to Scillus ſome days before the feſtival [z].

[o] Id. ibid. p. 983.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 984.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 985.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 984.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 986.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 980.
[u] Id. Exped. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 350.
[x] Diogen. Laert. lib. 2. § 52.
[y] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. l. 5. p. 350.
[z] Id. ibid.

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For the chaſe of the wild boar we were provided with ſpears, javelins, and large nets. The footſteps of the animal, newly impreſſed on the ground, the mark of his teeth in the bark of trees, and other indications of the way he had taken, led us to a very thick wood [a]. We let looſe a Laconian dog, who followed the traces, and quickly arrived at the haunt of the beaſt. He immediately opened, and informed us of the diſcovery. We directly drew him off, prepared nets to prevent the eſcape of the animal, and took our ſeveral poſts. The boar endeavoured to break out on my ſide. Far from entangling himſelf in the net, he ſtopped, and for ſome minutes ſuſtained the charge of the whole pack, who made the foreſt reſound with their barking, and that of the hunters, who aſſailed him with darts and ſtones. A moment after he ruſhed furiouſly on Moſchion, who waited for him with firmneſs, intending to pierce him; but the ſpear, glancing on the ſhoulder of the animal, ſlipped from the hands of the hunter, who immediately had recourſe to the expedient of falling flat with his face to the ground [b].

I imagined his deſtruction inevitable. The boar, finding no hold by which he could raiſe him, trampled him under his feet, when he perceived Diodorus, who had haſtened to the aſſiſtance of his companion. Immediately he flew on this new enemy, who, more dexterous or more fortunate than Moſchion, pierced him with his ſpear at the joint of the ſhoulder. We now witneſſed a terrifying proof of the ferocity of this animal. The boar, though mortally wounded, continued to ruſh furiouſly on Diodorus, and ſtaked himſelf on the ſpear quite up to the guard [c]. Several of our dogs were killed or wounded in this action, though fewer than in a ſecond, in which the boar maintained the fight during a whole day. Other wild boars, chaſed by dogs, fell into pitfalls, which had been covered with branches of trees [d].

[a] Id. de Venat. p. 992.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 993.
[c] Id ibid.
[d] Id. ibid. p. 994.

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On the following days, ſtags were killed in the ſame manner [e]; we wounded ſeveral others, and our dogs fatigued them ſo much, that they would ſtand ſtill within reach of our javelins, and throw themſelves ſometimes into ponds, and ſometimes into the ſea [f].

During the whole time that theſe huntings laſted, the converſation turned only on the ſports in which we were engaged. Our companions deſcribed to us the various methods employed in different countries to take lions, panthers, bears, and other wild beaſts. We were told, that in ſome places they mix poiſon with the ſtagnant waters, and the food with which theſe creatures aſſuage their hunger and thirſt. In others, horſemen form a circle during the night round the animal, and attack him at the break of day, often at the riſk of their lives. In others, they dig a wide and deep pit, leaving only a kind of pillar of earth, to which they faſten a ſhe-goat, and place around it an impenetrable paliſade. The wild beaſt, brought thither by the cries of the goat, leaps the barrier, and falls into the pit, from which he is unable to extricate himſelf [g].

We were likewiſe told, that in a certain diſtrict of Thrace a kind of partnerſhip has been formed between the hawks and the inhabitants; that the former purſue the ſmall birds, and force them to alight on the ground, where the latter kill them with ſticks, or take them in nets, and divide their prey with their aſſociates [h]. I doubt the fact; but were it true, it would not be the firſt time that irreconcileable enemies have united to deprive the weak of all reſource.

As nothing is ſo pleaſing and inſtructive as to ſtudy a great man in his retirement, we paſſed a part of the day in converſing with Xenophon; in liſtening to him, interrogating him, and following him through every circumſtance of his

[e] Id. ibid. p 990.
[f] Id. ibid. p. 991.
[g] Id. ibid. p. 995.
[h] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 9. cap. 36. t. i. p. 490. Ælian. de Nat. Anim. lib. 2. cap. 42.

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private life. We found in his converſation all that mildneſs and elegance which are ſo conſpicuous in his writings. He poſſeſſed at once the courage neceſſary for affairs of moment, and that requiſite for things of leſſer conſequence, a much more rare and more neceſſary virtue. The former was in him an unſhaken fortitude, and the latter an invincible patience.

Some years before his reſolution had been put to the ſevereſt proof that a heart of ſenſibility can experience. Gryllus, his eldeſt ſon, who ſerved in the Athenian cavalry, was killed at the battle of Mantinea. The news of his death was brought to Xenophon, at the moment when he was ſacrificing to Diana, ſurrounded by his friends and domeſtics. In the midſt of the ceremonies, a confuſed and plaintive murmur was heard, and the courier approached. The Thebans, ſaid he, have conquered, and Gryllus———. A flood of tears prevented him from proceeding. How! is he dead? ſaid the unhappy father, taking the crown he wore from his brow. After having performed the braveſt actions, and lamented by the whole army, replied the meſſenger. At theſe words Xenophon reſumed his crown, and finiſhed his ſacrifice [i]. I one day ſaid ſomething to him concerning his loſs, but he only anſwered, Alas! I knew that he was mortal [k]; and immediately turned the diſcourſe to ſome other ſubject.

On another occaſion we inquired of him in what manner he firſt became acquainted with Socrates. I was very young, ſaid he, when I met him in an extremely narrow ſtreet in Athens. He ſtopped the way with his ſtaff, and aſked me where the neceſſaries of life were to be bought. I replied, In the market. But where, continued he, may any one learn to become a good and virtuous man? Perceiving that I heſitated, he added, Follow me, and I will teach you [l]. I follow-

i Diogen. Laert. lib. 2. § 54. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 3. Stob. Serm. 7. p. 90.

k Val. Max. lib. 5. cap. 10. extern. No. 2.

l Diogen. Laert. lib. 2. § 48.

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ed him, and from that time never left him till I went into the army of Cyrus. On my return I learned that the Athenians had put to death the moſt juſt of men. I had no other conſolation but to tranſmit in my writings the proofs of his innocence to the nations of Greece, and perhaps alſo to poſterity. At preſent I know no greater pleaſure than recalling to mind, and meditating on his virtues.

As we all ſincerely participated in the lively and affectionate eſteem which he expreſſed for this great man, Xenophon afterwards entered into a circumſtantial account of the ſyſtem of life which Socrates had embraced, and explained to us his doctrine, ſuch as it really was, confined entirely to morals [m], without any mixture of foreign dogmas, or thoſe phyſical and metaphyſical diſcuſſions which Plato has attributed to his maſter [n]. How was it poſſible that I ſhould blame Plato, for whom I ſhall ever preſerve the moſt profound veneration? Yet muſt it be confeſſed, that the real opinions of Socrates are leſs to be ſtudied in his dialogues than in thoſe of Xenophon. In the courſe of this work I ſhall endeavour to explain what theſe opinions were, in which attempt I ſhall be principally indebted to the information I derived from the converſations which I had with Xenophon at Scillus.

With a mind adorned with every kind of uſeful knowledge, and long habituated to reflection, Xenophon wrote to render men better by his inſtructions; and ſo great was his love of truth, that he did not treat the ſubject of politics till he had carefully inveſtigated the nature of governments; nor publiſh his hiſtories but to relate facts, to the greater part of which he had been an eye-witneſs. He did not write on the military art until after he had both ſerved and commanded with the greateſt diſtinction; nor on morals till he had practiſed the leſſons which he gave to others.

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[m] Ariſtot. Metaphyſ. lib. 1. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 848.

[n] Id. ibid. p. 847. Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 2. p. 508. Ding. Laert. lib. 3. § 35. Bruck. Hiſt. Philoſ. t. i. p. 11 et 697. Moſhem. in Cudw. t. i. p. 241 et 600.

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I have known few philoſophers ſo virtuous, and few men ſo amiable. With what a graceful and obliging affability did he reply to all our queſtions! Diodorus, Philotas, and myſelf, were one day walking on the banks of the Selinus, and had entered into a warm diſpute on the tyranny of the paſſions. They affirmed, that love itſelf could not enſlave us againſt our will. I maintained the contrary. Xénophon happened to join the company, and we immediately agreed to refer the queſtion to his deciſion; upon which he related to us the following hiſtory:

After the battle which the great Cyrus gained againſt the Aſſyrians, the plunder was divided, and a ſuperb tent, and a female captive who ſurpaſſed all the others in beauty, reſerved for that prince. This captive was Panthea, queen of Suſiana [o]. Abradates her huſband was then in Bactriana, whither he had gone to bring up ſome ſuccours to the Aſſyrian army.

Cyrus refuſed to ſee the princeſs, and confided her to the cuſtody of a young Median nobleman, named Araſpes, who had been educated with him. Araſpes deſcribed the humiliating ſituation in which ſhe was found. She was, ſaid he, in her tent, ſitting on the ground, ſurrounded by her women, in the habit of a ſlave, with her head bowed down and covered with a veil. We deſired her to ariſe, and all her attendants roſe at the ſame time. One of us wiſhing to comfort her, ſaid to her, We know that your huſband deſerved your love by his illuſtrious qualities; but Cyrus, to whom you are deſtined, is the moſt accompliſhed prince of the Eaſt [p]. At theſe words ſhe tore her veil, and her ſighs and tears, and the cries of her women, painted in the livelieſt manner her diſtreſsful ſituation. We had then more time to obſerve her, and are enabled to aſſure you, that Aſia has never produced a beauty comparable to her: but of this you will ſoon judge for yourſelf.

[o] Xenoph. Inſtit. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 114. [p] Id. ibid. p. 115.

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No, said Cyrus, what you have said is an additional motive why I should avoid her. Were I to see her once, I should wish to see her again, and should be in danger of forgetting in her company the care of my fame and future conquests. And can you really believe, then, replied the young Median, that beauty exercises her power with so imperious a sway, as to force us to neglect our duty in despite of ourselves? Why then does she not equally tyrannize over all hearts? Why do we not sigh with incestuous passion for those from whom we have received, or to whom we have given life? Because the laws prohibit us. The laws therefore are more powerful than love. But were they to command us to be insensible to hunger and thirst, to cold and heat, they would be universally disobeyed. Nature therefore is more powerful than the laws. Love in like manner would be irresistible if it were invincible in its own nature. We therefore do not love but when our will permits us to love [q].

If we could impose on ourselves this yoke at will, replied Cyrus, at will might we throw it off: yet have I seen lovers shed tears of anguish at the loss of their liberty, and vainly shake those chains which they were unable either to break or to support.

These, replied the young man, were feeble and inert minds, who imputed to the power of love what was merely the consequence of their own weakness: generous souls are ever able to subject their passions to their duty.

Araspes, Araspes, said Cyrus, as he left him, beware how you see the princess too often [r].

To the beauties of her person, Panthea added qualities which her sorrows and misfortunes rendered still more attractive. Araspes thought it his duty to bestow on her every care and attention, and, without perceiving it, continually increased his assiduity towards her; and as she could not but return his

[q] Id. ibid. p. 116.

[r] Id. ibid. p. 117.

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kindneſs by civilities, he miſtook the emotions of gratitude for the wiſh to pleaſe [s], and ſoon conceived for her ſo ungovernable a paſſion, that he could no longer refrain from declaring it. She rejected without heſitation the offer of his love, but did not inform Cyrus of what had paſſed, till Araſpes threatened to proceed to the laſt extremities [t].

Cyrus then cauſed it to be ſignified to his favourite, that he expected he ſhould only employ the methods of perſuaſion, and by no means have recourſe to violence. This intimation was a thunder ſtroke to Araſpes. He bluſhed at the remembrance of his conduct; and the fear of having diſpleaſed his maſter ſo overwhelmed him with ſhame and grief, that Cyrus, moved at his ſituation, ſent for him into his preſence. Why, ſaid he, when he came, do you fear to approach me? I know too well that love at once makes his ſport of the wiſdom of men and the power of the gods! I myſelf am only able by avoiding him to eſcape his tyranny. I cannot impute to you a crime of which I was the firſt occaſion; for I, by confiding the princeſs to your care, expoſed you to a danger ſuperior to your ſtrength. Oh, my ſovereign! exclaimed the young Median, while my enemies triumph over me, while my friends in conſternation adviſe me to ſhun your anger, while all around me conſpire to complete my ruin, do you offer me conſolation! Oh, Cyrus! you are ever the ſame! ever are you indulgent to frailties in which you do not participate; and you pardon becauſe you know mankind.

Let us profit, replied Cyrus, by circumſtances. I wiſh to be informed of the forces and projects of my enemies. Depart for their camp; your pretended flight will have all the appearance of a real diſgrace, and you will obtain their confidence. I fly to obey your commands, replied Araſpes; too happy to expiate my fault by ſo trivial a ſervice. But can you, anſwered Cyrus, bear to abſent yourſelf from the beauti-

[s] Id. ibid.

[t] Id. ibid. lib. 6. p 153.

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ful Panthea[u]? I confeſs, replied the young Median, that my heart is rent with the moſt cruel pangs; and I now feel but too forcibly that we have within us two ſouls, by one of which we are inceſſantly urged to evil, while the other inclines us to good. I have hitherto been under the dominion of the former; but, ſtrengthened by your aſſiſtance, the latter ſhall ſoon triumph over its rival[x]. Araſpes having then received ſecret inſtructions, departed for the army of the Aſſyrians.

Xenophon, having proceeded thus far in his narrative, remained ſilent, at which we appeared ſurpriſed. Is not the queſtion then determined? ſaid he. Yes, replied Philotas, but the ſtory is not concluded, and that now engages our attention much more than the queſtion. Xenophon ſmiled, and continued as follows:

Panthea having been informed of the departure of Araſpes, cauſed it to be ſignified to Cyrus that ſhe was able to procure him a more faithful, and perhaps a more uſeful, friend than that young favourite. The friend ſhe meant was her huſband Abradates, whom ſhe propoſed to detach from the ſervice of the king of Aſſyria, with whom he had reaſon to be diſſatisfied. Cyrus having conſented to this negotiation, Abradates arrived in the camp of the Perſians, at the head of two thouſand horſe, and Cyrus immediately cauſed him to be conducted to the apartment of Panthea[y], who, with that confuſion of ideas and feelings which a felicity long denied and almoſt unexpected occaſions, related to him the hiſtory of her captivity, her ſufferings, the attempts of Araſpes, and the generoſity of Cyrus. Her huſband, impatient to expreſs his gratitude, ran inſtantly to the Perſian prince, and graſping his hand, exclaimed, Oh, Cyrus! for all that I owe you, I can only offer my friendſhip, my ſervices, and my ſoldiers, but be well aſſured, whatever may be your deſigns, Abradates will always exert his utmoſt powers to ſupport and render them

[u] Id. ibid. p. 154.
[x] Id. ibid.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 155.

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ſucceſsful. Cyrus received his offers with tranſport, and they immediately concerted together the diſpoſitions of the approaching battle [z].

The troops of the Aſſyrians, Lydians, and a great part of Aſia, were within ſight of the army of Cyrus. Abradates was appointed to attack the formidable phalanx of the Egyptians. This dangerous poſt had been aſſigned him by lot; he had himſelf ſolicited it, but the other generals had at firſt refuſed to reſign it to him [a].

When he was about to mount his chariot, Panthea came to preſent him with the arms which ſhe had privately cauſed to be made, and on which were ſeen the jewels that had ſometimes adorned her perſon. "You have then ſacrificed to me even your ornaments," ſaid the prince affectionately. "Alas!" replied ſhe, "I wiſh no other ornament, than that you ſhould this day appear to all beholders as you inceſſantly appear to myſelf." Thus ſaying, ſhe put on him his reſplendent armour, while her eyes involuntarily ſhed tears, which ſhe anxiouſly endeavoured to conceal [b].

When ſhe ſaw him take the reins, ſhe requeſted the attendants to ſtep aſide, and thus addreſſed him: "If ever a wife loved her huſband a thouſand times more than herſelf, that wife is doubtleſs yours; and my conduct has ſurely been a better proof of this than my words: yet, notwithſtanding the ardour of my paſſion, I would rather chooſe, and I ſwear by the tender bonds by which we are united, I would rather chooſe to expire with you in the boſom of honour, than to live with a huſband in whoſe ſhame I muſt participate. Remember the obligations we have to Cyrus; remember that I was a captive, and that he gave me liberty; that I was expoſed to inſult, and that he defended me; remember, in fine, that I have deprived him of his friend; and that, relying on

[z] Id ibid.
[a] Id. ibid. p 168.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 169.

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my word, he has believed that he ſhall find one more brave, and doubtleſs more faithful, in my beloved Abradates [c]."

The prince, delighted to hear theſe words, ſtretched forth his hand on the head of his ſpouſe, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, "Gracious gods!" cried he, "grant that I may this day ſhow myſelf worthy to be the friend of Cyrus; and, above all, worthy to be the huſband of Panthea." Immediately he leaped into his chariot, to which the anxious princeſs had only time to apply her trembling lips. In the agitation of her mind ſhe followed him with haſty ſteps along the plain, till Abradates perceiving her, conjured her to retire, and arm herſelf with fortitude. Her eunuchs and women then approached, and withdrew her from the eyes of the multitude, which, conſtantly fixed on her, had been unable to pay the leaſt attention either to the beauty of Abradates, or the magnificence of his dreſs and armour [d].

The battle was fought near the river Pactolus: the army of Crœſus was entirely defeated, the vaſt empire of the Lydians overturned in a moment, and that of the Perſians raiſed on its ruins.

The day following the victory, Cyrus, aſtoniſhed that he had not ſeen Abradates, inquired after him with ſolicitude [e], and was informed by one of his officers, that, deſerted almoſt in the beginning of the action by a part of his troops, he had nevertheleſs attacked the Egyptian phalanx with the greateſt bravery; that he had been killed, after having ſeen all his friends fall around him; and that Panthea had cauſed his body to be conveyed to the banks of the Pactolus, and was then employed in erecting a tomb.

Cyrus, overwhelmed with grief, immediately gave orders that the neceſſary preparatives for the funeral of the hero ſhould be conveyed to that place. He himſelf preceded them;

[c] Id. ibid.
[d] Id. ibid. p. 170.
[e] Id. lib. 7. p. 184.

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and, when he arrived, beheld the unhappy Panthea ſeated on the ground, near the bloody corpſe of her huſband. His eyes overflowed with tears. He attempted to graſp that hand which had fought for him: it remained in his own, for the keen blade had ſeparated it from the body in the bloody conflict. The emotion of Cyrus redoubled, and Panthea uttered the moſt piercing cries. She again took the hand; and, after having covered it with a flood of tears, and ardent kiſſes, endeavoured to rejoin it to the arm; and at length pronounced theſe words, which expired on her lips: "Alas! Cyrus, you ſee the calamity by which I am perſecuted, and why do you wiſh to be a witneſs to it? For me, for you, has he ſacrificed his life. Wretch that I was, I wiſhed he ſhould merit your eſteem; and, too obedient to my counſel, he regarded leſs his own ſafety than your ſervice! He has died glorioufly, I know, but he is dead, and I yet live."

Cyrus, after having wept a while in ſilence, replied, "Victory has crowned his life, and his end could not be more glorious. Accept theſe ornaments for his tomb, and theſe victims to be immolated in his honour. I will take care to erect a monument which ſhall eternize his memory. You alſo I will never forſake or forget; I too much reſpect your virtues and your misfortunes: only point out to me the place to which you would wiſh to be conducted."

Panthea having aſſured him that of this he ſhould ſoon be informed, and Cyrus having taken his leave, commanded her eunuchs to retire, and ſent for a woman who had attended her from her earlieſt years, to whom ſhe thus ſpoke: "Be careful, as ſoon as my eyes are cloſed, to cover my body and that of my huſband with the ſame veil." The ſlave endeavoured to divert her from her purpoſe by her entreaties; but as theſe only ſerved to increaſe her too juſt affliction, ſhe ſat down, ſhedding a flood of tears, by the ſide of her miſtreſs. Panthea then ſeized a poniard, and plunged it into her breaſt,

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and, when expiring, ſtill poſſeſſed ſufficient ſtrength to lay her head on the boſom of her huſband [f].

Her women and all her attendants inſtantly uttered the moſt piercing cries of grief and deſpair. Three of her eunuchs ſacrificed themſelves to the manes of their miſtreſs; and Cyrus, who had haſtened to the place at the firſt report of this new calamity, again wept the amiable pair, and cauſed a tomb to be erected for them, in which their aſhes were mingled [g].

CHAP. XL.

Tour of Meſſenia *.

We left Scillus, and, after having croſſed Triphylia, arrived on the banks of the Neda, which ſeparates Elis from Meſſenia [h].

As we intended to make the tour of the coaſts of the latter province, we embarked at the port of Cypariſſia, and the next day landed at Pylos, ſituated under Mount Ægaleus [i]. Veſſels find a ſafe retreat in the road near this town, which is almoſt entirely ſhut in by the iſland Sphacteria [k]. The environs preſent on all ſides only woods, ſteep rocks, a barren ſoil, and an undiſturbed ſolitude [l]. The Lacedæmonians, who were in poſſeſſion of Meſſenia during the Peloponneſian war, had entirely neglected Pylos; but the Athenians, having made themſelves maſters of it, immediately fortified it, and repulſed both by ſea and land the troops of Lacedæmon and her allies. From that time this city, like all other places in

f Id. ibid. p. 185.
g Id. ibid. p. 186.
* See map of Meſſenia.
h Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 20. p. 327. Strab. lib. 8. p. 348.
i Strab lib. 8. p. 359.
k Thucyd. lib 4. cap. 8. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 113.
l Id. ibid. Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 36. p. 372.

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which men have maſſacred each other, has excited the curioſity of travellers [m].

We were ſhown a ſtatue of Victory, which had been left here by the Athenians [n]; and were told that the ſage Neſtor had reigned over this country. It was in vain for us to reply, that, according to Homer, he reigned in Triphylia [o]; we received no other anſwer, than by being ſhown the houſe of that prince, his portrait, and the cave in which he kept his oxen [p]. We were ſtill diſpoſed to diſpute the fact, but were ſoon convinced, that both nations and individuals, proud of their claims to an illuſtrious origin, are ſeldom pleaſed that their title to it ſhould be doubted.

Continuing to ſail along the coaſt to the bottom of the gulf of Meſſenia, we ſaw at Mothone *, a well, the water of which, naturally impregnated with particles of pitch, has the ſmell and colour of balm of Cyzicus [q]. At Colonides we remarked that the inhabitants, though they are ſtrangers both to the manners and language of the Athenians, pretend to be deſcended from that people, becauſe there is at Athens an eminence named Colonos [r]. Farther on, we ſaw a temple of Apollo, to which ſick perſons come to ſeek, and believe that they find a cure [s]. Still farther, we came to the city of Corone †, lately built by order of Epaminondas [t]; and, laſtly, we arrived at the mouth of the river Pamiſus, which we entered with all our ſails ſet, as ſhips may proceed up it to the diſtance of ten ſtadia [u].

This river is the largeſt in Peloponneſus, though from its ſource to the ſea the diſtance is not more than one hundred ſtadia [x] ‡. Its courſe is ſhort, but it completes it with diſtinction. It ſuggeſts the idea of a ſhort and happy life. Its

[m] Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 36. p. 372.
[n] Id. ibid.
[o] Strab. lib. 8. p. 350.
[p] Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 36. p. 371.
* Now *Modon*.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 35. p. 369.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 34. p. 365.
[s] Id. ibid.
† Now *Coron*.
[t] Id. ibid.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 363.
[x] Strab. lib. 8. p. 362.
‡ About three leagues and three quarters.

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pure waters ſeem only to flow for the benefit of every object it approaches. The beſt ſea-fiſh delight in it in all ſeaſons; and at the return of ſpring, haſten to aſcend it, to depoſit their ſpawn [y].

While we were landing, we ſaw ſeveral veſſels, which appeared to us of a foreign conſtruction, and which made way both with ſails and oars. They came up cloſe to the ſhore, and immediately a number of perſons, of all ages and both ſexes, leaped from them on the beach, threw themſelves proſtrate on the ground, and exclaimed, "A thouſand and a thouſand times bleſſed be the day that reſtores thee to our wiſhes; we water thee with our tears, O beloved land, which our fathers poſſeſſed! O ſacred earth, which containeſt the aſhes of our fathers!" I approached an aged man, named Xenocles, who appeared to be the leader of this multitude, and aſked him who they were, and whence they came. You behold, replied he, the deſcendants of thoſe Meſſenians whom the cruelty of the Lacedæmonians formerly forced to abandon their country, and who, under the conduct of my father Comon, ſought refuge in the extremities of Libya, in a country which has no intercourſe with the nations of Greece. We were long ignorant that Epaminondas had, about fifteen years ſince, reſtored liberty to Meſſenia, and recalled its ancient inhabitants [z]. When we were informed of it, our return was prevented by inſurmountable obſtacles; and afterwards the death of Epaminondas occaſioned a ſtill longer delay; but we are at length arrived to enjoy his benefactions.

We joined theſe ſtrangers; and, after having traverſed fertile plains, arrived at Meſſene, ſituated, like Corinth, at the foot of a mountain, and become, like that city, one of the bulwarks of Peloponneſus [a].

[y] Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 34. p. 363.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 26. p. 342.
[a] Polyb. lib. 7. p. 505. Strab. lib. 8. p. 361.

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The walls of Meſſene, built of hewn ſtone, crowned with battlements, and flanked with towers[a], are ſtronger and higher than thoſe of Byzantium, Rhodes, and the other cities of Greece[b]. They include within their circuit Mount Ithome. Within the city we found a large public ſquare or forum, ornamented with temples, ſtatues, and a plentiful fountain. On every ſide we beheld beautiful edifices; and from theſe firſt eſſays we may eaſily judge of the magnificence which Meſſene will hereafter diſplay[c].

The new inhabitants were received with the utmoſt reſpect, and the moſt eager welcome. The next day they went to offer up their homage in the temple of Jupiter, which ſtands on the ſummit of the mountain[d], and in the middle of a citadel that unites the ſtrength ſupplied by art to the advantages of ſituation.

The mountain is one of the loftieſt[e], and the temple one of the moſt ancient in Peloponneſus[f]. There it was, as tradition relates, that the nymphs nurtured Jupiter in his infancy. The ſtatue of that god, the work of Ageladas, is depoſited in the houſe of a prieſt, who only exereiſes the functions of the prieſthood, to which he is appointed by the way of election[g], during the ſpace of one year. The prieſt at the time we were there was named Celenus; he had paſſed the greater part of his life in Sicily.

On that ſame day was celebrated an annual feſtival in honour of Jupiter, which aſſembles the people of the neighbouring provinces. The ſides of the mountain were covered with men and women, who eagerly preſſed to gain the ſummit. We were preſent at the ſacred ceremonies, and at the muſical competitions, which had been inſtituted for a long ſeries of

[a] Thirty-eight of theſe towers were ſtill remaining fifty years ago; the Abbé Fourmont ſaw them (Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vii. Hiſt. p. 355).

[b] Panſan. lib. 4. cap. 31. p. 356.

[c] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vii. Hiſt. p. 355.

[d] Panſan. lib. 4. cap. 33. p. 361.

[e] Id. ibid. cap. 9. p. 301.

[f] Id. ibid. cap. 3. p. 287.

[g] Id. ibid. cap. 33. p. 361.

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ages [h]. The joy of the Meſſenians of Libya preſented an affecting ſcene, the intereſt of which was increaſed by an unforeſeen circumſtance. Celenus, the prieſt of Jupiter, recognized a brother in the chief of theſe unfortunate families, and was unable to tear himſelf from his arms. They reminded each other of the fatal events by which they had formerly been ſeparated. We paſſed ſome days with theſe two reſpectable old men, and with many of their kindred and their friends.

From the houſe of Celenus the eye may embrace the whole of Meſſenia, and follow its boundaries through a ſpace of about eight hundred ſtadia [i] *. The proſpect extends to the north, over Arcadia and Elis; to the weſt, and to the ſouth, over the ſea and the neighbouring iſlands; and to the eaſt, over a chain of mountains named Taygetus, which divide this country from that of Laconia. The eye at length repoſes with pleaſure on the rich landſcape contained within theſe limits. We were ſhown, at different diſtances, fertile fields, interſected by hills and rivers, and covered with herds and young horſes, which conſtitute the riches of the inhabitants [k]. From the ſmall number of cultivators which we had ſeen, I could not refrain from remarking, that the population of the country did not appear to me to bear a due proportion to its fertility. That, replied Xenocles, is only to be imputed to thoſe barbarians, the odious ſight of whom is prevented by yon mountains. During four entire centuries, the Lacedæmonians have ravaged Meſſenia, and left to the inhabitants, for their whole inheritance, war or exile, death or ſlavery.

We had but a ſlight knowledge of theſe calamitous revolutions, which Zenocles perceiving, ſighed, and addreſſing himſelf to his ſon, Take your lyre, ſaid he, and ſing thoſe

[h] Id. ibid.
[i] Strab. lib. 8. p. 362.
* Thirty leagues and a quarter.
[k] Euripid. et Tyrt. ap. Strab. lib. 8. p. 366. Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 122. Pauſan. lib. 4. p. 288 et 316. Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 615.

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three elegies in which my father, immediately after our arrival in Libyia, endeavoured to aſſuage his grief, and to eternize the memory of the woes our country has ſuffered. The youth obeyed, and began as follows:

FIRST ELEGY

On the Firſt War of Meſſenia *.

Baniſhed from Greece, ſtrangers to other nations, we are only connected with mankind by the fruitleſs pity which they ſometimes deign to beſtow on our ſufferings. Who could have foretold, that, after having ſo long wandered on the waves, we ſhould arrive at the port of the Eveſperidæ [l], in a country which both nature and peace enrich with their moſt valuable gifts! Here the earth, largely repaying the vows of the labourer, renders back the ſeed confided to it increaſed an hundred fold [m]. Tranquil rivers wind through the plain, near a valley ſhaded by laurels, myrtles, pomegranates, and trees of every ſpecies [n]. Beyond are burning ſands, barbarous nations, and ferocious animals; yet have we nothing to fear, for among them are no Lacedæmonians.

The inhabitants of theſe delightful retreats, compaſſionating our miſeries, have generouſly offered us an aſylum. Yet does grief conſume our days, and our feeble pleaſures only render our regret more poignant. Alas! how many times, while wandering in theſe enchanting groves, have I felt my tears involuntarily flow at the remembrance of Meſſenia. Oh, happy banks of Pamiſus, auguſt temples, ſacred groves, plains ſo often moiſtened by the blood of our anceſtors, no, never can I forget you! But to you, ferocious Spartans, I ſwear, in the name of the fifty thouſand Meſſenians whom you have diſperſed over the earth, a hatred as implacable as your cru-

* This war began in the year before Chriſt 743, and ended in the year 723 before the ſame æra.

[l] Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 26. p. 342.

[m] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 198.

[n] Scylac. Peripl. ap. Geogr. Min. t. i. p. 46. Plin. lib. 5. cap. 5. p 249.

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ekty. I ſwear it in the name of their deſcendants, and in the name of all hearts of ſenſibility of every age and country.

Unfortunate ſurvivors of ſo many heroes more unfortunate ſtill, may my ſtrains, imitating thoſe of Tyrtæus and Archilochus, inceſſantly ſound in your ears, like the trumpet which gives the ſignal to the warrior, like the thunder which diſturbs the ſleep of the coward. May they, night and day, preſenting to your eyes the menacing ſhades of your fathers, leave in your hearts a wound which ſhall bleed day and night.

The Meſſenians enjoyed, during many ages, an undiſturbed tranquillity, in a country which ſufficed to ſupply all their wants, and beneath the mild influences of a ſky perpetually ſerene. They were free; they had wiſe laws, ſimple manners, kings who loved their people [o], and joyous feſtivals to relax them after their labours.

On a ſudden, the alliance by which they were united to the Lacedæmonians received a mortal wound. The two ſtates mutually accuſed and irritated each other, and menaces ſucceeded to complaints. Ambition, till then enchained by the laws of Lycurgus, ſeized the moment to break his fetters, and loudly calling injuſtice and violence to his aid, entered with theſe infernal attendants into the hearts of the Spartans, and incited them to ſwear on their altars never to lay down their arms till they had enſlaved Meſſenia [p]. The deſtructive paſſion, elated with his firſt ſucceſs, led them to one of the ſummits of Mount Taygetus, and ſhowing them the rich countries that lay before their eyes, introduced them into a fortified place which belonged to their ancient allies, and ſerved as a barrier to the two ſtates [q].

At this news, our anceſtors, unable to endure the inſult, ran tumultuouſly to the palace of our kings. The ſage Euphaes was then on the throne. He liſtened to the advice of

[o] Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 3. p. 286. Juſtin. lib. 3. cap. 4.

[q] Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 5. p. 292.

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the chiefs of the nation: he excited the ardent courage of the Messenians, but restrained it till it might be exerted with success [r]. Whole years scarcely sufficed to inure to military discipline a people too long accustomed to the inert enjoyments of peace. In that interval, he learnt to see, without a murmur, his harvests destroyed by the Lacedæmonians, and to make himself several incursions into Laconia.

Twice the moment of vengeance appeared to approach, twice the forces of the two states met in the martial conflict, but victory dared not yet to decide the important dispute; and her indecision accelerated the ruin of the Messenians. Their army was enfeebled, from day to day, by the loss of a great number of warriors, by the garrisons which it was necessary to maintain in different places, by the desertion of the slaves, and by an epidemical disease, which began its dire ravages, in a country formerly so flourishing.

In this extremity it was resolved to entrench the army on Mount Ithome [s], and to consult the oracle of Delphi. The priests, and not the gods, dictated the barbarous answer. The safety of Messenia, said they, depends on the sacrifice of a youthful maiden, drawn by lot, and chosen from the family on the throne [s].

Ancient prejudices blinded all eyes to the atrocious crime of obeying such an injunction. The fatal urn was brought, and the lot condemned to death the daughter of Lyciscus; but her father, suddenly withdrawing her from every eye, fled with her to Lacedæmon. The warrior Aristodemus instantly advanced, and, in despite of the tender affection which remonstrated against the act from the bottom of his heart, offered his own daughter to the altar. She had been affianced to one of the favourites of the king, who ran to protect her. He maintained that her father could not dispose of his spouse

[r] Id. ibid. cap. 7. p. 295.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 9. p. 304.
[t] Id. ibid. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 5. cap. 27. p. 223.

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without his conſent. He went farther: to ſave her he ventured even to caſt an imputation on her innocence, and declared, that the rites of Hymen had already been conſummated. The horror of ſuch a falſehood, the dread of diſhonour, paternal love, the ſanctity of his word, a multitude of contrary emotions, agitated with ſuch violence the mind of Ariſtodemus, that the ſtroke of deſpair was neceſſary to afford him relief. He ſeized a poniard, and his daughter fell dead at his feet, in view of the ſhuddering ſpectators. The prieſt, unſated with blood, exclaimed, "It was not piety but madneſs which guided the hand of the murderer: the gods require another victim." And another they ſhall have, replied the furious multitude, who immediately fell upon the wretched lover, whom they would have torn to pieces on the ſpot, had not the king appeaſed the tumult, and perſuaded them that the conditions of the oracle were fulfilled.

Sparta ſtill inflexibly adhered to her projects of conqueſts, which were manifeſted by her frequent hoſtilities and bloody conflicts. In one of theſe battles king Euphaes was ſlain, and Ariſtodemus ſucceeded to the throne [u]. In another, in which ſeveral of the ſtates of Peloponneſus had joined the Meſſenians [x], our enemies were defeated, and three hundred of them, taken with arms in their hands, ſacrificed on the altars of Jupiter [y].

The ſiege of Ithome was nevertheleſs continued with vigour. Ariſtodemus prolonged the duration of it by his vigilance, his courage, the confidence his troops had in him, and the cruel recollection of the fate of his daughter. At length fallacious oracles and terrifying prodigies ſhook his conſtancy; he deſpaired of the ſafety of Meſſenia, and, having ſtabbed himſelf with his own ſword, yielded his laſt breath on the tomb of his daughter [z].

[u] Id. ibid. cap. 10. p. 304.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 11. p. 305.
[y] Myron. ap. Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 6. p. 294. Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. t. i. p. 36. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 4. cap. 16. p. 157. Plut. in Rom. t. i. p. 33. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. ii. p. 105.
[z] Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 13. p. 311.

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The beſieged however ſtill defended themſelves for many months; but, after having loſt their generals and their braveſt ſoldiers, ſeeing themſelves without proviſions and without reſource, they abandoned the place. Some retired to the neighbouring ſtates, others remained in their ancient dwellings, where the conquerors forced them to ſwear to obſerve the following articles.

"You ſhall undertake nothing againſt our authority; you ſhall cultivate your lands, but you ſhall bring us every year the half of the produce; at the death of our kings and principal magiſtrates you ſhall, both men and women, wear mourning [a]." Such were the humiliating conditions, which, after a war of twenty years, Lacedæmon impoſed upon our anceſtors.

SECOND ELEGY

On the Second War of Meſſenia [*].

Again I reſume the lyre, again I prepare to ſing the glory of a hero who long fought on the ruins of his country. Ah! were it permitted to mortals to change the decrees of deſtiny, his victorious arms would doubtleſs have repaired the injuries of a deſtructive war, and a peace no leſs hateful.

What a peace! Juſt heaven! during the ſpace of nine and thirty years, it never ceaſed to render more heavy the iron yoke which bowed down the heads of the vanquiſhed [b], and to oppreſs them with every ſpecies of ſervitude. Subjected to toilſome labours, ſinking beneath the weight of the tributes which they carried to Lacedæmon, forced to mourn at the funerals of their tyrants [c], and not daring to utter their impotent hatred, they bequeathed to their children only woes to ſuffer and inſults to revenge. So extreme were their mi-

[a] Tyrt. ap. Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 14. p. 313. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 6. c. 1.

[*] This war began in the year before Chriſt 684, and ended in the year 668 before the ſame æra.

[b] Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 13. p. 315.

[c] Tyrt. ap. Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 14. p. 313. Polyb. lib. 6. p. 300.

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feries, that the aged had no longer any evil to fear in death, nor the youthful any good to hope in life.

Their eyes, continually fixed on the ground, were at length raiſed towards Ariſtomenes, who was deſcended from our ancient kings, and who, from his earlieſt youth, had exhibited in his countenance, his words, and actions, the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of an elevated mind. This prince, ſurrounded by ardent and impatient youths, whoſe courage he by turns inflamed or tempered, conſulted the diſpoſitions of the neighbouring ſtates, and having learned that thoſe of Argos and Arcadia were ready to furniſh him with ſuccours, called the Meſſenians to arms [d], and from that moment the cries of oppreſſion and the ſhouts of liberty were heard on all ſides.

The firſt battle was fought in a village of Meſſenia. The victory was long doubtful; but Ariſtomenes ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour, that the army, with one voice, proclaimed him king on the field of battle; but he refuſed an honour to which he had a legitimate title by his birth, and a ſtill more juſt claim by his virtues.

Placed at the head of the troops, he wiſhed to intimidate the Spartans by a ſignal act of courage, and to depoſit in the heart of their capital the pledge of the hatred he had vowed againſt them from his infancy. He repaired to Lacedæmon, and having ſecretly entered the temple of Minerva, affixed to the wall a buckler, on which theſe words were inſcribed: "Ariſtomenes has conſecrated this to the goddeſs from the ſpoils of the Lacedæmonians [e]."

Sparta, conformably to the anſwer of the oracle of Delphi, then demanded of the Athenians a general to conduct the war. Athens, who feared to contribute to the aggrandizement of her rival, ſent Tyrtæus [f], an obſcure poet, who compenſated

[d] Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 14. p. 314.
[e] Id. ibid. cap. 15. p. 316.
[f] Lycurg. in Leocrat. p. 162. Juſtin. lib. 3. cap. 5. Plut. in Cleom. p. 805. Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 15. p. 316. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. viii. p. 144; t. xiii. p. 284.

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the diſadvantages of his perſon and the meanneſs of his fortune by a ſublime talent which the Athenians regarded as a ſpecies of phrenzy [g].

Tyrtæus, called to the aſſiſtance of a warlike nation, which ſoon received him into the number of her citizens [h], felt his ſoul expanded, and, following where his high deſtiny called, gave the reins to his genius. His ardent ſongs inſpired the contempt of dangers and of death: he recited them to the troops; and the Lacedæmonians eagerly flew to the combat [i].

The common colours of language would be inadequate to expreſs the ſanguinary rage which animated the two nations; new ones muſt be created. As when the celeſtial fires fall and inflame the gulfs of Ætna; the volcano trembles and roars; it raiſes its boiling waves, pours them forth from its opening ſides, and hurls them towards heaven, which it dares to brave: the thunderbolt, fraught with new fires, which it has drawn from the clouds, again deſcends, ſwifter than the lightning, ſtrikes with reiterated ſhocks the ſummit of the mountain, and, after having ſhivered its ſmoaking rocks, impoſes ſilence on the abyſs, and leaves it covered with aſhes and eternal ruins: thus did Ariſtomenes at the head of the Meſſenian youth fall on the choſen bands of Sparta, commanded by their king Anaxander. His warriors, imitating the example of their chief, ruſhed on the foe like furious lions; but their utmoſt efforts were ineffectual againſt that immovable phalanx, clad in iron, inflamed with the moſt violent paſſions, and whence the weapons of death inceſſantly flew on the aſſailants. Covered with blood and wounds, they deſpaired of victory; when Ariſtomenes, redoubling his exertions, and inſpiring his ſoldiers with his own heroiſm, forced the brave Anaxander and his formidable warriors to give ground [k], rapidly pierced the battalions of the enemy, put to flight ſome by his courage and

[g] Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 43.
[h] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p 629.
[i] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 805. Horat. Art. Poet. v. 402.
[k] Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 16. p. 318.

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others by his preſence, diſperſed, purſued, and left them in their camp, buried in unutterable conſternation.

The women of Meſſenia celebrate this victory by ſongs which we ſtill repeat[1]; their huſbands raiſed their heads, and on their menacing brow the god of war imprinted terror and courage.

But now, O goddeſs of memory! it ſhould be thine to declare how days ſo glorious were ſuddenly overſhadowed by a thick and gloomy veil; but thy pictures almoſt always only preſent imperfect ſtrokes and faded colours, as the waves of the ocean only caſt on ſhore the ſhattered fragments of the veſſel which was once the ſovereign of the ſeas. Liſten, young Meſſenians, to a teſtimony more faithful and more reſpectable. I ſaw him; I heard his voice; in the midſt of that ſtormy night which diſperſed the fleet I led into Libya. Caſt on an unknown ſhore, I exclaimed, "O earth! thou ſhalt at leaſt ſerve us for a grave, and our bones ſhall not be trampled on by the Lacedæmonians."

At that fatal name I ſaw torrents of flame and ſmoke pour forth from a funeral monument near me, while from the bottom of the tomb a ſhade aroſe, and uttered theſe words: What mortal comes to trouble the repoſe of Ariſtomenes, and to rekindle in his aſhes the hatred he ſtill retains againſt a barbarous nation? It is a Meſſenian, replied I, with tranſport. It is Comon, the heir of a family formerly united with yours. O Ariſtomenes! O greateſt of mortals! is it then permitted me to ſee and hear thee? Oh, ye gods! I bleſs you, for the firſt time in my life, for having brought to Rhodes the unfortunate Comon. My ſon, replied the hero, thou ſhalt bleſs them during thy whole life. They have declared to me thy arrival, and have granted me permiſſion to reveal to thee the ſecrets of their high wiſdom. The time approaches, when, like the luminary of day, whoſe glorious

[1] Id. ibid. p. 319.

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beams have diſperſed the envious clouds, Meſſenia ſhall again appear on the ſtage of the world with new-born luſtre. Heaven, by its ſecret counſels, ſhall guide the hero who is to effect this prodigy, and thou ſhalt be informed of the time when my prediction is to be accompliſhed [m]. Farewel: thou mayeſt depart. Thy companions await thee in Libya; bear to them the momentous tidings.

Stop, generous ſhade, cried I, inſtantly; deign to add to hopes ſo delicious, conſolation ſtill more delightful. Our fathers were unfortunate, it is therefore eaſy to believe them culpable. Time has deſtroyed the proofs of their innocence, and the ſurrounding nations propagate ſuſpicions derogatory to our honour. Ariſtomenes betrayed, wandering from city to city, and dying alone in the iſland of Rhodes, ſeems to fix a ſtigma on the Meſſenians.

Go, depart, fly, my ſon, replied the hero, raiſing his voice, declare to all the earth that the valour of your fathers was more ardent than the fires of the dog-ſtar, and their virtues more pure than the light of heaven; and if men are yet ſuſceptible of pity, force tears from them by the recital of our misfortunes. Liſten to me.

Sparta could not ſupport the ſhame of her defeat. She ſaid to her warriors, Avenge me; to her ſlaves, Protect me [n]; to a ſlave ſtill more vile than her own, and whoſe head was adorned with a diadem, Betray thy allies [o]. This was Ariſtocrates, who reigned over the powerful nation of the Arcadians, and had joined his troops to ours.

The two armies advanced as two thunder-clouds approach to diſpute the empire of the air. At the ſight of their conquerors our enemies vainly ſought in their hearts ſome remains of courage, while in their diſturbed eyes was depicted the ſordid dread of death. Tyrtæus then preſented himſelf to the ſoldiers with the confidence and authority of a man on

[m] Id. ibid. cap. 26. p. 348 et 343; cap. 32. p. 359.

[n] Id. ibid. cap. 16. p. 319.

[o] Id. ibid. cap. 17. p. 321.

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whom the ſafety of his country depends. He ſucceſſively diſplayed before them [p] the moſt lively and animated images; that of a hero who has repulſed his enemy; the intermingled ſhouts of joy and love which honour his triumph, the reſpect which his preſence ever after inſpires, and the honourable repoſe which his old age enjoys. He painted the ſtill more affecting ſcene of a young warrior expiring in the field of glory; the auguſt ceremonies which accompany his funeral; the ſorrow and regret of a whole people at the ſight of his bier; the old men, women, and children, who weep and roll in the duſt around his tomb, and the immortal honours which await his memory. Such objects and ſuch ſentiments, depicted with an impetuous and rapid eloquence, inflame the warriors with an ardour till then unknown; they faſten to their arms their names and thoſe of their families, too happy in the hope that they may obtain a diſtinguiſhed ſepulture, and that poſterity may one day ſay, repeating their names, Lo! theſe are thoſe who died for their country [q]!

While a poet wrought this wondrous change in the army of the Lacedæmonians, a king completed his perfidy in ours [r]. Unfavourable rumours, propagated by his orders, had prepared the terrified troops for his baſe treachery. The ſignal of battle was for them the ſignal of flight. Ariſtocrates led the way in the path of infamy, which he traced out through our battalions, at the moment when they were attacked by the phalanx of the enemy. In an inſtant the flower of our warriors were extended in the duſt, and Meſſenia was enſlaved. Yet, no; liberty reſerved to herſelf an aſylum on Mount Ira [s]. Thither retired the ſoldiers eſcaped from the carnage, and the citizens who diſdained to bend their necks to ſervitude. The conquerors formed a blockade at the foot of the mountain, and with terror ſaw us above their heads, as the

[p] Tyrt. ap. Stob. Serm. 49. p. 354.
[q] Juſtin. lib. 3. cap. 5.
[r] Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 17. p. 322.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 323.

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pale mariners behold in the horizon the dark clouds which bear the tempeſt in their boſom.

Then began that ſiege, leſs renowned, but no leſs worthy to be celebrated, than that of Ilium. Then were repeated or realized the exploits of the ancient heroes. The rigours of the ſeaſons, eleven times renewed, were inſufficient to weary the ferocious obſtinacy of the beſiegers, or the unſhaken conſtancy of the beſieged [t].

Three hundred Meſſenians of diſtinguiſhed valour accompanied me in my expeditions [u]. We eaſily paſſed the barrier at the foot of the mountain, and carried terror to the environs of Sparta. One day, when loaded with plunder, we were ſurrounded by the army of the enemy. We ruſhed on the foe, though we deſpaired to conquer. A deadly wound deprived me of all ſenſe; and, oh! that it had never been again reſtored! In what a ſituation did I return to life! Had black Tartarus ſuddenly preſented itſelf to my ſight, it had inſpired me with leſs horror. I found myſelf extended on a heap of the dead and the dying, in a dark and deep pit, where were only heard the piercing cries and ſtifled groans of my companions and my friends, who had been caſt into it before me. I called them by name; we wept together, and my preſence ſeemed to lighten their miſeries. He whom moſt I loved, oh cruel remembrance! oh too fatal image! oh, my ſon! thou wilt not hear me without ſhuddering, was one of thy anceſtors. I knew, by ſome words that eſcaped him, that my fall had haſtened the moment of his death. I preſſed him in my arms, I covered him with my burning tears, and, unable to arreſt the fleeting breath of life hovering on his lips, my ſoul, ſteeled by its ſufferings, ceaſed to ſeek relief in complaints and tears. My friends ſucceſſively expired around me. By the varied accents of their failing voices I was able to preſage the moments of life which yet remained to each,

[t] Rhian. ap. Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 17. p. 323.

[u] Id. ibid. cap. 18. p. 323.

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and saw without emotion that instant arrive which concluded their sufferings. At length I heard the final groan of the last among them, and the silence of the grave reigned through the cavern.

Thrice had the sun begun his course since I had been no longer numbered among the living [x]. Motionless, extended on the bed of woe, and wrapped in my mantle, I impatiently expected that death who seemed to estimate his favours at so high a price, when my ear was struck by a slight noise. It was occasioned by a wild animal *, which had entered the cave by a secret passage. I took hold of him; he endeavoured to escape, and drew me after him. I know not by what motive I was actuated, for life then appeared to me the most cruel of sufferings. Some divinity, doubtless, directed my motions, and inspired me with strength. I long crept through a number of oblique windings, till I saw the light, when I restored liberty to my guide, and, continuing to open myself a passage, left the region of darkness. I found the Messenians weeping my loss. At sight of me the mountain shook with shouts of joy, and at the recital of my sufferings with cries of indignation.

Vengeance closely followed, vengeance cruel as the wrath of the gods. The countries of Messenia and Laconia were day and night ravaged by enemies thirsting for the blood of each other. The Spartans overspread the plain as the flame devours the harvest, and we as the torrent which both destroys the harvest and extinguishes the flame. We had received secret information that the Corinthians were approaching to the succour of the Lacedæmonians; we entered their camp under cover of the darkness, and they passed from the embraces of sleep to those of death [y]. Vain exploits! deceitful hopes! From the immense receptacle of years and ages,

[x] Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 18. p. 324.
* A fox.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 19. p. 325

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time produces, at the precise moment, those great revolutions which have been conceived in the bosom of eternity, and sometimes announced by oracles. That of Delphi had declared that our ruin should closely follow certain presages which were now fulfilled; and the augur Theoclus warned me, that we now approached the catastrophe of all these bloody scenes [z].

A shepherd, formerly the slave of Emperamus, the general of the Lacedæmonians, daily led his flock to the banks of the Neda, which flows at the foot of Mount Ira [a]. He loved a Messenian woman whose house was situated on the brow of the mountain, and who received him there as often as her husband was on duty in our camp. One night, during a dreadful storm, the Messenian unexpectedly came home, and told his wife, who was astonished at his return, that the tempest and the darkness sufficiently defended the place from an assault, that the posts were all abandoned, and that I was confined to my bed by a wound. The shepherd, who had not been seen by the Messenian, heard all that he had said, and immediately carried the information to the Lacedæmonian general.

Exhausted with fatigue and pain, I had resigned myself to the arms of sleep, when the genius of Messenia appeared to me, in a long mourning habit, and with his head covered with a veil. Thou sleepest, Aristomenes, said he, thou sleepest, and already the menacing scaling ladders are affixed around the walls, and already the youthful Spartans have mounted to the assault. The genius of Lacedæmon prevails over me. I have seen him from the summit of the ramparts calling forward his ferocious warriors, and, stretching forth his hand, assign them their several posts.

I started from my sleep, with my soul oppressed, my mind distracted, and in the same astonishment and dismay as if the

[z] Id. ibid. cap. 20. p. 327.

[a] Id. ibid. p. 329.

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thunderbolt had fallen at my feet. I threw myſelf on my arms. My ſon arrived. Where, exclaimed I, are the Lacedæmonians?—In the forum, at the foot of the ramparts. Aſtoniſhed at their daring attempt, they heſitate to advance. It is enough, replied I, follow me. We found, as we went, Theoclus the augur, the valiant Manticlus, his ſon, and other chiefs, who joined us [a]. Run, ſaid I, ſpread the alarm. Tell the Meſſenians, that at the break of day they ſhall ſee their general in the midſt of the enemy.

The fatal moment arrived [b]. The ſtreets, the houſes, the temples, deluged with blood, reſounded with dreadful cries. The Meſſenians, unable to hear my voice, liſtened only to their rage. The women animated them to the combat, and arming themſelves with a thouſand inſtruments of death, ruſhed upon the enemy, and, expiring, fell on the bodies of their huſbands and their children.

During three days theſe diſaſtrous ſcenes were renewed at every ſtep, and every inſtant, by the livid glare of lightning, and to the continued roar of thunder. The Lacedæmonians, ſuperior in number, acquired freſh ſtrength in the intervals of repoſe; while the Meſſenians, fighting without ceſſation, had at once to contend with hunger, thirſt, ſleep, and the ſword of the enemy [c].

At the end of the third day, the augur Theoclus thus addreſſed me: "Alas! what can ſo much valour, or labours ſo ſevere, avail! Meſſenia is no more: the gods have decreed her deſtruction. Save yourſelf, Ariſtomenes; ſave our unfortunate friends; it is for me to be buried beneath the ruins of my country."

He ſaid, and throwing himſelf into the thickeſt of the conflict, died free, and crowned with glory.

It had been eaſy for me to have imitated him; but, ſubmitting to the will of the gods, I believed my life might be

[a] Id. ibid. cap. 21. p. 330.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 331.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 332.

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neceſſary to that multitude of innocent victims which the ſword might elſe deſtroy. I collected the women and children, and ſurrounded them with ſoldiers. The enemy, perſuaded that we intended a retreat, opened their ranks, and ſuffered us to proceed unmoleſted to the country of the Arcadians *. I ſhall not ſpeak either of the deſign I had formed to march to Lacedæmon, and ſurpriſe that city, while her ſoldiers were enriching themſelves with our ſpoils on Mount Ira, nor of the perfidy of king Ariſtocrates, who betrayed our ſecret to the Lacedæmonians. The treacherous prince was condemned by the aſſembly of his nation; his ſubjects themſelves became his executioners; he expired beneath a ſhower of darts; his body was carried into a foreign land, and a column erected which perpetuated his infamy and his puniſhment [d].

By this unexpected ſtroke, Fortune clearly manifeſted her determination. I reſolved no longer to attempt to render her propitious, but ſingly to brave her utmoſt anger. I gave the tribute of my tears to thoſe Meſſenians who had been unable to join me, but I refuſed to be prevailed on by thoſe of my followers who wiſhed to accompany me into diſtant climes [e]. The Arcadians offered to ſhare with them their lands [f], but I rejected all their offers. My faithful companions, confounded with a numerous nation, would have loſt their name, and the memory of the wrongs they had endured. I gave to them my ſon, another Ariſtomenes, for their leader; and under his conduct they ſailed to Sicily, where they are reſerved till the day of vengeance [g] †.

After this cruel ſeparation, having no longer any thing to fear, and every where ſeeking to raiſe up enemies to the La-

* The taking of Ira happened in the firſt year of the 28th Olympiad, in the year 668 before Chriſt. (Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 23. p. 336. Corſin. Faſt. Attic. t. iii. p. 46. Freret. Defenſ. de la Chr. p. 174).

[d] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 301. Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 22. p. 335.

[e] Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 23. p. 335.

[f] Id. ibid. cap. 22. p. 333.

[g] Id. ibid. cap. 23. p. 335. et 336.

† See note at the end of the volume.

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cedæmonians, I travelled through various countries. At length I determined to go into Aſia, and engage the powerful nations of the Medes and Lydians [b] to intereſt themſelves in our behalf. Death, which ſurpriſed me at Rhodes, prevented projects that, by bringing theſe nations into Peloponneſus, might perhaps have changed the face of that part of Greece.

Having ended theſe words, the hero was ſilent, and deſcended into the darkneſs of the tomb. On the next day I departed for Libya.

THIRD ELEGY

On the Third War of Meſſenia *.

How painful is the remembrance of my country! It is bitter as wormwood; it is keen as the edge of the ſword; it renders me alike inſenſible to pleaſure and to danger. I this morning aroſe before the luminary of day, and wandered with uncertain ſteps over the plain; but the beauties of Aurora no longer afforded me delight. Two enormous lions ruſhed from the neighbouring foreſt. I inſulted them not, and they left me unhurt. Cruel Spartans! how had our anceſtors injured you? After the taking of Ira, you inflicted on them puniſhments, and, in the intoxication of ſucceſs, cruelly inſulted their ſufferings.

Ariſtomenes has promiſed us a happier futurity: but what can extinguiſh in our hearts the ſenſe of the evils of which we have heard the recital, and of which we have been the victims? Happy wert thou, Ariſtomenes, that thou wert not a witneſs to them. Thou didſt not behold the inhabitants of Meſſenia dragged to death like the vileſt criminals, and ſold

[b] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 24. p. 338.
* This war began in the year 464, and ended in the year 454, before Chriſt.

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like herds of cattle [i]; nor didſt thou ſee their deſcendants, during two centuries, tranſmit to their children only the opprobrium of their birth [k]. Reſt undiſturbed in the tomb, ſhade of the greateſt of mortals, and leave to me to declare to poſterity the recent cruelties of the Lacedæmonians.

Their magiſtrates, the enemies of the gods as well as of mankind, put to death the ſuppliants whom they forced from the temple of Neptune [l]. The offended deity ſtruck with his trident the coaſts of Laconia. The earth trembled, the abyſs opened, and, one of the ſummits of Mount Taygetus ruſhing into the valley, Sparta was deſtroyed from the foundations, only five houſes remaining ſtanding, and more than twenty thouſand men being buried beneath her ruins [m]. Behold the ſignal of our deliverance! inſtantly exclaimed a multitude of ſlaves. Madly they ran toward Lacedæmon, without order, and without a leader. At the ſight of a body of Spartans, who had been collected by their king Archidamus, they ſtopped, like the winds unchained by Æolus at the appearance of the god of the ocean. At the ſight of the Athenians, and the different nations which had haſtened to the ſuccour of Lacedæmon [n], the greater part of them were ſcattered, as the thick vapours of a marſh are diſſipated before the firſt rays of the ſun. But it was not in vain that the Meſſenians took arms; a long ſlavery had not debaſed the generous blood that flows in their veins; and as the captive eagle, after having broken his bonds, ſoars to the ſkies, they retired to Mount Ithome [o], and vigorouſly repulſed the reiterated attacks of the Lacedæmonians, who were ſoon reduced to call to their aſſiſtance the troops of their allies.

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i Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 6. cap. 1.

k Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 24. p. 338.

l Ariſtoph. in Ach. v. 509. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Ταίναρ.

m Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 48. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. cap. 50. t. iii. p. 41. Plin. lib. 2. cap. 79. t. i. p. 111.

n Id. ibid. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 101 et 128. Pauſan. lib. 3. p. 233; et lib. 4. p. 339. Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 489. Ælian. lib. 6. cap. 7. Polyæn. lib. 1. cap. 41.

o Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 24. p. 339.

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Then appeared thoſe Athenians ſo experienced in the conduct of ſieges. They were commanded by Cimon, Cimon whom victory has ſo often crowned with immortal laurels. The renown of his glory, and the valour of his troops, inſpired the beſieged with fear, and the Lacedæmonians themſelves with apprehenſion. They dared to ſuſpect this great man of perfidy, and prevailed on him, under frivolous pretexts, to return with his army into Attica. He departed, and the goddeſs of diſcord, who hovered over his camp, foreſeeing the calamities ready to fall upon Greece [p], ſhook her terrific ſnakes, and, amid howlings of joy, uttered theſe dreadful words.

Oh! Sparta, Sparta! who only knoweſt to reward ſervices with injuries, behold thoſe warriors who return to their country, with ſhame on their brow and indignation in their hearts; they are the ſame who, lately aſſociated with thine, defeated the Perſians at Platæa. They flew to thy defence, and thou haſt covered them with infamy. Thou ſhalt henceforth only ſee them as thy enemies. Athens, wounded in her honour, ſhall arm againſt thee the nations [q], whom thou ſhalt likewiſe excite againſt her. Thy power and hers ſhall inceſſantly renew the conflict, as impetuous winds contend with each other among the clouds. Wars ſhall bring forth wars, and peace ſhall only be a ſuſpenſion of rage. I will march with the Eumenides at the head of the armies, and from our flaming torches will we rain on you plague, famine, violence, perfidy, and all the ſcourges of the wrath of heaven and of human paſſions. I will avenge me of thy ancient virtues, and delight in thy defeats as well as in thy victories. I will exalt and I will abaſe thy rival. I ſhall behold thee on thy knees, ſtriking thy humbled forehead againſt the earth. Thou ſhalt ſolicit peace, and peace ſhall be denied thee [r]. Thou ſhalt

[p] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 101 et 128. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 49. Juſtin. lib. 3. cap. 6. Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 489.

[q] Id. ibid. cap 102.

[r] Id. lib. 4 cap. 41. Ariſtoph. in Pace, v. 637 et 664. Schol. ibid.

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deſtroy the walls of thy rival; thou ſhalt trample her beneath thy feet, and you ſhall both fall together, like two tigers, who, after having torn the entrails of each other, expire ſide by ſide. Then will I plunge thee ſo deep in the duſt, that the traveller, unable to diſcern any traces of thee, ſhall be forced to ſtoop and attentively examine to recogniſe them.

Now mark the ſign which ſhall prove to thee the truth of my words. Thou ſhalt take Ithome in the tenth year of the ſiege. Thou ſhalt wiſh to exterminate the Meſſenians, but the oracle of Delphi ſhall prevent thy ſanguinary deſign [s]. Thou ſhalt permit them to live, on condition that they enjoy life in another climate, and be loaded with chains if they dare to return to their native country [t]. When this prediction ſhall be accompliſhed, remember what I have beſides foretold, and tremble.

Thus ſpake the malevolent genius who extends her power from the heavens to the infernal ſhades. We ſoon after left Ithome. I was yet in my tendereſt infancy; but the image of that precipitate flight is impreſſed on my memory in indelible characters. Still do I behold thoſe ſcenes of horror and woe which then preſented themſelves to my view. A whole people, driven from their habitations [u], wandering whither chance might lead them, among nations terrified at their misfortunes, which they dared not to alleviate; warriors covered with wounds, carrying their aged parents on their ſhoulders; women, ſitting on the ground, expiring with weakneſs, and claſping their wretched children in their arms; on this ſide tears and groans, and the moſt violent expreſſions of deſpair, and on that a dumb woe and a profound ſilence. Were the moſt cruel of the Spartans to attempt to paint theſe ſcenes of miſery, ſome remains of compaſſion would cauſe the pencil to drop from his hands.

[s] Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 24. p. 339.
[t] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 103.
[u] Polyb. Hiſt. lib. 4. p. 300.

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After long and diſaſtrous journeyings, we at length reached Naupactus, a city ſituated on the ſea of Criſſa, and appertaining to the Athenians, who beſtowed it upon us [x]. In gratitude for the favour, we more than once ſignalized our valour againſt the enemies of that generous people. I myſelf, during the Peloponneſian war, appeared with a body of troops on the coaſts of Meſſenia. I ravaged the country, and extorted tears of rage from our barbarous perſecutors [y]. But the gods ever mingle a ſecret poiſon with their favours, and too frequently hope is only a ſnare which they ſpread for the unfortunate. We began to enjoy tranquillity, when the fleet of Lacedæmon triumphed over that of Athens, and came to inſult us at Naupactus. We immediately haſtened on board our ſhips, and on each ſide no other divinity was invoked but hatred. Never was victory drenched with more impure or more innocent blood. But what can the moſt intrepid valour effect againſt exceſſive ſuperiority of numbers? We were conquered, and driven out of Greece as we had been from Peloponneſus. The greater part took refuge in Italy and in Sicily. Three thouſand men confided their deſtiny to my guidance [z]. I led them, through the midſt of tempeſts and rocks, to theſe ſhores, which never ſhall ceaſe to reſound with my mournful ſongs.

Thus ended the third elegy: the youth laid down his lyre; and his father Xenocles added, that, a ſhort time after their arrival in Libya, a ſedition having happened at Cyrene, the capital of that country, the Meſſenians took part with the exiles, and were almoſt all cut off in one battle [a]. He afterwards inquired in what manner the revolution which had reſtored him to Meſſenia had been effected; to which queſtion Celenus replied as follows:

[x] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 103. Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 25. p. 339.
[y] Id. lib. 4. cap. 41. Pauſan. ibid. cap. 26. p. 342.
[z] Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 26. p. 342. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 263.
[a] Diod. Sic. ibid.

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The Thebans, under the conduct of Epaminondas, had defeated the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra in Bœotia [a]. Completely to enfeeble their power, and diſable them from undertaking diſtant expeditions, that great man formed the project of placing near them an enemy who ſhould have great injuries to revenge. He ſent to the Meſſenians, wherever they were ſcattered, to invite them to return to the country of their fathers [b], and we readily obeyed the ſummons. I found him at the head of a formidable army, ſurrounded by architects, who traced the plan of a city at the foot of this mountain. A moment after, the general of the Argives approaching, preſented to him a brazen urn, which, in conſequence of a dream, he had dug out of the earth, where it was concealed under an ivy and a myrtle which interwove their ſlender branches. Epaminondas having opened it, found in it leaves of lead, rolled up in the form of a volume, on which had anciently been written the rites of the worſhip of Ceres and Proſerpine. He recognized the monument to which was attached the fate of Meſſenia, and which Ariſtomenes had buried in the leaſt frequented part of Mount Ithome [c]. This diſcovery, and the favourable anſwer of the augurs, impreſſed the ſtamp of religion on his enterpriſe, which was beſides powerfully ſeconded by the neighbouring ſtates, at all times jealous of Lacedæmon.

On the day of the conſecration of the city, the troops being aſſembled, the Arcadians preſented the victims; and the Thebans, Argives, and Meſſenians, ſeparately offered their homage to their tutelary divinities, and all conjointly called on the heroes of the country to come and take poſſeſſion of their new habitation [d]. Among theſe names, ſo precious to the nation, that of Ariſtomenes excited univerſal plaudits. The firſt day was employed in ſacrifices and prayers; and on

[a] The year 371 before Chriſt.
[b] Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 26. p. 342. Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 615.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 343.
[d] Id. ibid. cap. 27. p. 345.

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the ſecond, the foundations of the walls, temples, and houſes, were laid to the ſound of flutes. The city in a little time was finiſhed, and received the name of Meſſene.

The people of other nations, added Celenus, have long wandered far from their country, but none have ſuffered ſo long an exile; yet have we preſerved, without alteration, the language and cuſtoms of our anceſtors [e]. I will even affirm that our misfortunes have increaſed our ſenſibility. The Lacedæmonians had given ſome of our cities to ſtrangers [f], who, on our return, implored our compaſſion. Perhaps they had juſt claims to obtain it; but even though they had not, how was it poſſible to refuſe it to the unfortunate?

Alas! replied Xenocles, it was this mild and humane character which was formerly our ruin. Our anceſtors, neighbours to the Lacedæmonians and the Arcadians, only ſunk beneath the hatred of the former, becauſe they had neglected the friendſhip of the latter [g]. They were doubtleſs ignorant that to enſure peace requires as much activity as to extend conqueſts.

I put ſeveral queſtions to the Meſſenians concerning the ſtate of arts and ſciences among them. They replied they had not yet had time to cultivate them: on their preſent government; it had not yet taken any conſtant form: on that which ſubſiſted during their wars with the Lacedæmonians; it was a mixture of royalty and oligarchy [h], but public affairs were diſcuſſed in the general aſſembly of the nation [i]. I inquired concerning the origin of the laſt reigning family, and was anſwered that it was derived from Creſphontes, who came into Peloponneſus, with the other Heraclidæ, eighty years after the war of Troy. Meſſenia was allotted to him as his portion. He eſpouſed Merope, the daughter of a king of Arcadia, and was aſſaſſinated with almoſt all his children, by the

[e] Id. ibid. p. 346.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 24. p. 338.
[g] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 300.
[h] Id. ibid. Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 24. p. 338.
[i] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 6. p. 294.

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chiefs of his court, becauſe he too much loved his people [k]. Hiſtory has conſidered it as a duty to eternize his memory as ſacred, and to execrate that of his aſſaſſins.

We left Meſſenia, and, after having croſſed the Pamiſus, viſited the eaſtern coaſt of the province. Here, as in every other part of Greece, the traveller, at every ſtep, meets with the genealogies of gods confounded with thoſe of men. Not a city, river, fountain, wood, or mountain, but bears the name of a nymph, a hero, or ſome diſtinguiſhed perſon, more celebrated at preſent than in the time in which he lived.

Among the numerous families which formerly poſſeſſed ſmall domains in Meſſenia, that of Æſculapius holds a diſtinguiſhed rank in the veneration of the people. In the city of Abia we were ſhown his temple [l]; at Gerenia, the tomb of Machaon his ſon [m]; at Pheræ, the temple of Nicomachus and Gorgaſus his grandſons [n], inceſſantly honoured by ſacrifices, offerings, and a numerous concourſe of ſick perſons labouring under every kind of diſorder.

While we were liſtening to a long account of miraculous cures, one of theſe unfortunate wretches, ready to yield up his laſt breath, ſaid to us, I had ſcarcely come into the world when my parents went to ſettle at the ſources of the Pamiſus, where it is pretended the waters of that river are extremely ſalutary for the diſeaſes of infants [o]. I have paſſed my life in the neighbourhood of beneficent divinities who diſtribute health to mortals, ſometimes in the temple of Apollo, near the city of Corone [p], and ſometimes in the place where I now am obſerving all the preſcribed ceremonies, and ſparing neither for victims nor offerings. I have always been aſſured that I was cured; but I am dying. He expired the next day.

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[k] Id. ibid. cap. 3. p. 286.
[l] Id. ibid. cap. 30. p. 353.
[m] Id. ibid. cap. 3. p. 284.
[n] Id. ibid. p. 287, et c. 30. p. 353.
[o] Id. ibid. cap. 31. p. 356.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 34. p. 365.

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CHAP. XLI.

Journey through Laconia *.

We embarked at Pheræ, on board a veſſel bound for the port of Scandea, in the ſmall iſland of Cythera, ſituated at the extremity of Laconia. At this port the merchant ſhips which come from Egypt and Africa frequently touch. From it an aſcent leads to the city of Cythera, in which the Lacedæmonians maintain a garriſon. They beſides annually ſend into the iſland a magiſtrate as governor [q].

We were young, and had already formed an intimacy with ſome paſſengers of our own age. The name of Cythera had awakened in our minds the moſt pleaſurable ideas. In that iſland has ſubſiſted from time immemorial the moſt ancient and moſt venerated of all the temples dedicated to Venus [r]. There was it that ſhe for the firſt time ſhowed herſelf to mortals [s], and accompanied by the Loves, took poſſeſſion of that land, ſtill embelliſhed by the flowers which haſtened to diſcloſe themſelves at her preſence. From that time have been known there the charms of the amorous interview and the tender ſmile [t]. Ah! doubtleſs, in that fortunate region, hearts only ſeek to unite; and the inhabitants paſs their days in plenty and in pleaſure.

The captain, who heard us with the greateſt ſurpriſe, ſaid to us coldly, They eat figs and roaſted cheeſe, they have alſo wine and honey [u], but they obtain nothing from the earth without the ſweat of their brow, for it is a dry and rocky ſoil [x]. Beſides, they are ſo fond of money [y] that they are very little acquainted with the tender ſmile. I have ſeen their

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* See the map of Laconia.

[q] Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 53. Scyl. Caryand. ap. Georg. Min. t. i. p. 17.

[r] Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 23. p. 269.

[s] Heſiod. Theog. v. 198.

[t] Id. ibid. v. 205.

[u] Heracl. Pont. de Polit. in Theſ. Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2830.

[x] Spon. Voyag. t. i. p. 97. Wheel. book i. p. 47.

[y] Heracl. ibid.

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old temple, formerly built by the Phœnicians, in honour of Venus Urania [y]. Her ſtatue is not very ſuitable to inſpire love, as ſhe appears in complete armour [z]. I have been told, as well as you, that the goddeſs when ſhe aroſe out of the ſea landed on this iſland; but I was likewiſe told that ſhe ſoon fled from it into Cyprus [a].

From theſe laſt words we concluded that the Phœnicians, having traverſed the ſeas, landed at the port of Scandea; that they brought thither the worſhip of Venus, which ſoon extended into the neighbouring countries; and that hence originated thoſe abſurd fables concerning the birth of Venus, her riſing out of the ſea, and her arrival at Cythera.

Inſtead of proceeding with our captain to this iſland, we requeſted him to leave us at Tænarus, a city of Laconia, the harbour of which is ſufficiently large to contain many ſhips [b]. It is ſituated near a cape of the ſame name [c], on which is a temple, as there is on all the principal promontories of Greece. Theſe ſacred edifices attract the vows and the offerings of mariners. That of Tænarus, dedicated to Neptune, ſtands in the middle of a conſecrated grove, which ſerves as an aſylum to criminals [d]. The ſtatue of the god is at the entrance [e]; and at the bottom opens an immenſe cavern greatly celebrated among the Greeks.

It is affirmed that it was at firſt the haunt of an enormous ſerpent, which Hercules ſlew, and which has been confounded with the dog of Pluto, becauſe its bite was mortal [f]. This idea was aſſociated with one already entertained, that the cavern led to the domains of the gloomy king, by ſubterranean paſſages, of which it was impoſſible for us, when we viſited it, to perceive the avenues [g].

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y Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 105.
z Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 23. p. 269.
a Heſiod. Theog. v. 193.
b Thucyd. lib. 7. cap. 19.
c Steph. in Ταν. Schol. Apollon. Argon. lib. 1. v. 102.
d Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 128 et 133.
e Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 275.
f Hecat. Miles ap. Pauſan. ibid.
g Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 275.

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You behold, said the priest, one of the mouths of hell [h]. Several similar ones are found in different places, as at the city of Hermione, in Argolis [i]; at Heraclea, in Pontus [k]; at Aornus, in Thesprotia [l]; and at Cumæ, near Naples [m]. But notwithstanding the pretensions of the inhabitants of these places, we maintain that it was through this gloomy cavern that Hercules dragged Cerberus up to light [n], and that Orpheus returned with his wife [o].

These traditions ought, however, less to engage your attention than a practice of which I am now about to speak. This cavern is in possession of a privilege which many other places enjoy [p]. Hither our diviners come to call up the peaceful shades of the dead, or to banish to the remotest part of the infernal domains the spectres that disquiet the living.

These wonderful effects are produced by sacred ceremonies. Sacrifices and libations must first be made, and prayers and mysterious formulæ repeated; the night must then be passed in the temple, and the shade of the deceased person, it is affirmed, never fails to appear in a dream [q].

Expiatory ceremonies are especially performed here, to appease those souls whom sword or poison has separated from their bodies. Thus was it that Callondas formerly repaired hither, by the command of the Pythia, to appease the incensed shade of the poet Archilochus, whom he had deprived of life [r]. I shall relate a still more recent fact: Pausanias, who commanded the Grecian army at Platæa, by a fatal mistake,

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[h] Pind. Pyth. 4. v. 79. Schol. ib. Eustath. in Iliad. t. i. p. 286 et 287. Mela, lib. 2. cap. 3.

[i] Strab. lib. 8. p. 373.

[k] Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. lib. 6. p. 375. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 261. Plin. lib. 27. cap. 2. p. 419.

[l] Herodot. lib. 5 cap 92. Pausan. lib. 9. cap. 3. p. 769. Hesych. in Θεσπ. Μολοσσ.

[m] Scymn. Chii. Orb. Descript. v. 248. ap. Geogr. Min. t. i.

[n] Euripid. in Herc. Fur. v. 23. Strab. lib. 8. p. 363. Pausan. lib. 3. p. 275. Apoll. lib. 2. p. 131. Schol. Homer. in Iliad. lib. 8. v. 368.

[o] Orph. Argon. v. 41. Virg. Georg. lib. 4. v. 467.

[p] Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 17. p. 252.

[q] Plut. de Consol. t. ii. p. 109.

[r] Id. de Serâ Numin. Vind. t. ii. p. 560. Œnom. ap. Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. 5. p. 228. Suid. in Ἀρχίλ.

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plunged his poniard in the boſom of Cleonica, whom he tenderly loved. The recollection of what he had done inceſſantly tormented him; and he continually ſaw her in his dreams, addreſſing him every night in theſe dreadful words: *Puniſhment awaits thee* [s]. He repaired to Heraclea, in Pontus, and the ſoothſayers conducted him to the cave where they call up the ſpirits of the dead, when that of Cleonica appeared to him, and told him that he ſhould find at Lacedæmon the end of his ſufferings. He immediately went thither, and, on his arrival, being judged guilty of crimes againſt the ſtate, he took refuge in a ſmall houſe, where all means of ſubſiſtence being denied him, he periſhed with hunger. A report was afterwards ſpread, that his ſhade had been heard to groan in the ſacred places; in conſequence of which diviners were ſent for from Theſſaly, who appeaſed his ghoſt with the ceremonies cuſtomary on ſuch occaſions [t]. I relate theſe prodigies, added the prieſt; I do not warrant the truth of them. Perhaps, as it is impoſſible to inſpire too much horror for homicide, it has been wiſely ſuggeſted that the diſquietude of mind which is the conſequence of guilt, is occaſioned by the cries of the ghoſts who purſue the guilty.

I know not, replied Philotas, how far the multitude ought to be intruſted with the truth, but they ought at leaſt to be guarded againſt the exceſs of error. The Theſſalians in the laſt century might have been convinced of this by melancholy experience. Their army was in ſight of that of the Phocians, who, during a light night, detached to the attack of the enemy's camp ſix hundred men, covered with plaſter. However groſs this ſtratagem, the Theſſalians, accuſtomed from their infancy to ſtories of apparitions and phantoms, imagined theſe ſoldiers to be celeſtial genii, who had come to the aſſiſtance of the Phocians; they therefore made but a feeble

[s] Id. ibid. p. 555; et in Cim. t. i. p. 482.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 560. Id. ap. Schol. Eurip. in Alceſt. v. 1128. Bayle, Rep. aux Quæſt. t. i. p. 345.

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reſiſtance, and ſuffered themſelves to be ſlaughtered like victims [u].

A ſimilar inſtance of ſuperſtition and credulity, replied the prieſt, formerly produced the ſame effect in our army, when in Meſſenia. The troops believed that Caſtor and Pollux had honoured with their preſence the feſtival they celebrated to thoſe deities. Two young and beautiful Meſſenians appeared at the head of the camp, mounted on ſuperb horſes, with their lances in the reſt, and clad in a white tunic, a purple mantle, and a pointed cap with a ſtar on the top; in the habit and ornaments, in ſhort, in which thoſe two heroes, the objects of our worſhip, are repreſented. They entered, and falling on the ſoldiers proſtrate at their feet, made a dreadful ſlaughter of them, and retired unmoleſted [x]. The gods, irritated at this perfidy, ſoon after manifeſted their anger againſt the Meſſenians.

Is it poſſible, cried I, that you Lacedæmonians ſhould mention the word perfidy; you who have been guilty of ſuch great injuſtice, and who are polluted with the blackeſt crimes of ambition! I had conceived a high idea of your laws; but your wars in Meſſenia have fixed an indelible ſtain on your nation. Have you, anſwered he, received an impartial account of them and their origin? If you have, it is the firſt time that the vanquiſhed have done juſtice to their conquerors. Liſten to me a moment.

When the deſcendants of Hercules returned into Peloponneſus, Creſphontes obtained by ſurpriſe the throne of Meſſenia [y]. He was aſſaſſinated ſome time after, and his children taking refuge at Lacedæmon, gave up to us the rights they inherited from their father. Though the validity of this ceſſion was confirmed by the oracle of Delphi [z], we long neglected to enforce our claims.

[u] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 27. Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. 801. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. . . cap. 18.

[x] Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 27. p. 344.

[y] Id. ibid. cap. 3. et 4.

[z] Iſocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 20.

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In the reign of Teleclus, we ſent, according to ancient uſage, a number of maidens, under the conduct of that prince, to preſent offerings at the temple of Diana Limnatis, ſituated on the confines of Meſſenia and Laconia. They were violated by ſome young Meſſenians, and killed themſelves rather than ſurvive their ſhame; the king himſelf loſt his life in endeavouring to defend them [a]. The Meſſenians, to juſtify ſo vile a crime, had recourſe to the moſt abſurd pretences, and Lacedæmon overlooked the injury rather than break the peace; till new inſults having exhauſted her patience [b], ſhe claimed her rights, and commenced hoſtilities. This was leſs a war of ambition than vengeance, as you may yourſelf judge from the oath by which the young Spartans engaged never to return to their country till they had ſubjugated Meſſenia, and by the ardour with which even our old men promoted the enterpriſe [c].

After the firſt war, the laws of Greece authoriſed us to make ſlaves of the vanquiſhed; but we were contented with impoſing on them a tribute. Their frequent revolts obliged us, after having conquered them in a ſecond war, to load them with chains; and, after a third, to baniſh them from our neighbourhood. Our conduct appeared ſo conformable to the laws of nations, that, in the treaties prior to the battle of Leuctra, neither the Greeks nor Perſians ever propoſed to us to reſtore liberty to Meſſenia [d]. You will remember that I am a miniſter of peace. If my country is forced to take arms, I lament the occaſion; and if ſhe is guilty of injuſtice, I condemn her conduct. When war commences, I ſhudder at the calamities about to fall on my fellow mortals, and I aſk why they are cruel; but it is the ſecret of the gods, and it behoves us to adore and be ſilent.

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[a] Strab. lib. 8. p. 362. Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 4. p. 288.

[b] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 4 et 5.

[c] Id. ibid. Juſtin. lib. 3. cap. 4.

[d] Iſocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 24.

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We left Tænarus, after having viſited in its environs ſome quarries from which is dug a black ſtone as valuable as marble [e]. We proceeded to Gythium, a city ſurrounded with walls, and very ſtrong, with an excellent harbour, in which the fleets of Lacedæmon ride ſecure, and find every requiſite for their maintenance and ſafety [f]. It is diſtant from the city thirty ſtadia [g].

The hiſtory of the Lacedæmonians has rendered the ſmall diſtrict they inhabit ſo renowned, that we viſited the ſmalleſt villages and the moſt inconſiderable towns, both in the environs of the gulf of Laconia, and in the inland country. We were every where ſhown temples, ſtatues, columns, and other monuments, the greater part of rude workmanſhip, and ſome of venerable antiquity [h]. In the gymnaſium of Aſopus, our attention was engaged by human bones of a prodigious ſize [i].

Having returned to the banks of the Eurotas, we aſcended it through a valley which it waters [k], and afterwards through the middle of a plain, which extends to the city of Lacedæmon. On our right we had the river, and on our left Mount Taygetus, at the foot of which Nature has hollowed out in the rock a number of ſpacious caverns [l].

At Bryſea we found a temple of Bacchus, which men are forbidden to enter, women alone being permitted to ſacrifice in it, and to perform certain ceremonies which it is not lawful for them to reveal [m]. We had before ſeen a city of Laconia where women are excluded from the ſacrifices offered to the god Mars [n]. From Bryſea we were ſhown, on the ſummit of a neighbouring mountain, a place named the Taletum, where, among other animals, horſes were ſacrificed to the

[e] Plin. lib. 36. cap. 18. t. ii. p. 748. Id. ibid. cap. 22. p. 752. Strab. lib. 8. p. 367.
[f] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6. p. 609. Liv. lib. 34. cap. 29.
[g] Polyb. lib. 5. p. 367.
[h] Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 22. p. 265.
[i] Id. ibid. p. 267.
[k] Strab. lib. 8. p. 343. Liv. lib. 34. cap. 28.
[l] Guill. Laced. Anc. t. i. p. 75.
[m] Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 20. p. 261.
[n] Id. ibid. cap. 22. p. 267.

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ſun [o]. Farther on, the inhabitants of a ſmall town boaſted that they were the firſt inventors of mills to grind corn [p].

We ſoon after came in ſight of the town of Amyclæ, ſituated on the right bank of the Eurotas, and diſtant from Lacedæmon about twenty ſtadia [q]. We there ſaw on a column the ſtatue of an athleta, who expired the inſtant after he had received the crown beſtowed on him as victor at the Olympic games. Around this ſtatue were ſeveral tripods, conſecrated by the Lacedæmonians to different divinities, in memory of the victories they had gained over the Athenians and Meſſenians [r].

We were impatient to viſit the temple of Apollo, one of the moſt famous in Greece. The ſtatue of the god, in height about thirty cubits [s] *, is of rude workmanſhip, and ſomewhat in the taſte of the Egyptians. It might be taken for a pillar of braſs, to which had been faſtened a head with a helmet, two hands, armed with a bow and lance, and two feet, the extremities of which only appear. The ſtatue is of very high antiquity, and, in ſucceeding times, was placed, by an artiſt named Bathycles, on a baſe, in form of an altar, in a throne ſupported by the Hours and Graces. The ſame artiſt has ornamented the faces of the baſe, and every part of the throne with baſs-reliefs, which repreſent ſo many different ſubjects, and contain ſo great a number of figures, that it is impoſſible to deſcribe them without being diſguſtingly tedious.

The temple is ſerved by prieſteſſes, the principal of whom takes the title of mother. After her death, her name, and the years during which ſhe exerciſed her functions, are engraven on marble. We were ſhown the tablets which contain this ſeries of epochas ſo precious to chronology, and we

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[o] Id. ibid. cap. 20. p. 261.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 260.
[q] Polyb. lib. 5. p. 367.
[r] Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 18. p. 254.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 19. p. 257.
* About 42½ French (or 45 Engliſh) feet.

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read in them the name of Laodamia, the daughter of Amyclas, who reigned in this country more than a thouſand years ſince [t]. Other inſcriptions, depoſited here to render them more venerable, contain treaties between ſtates [u], ſeveral decrees of the Lacedæmonians relative to religious ceremonies or military expeditions, and vows addreſſed to the god by ſovereigns or individuals [x].

Not far from the temple of Apollo is another temple, the building of which is not more than ſeventeen feet long by ten and a half broad [y]. Five rude ſtones of a black colour, and five feet thick, compoſe the four walls and the roof, on which are laid two other ſtones retiring inwards. The edifice ſtands on three ſteps, each of a ſingle ſtone. Above the entrance are engraven, in very ancient characters, theſe words, EUROTAS KING OF THE ICTEUCRATES TO ONGA. This prince lived about three centuries before the Trojan war. The name of Icteucrates ſignifies the ancient inhabitants of Laconia [z], and that of Onga, a divinity of Phœnicia or Egypt, the ſame, as is ſuppoſed, with the Minerva of the Greeks [a].

This edifice, which we more than once recollected during our travels in Egypt, is prior by many centuries to the moſt ancient in Greece. After having admired its ſimplicity and ſolidity, we ſunk into a kind of thoughtfulneſs, of which we afterwards endeavoured to inveſtigate the cauſe. It is only, ſaid Philotas, the attention of ſurpriſe. We reflect on the number of ages which have elapſed ſince the foundation of this temple, with the ſame aſtoniſhment with which, when arrived at the foot of a mountain, we have often meaſured with our eyes its ſtupendous height. The extent of duration produces the ſame effect as that of ſpace. Yet, replied I, the

[t] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxiii. p. 406.

[u] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 18 et 28.

[x] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xv. p. 395; t. xvi. Hiſt. p. 101. Inſcript. Fourmont. in Bibl. Reg.

[y] Id. ibid. p. 402.

[z] Heſych. in 'Ικτευκρ.

[a] Steph. in 'Ογκ. Heſych in 'Ογγα. Æſchyl. in Sept. contra Theb. v. 170. Schol. ibid. et in v. 493. Seld. de Diis Syr. Syntag. 2. cap. 4. Boch. Geog. Sacr. part. 2. lib. 2. cap. 12. p. 745.

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one leaves in our minds an impreſſion of melancholy that we never experience from the other. Is it not in reality becauſe we are more intimately connected with duration than with greatneſs? All theſe ancient ruins are the trophies of deſtroying time, and, in deſpite of ourſelves, enforce our attention to the inſtability of all human things. Here, for example, an inſcription has preſented to us the name of a people of whom neither you nor I had any knowledge. They have diſappeared, and this ſmall temple is the only teſtimony that they have exiſted, the only fragment that has remained of their wreck.

Smiling meadows [b] and lofty trees embelliſh the environs of Amyclæ. The fruits there are excellent [c]. It is a very agreeable place of abode, tolerably populous, and always full of ſtrangers [d], attracted by the ſplendour of the feſtivals, or by motives of religion. We left it to proceed to Lacedæmon.

We took up our reſidence at the houſe of Damonax, to whom we had been recommended by Xenophon. Philotas found there letters which obliged him to depart the next day for Athens. I ſhall not ſpeak of Lacedæmon till I have given a general idea of the province of Laconia.

It is bounded to the eaſt and ſouth by the ſea, to the weſt and the north by high mountains, or by hills which deſcend from them, and form between them pleaſant valleys. The mountains to the weſt are named Taygetus. From ſome of their ſummits, which riſe above the clouds [e], the eye may ſurvey the whole of Peloponneſus [f]. Their ſides, almoſt every where covered with woods, are the aſylum of a great number of goats, bears, wild boars, and ſtags [g].

Nature, which has here delighted to multiply theſe ſpecies of animals, ſeems alſo to have produced, purpoſely to de-

[b] Stat. Theb. lib. 9. v. 7 9. Liv. lib. 34 cap. 28.
[c] Polyb. lib. 5. p. 367.
[d] Inſcript. Fourmont. in Bibl. Reg.
[e] Stat. Theb. lib. 2. v. 35.
[f] Schol Pind. in Nem. 10. v. 114.
[g] Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 20. p. 261.

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ſtroy them, certain races of dogs, which are every where in great eſtimation [h], and eſpecially valuable for hunting the wild boar [i]. They are ſwift, ſpirited, impetuous [k], and endowed with an exquiſite ſcent [l]. The females poſſeſs theſe qualities in the higheſt degree [m]; and they alſo have another advantage, for they live, in general, nearly twelve years, while the males ſeldom live longer than ten [n]. To produce a breed more ardent and courageous, they are coupled with Moloſſian dogs [o], and it is affirmed that they ſometimes will of themſelves couple with foxes [p], and that from this mixture is generated a race of weak and ugly dogs, with thin ſhort hair, a pointed noſe, and inferior in quality to the others [q].

Among the dogs of Laconia, the black ſpotted with white are remarkable for their beauty [r], the fallow [s] for their ſagacity, and the Caſtorides and Menelaides for bearing the names of Caſtor and Menelaus, who multiplied their breed [t]. For the chaſe was anciently the amuſement of heroes, after it had ceaſed to be to them a labour of neceſſity. They were at firſt forced to defend themſelves againſt ferocious animals, which they ſoon compelled to take refuge in wild and uncultivated regions. When they were no longer in danger from theſe, rather than languiſh in indolence, they ſought new enemies for the pleaſure of combating them: the blood of the innocent dove was ſhed, and the chaſe became their favourite diverſion, ſince it preſented to them the image of war.

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[h] Theophraſt. Charact. cap. 5. Euſtath. in Odyſſ. p. 1822. Meurſ. Miſcel. Lacon. lib. 3. cap. 1.

[i] Xenoph. de Venat. p. 991.

[k] Callim. Hymn. in Dian. v. 94. Senec. Trag. in Hippol. v. 35. Virg. Georg. lib. 3. v. 405.

[l] Plat. in Parmen. t. iii. p. 128. Ariſtot. de Gener. Animal. lib. 5. t. i. cap. 2. p. 1139. Soph. in Ajac. v. 8.

[m] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 9. cap. 1. t. i. p. 922.

[n] Id. ibid. lib. 6. c. 1. p. 878. Plin. lib. 10. cap. 63. t. i. p. 578.

[o] Ariſtot. ibid. lib. 9. cap. 1. p. 922.

[p] Id. ibid. lib. 8. cap. 28. p. 920. Heſych. in Κυναλώπ. Poll. lib. 5. cap. 5. § 39.

[q] Xenoph. de Venat. p. 976. Themiſt. Orat. 21. p. 248.

[r] Guill. Laced. Anc. t. i. p. 199.

[s] Horat. Epod. od. 6. v. 5.

[t] Poll. lib. 5. cap. 5. § 38.

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On the land ſide Laconia is of difficult acceſs [u]. It can only be entered over ſteep hills, and through defiles eaſy to defend [x]. At Lacedæmon the plain widens [y]; and, advancing toward the ſouth, we find ſome fertile diſtricts [z]; though, in certain places, on account of the inequality of the ground, cultivation requires great labour [a]. Through the plain [b] are ſcattered a number of eminences, raiſed by the hand of man, and more frequently found in this country than in the neighbouring provinces. They were conſtructed before the birth of the arts, and intended for the tombs of the principal chiefs of the nation *. According to all appearance, like heaps of earth, raiſed for ſimilar purpoſes, were afterwards ſucceeded, in Egypt, by the pyramids. Thus is it, that in every age and country the pride of man has conſtantly aſſociated itſelf with his inſignificance and annihilation.

As to the productions of Laconia, we ſhall obſerve, that we find there a number of plants uſeful in medicine [c], as alſo a light kind of corn which affords little nouriſhment [d]; that fig-trees there muſt be frequently watered, without fear of injuring the quality of the fruit [e]; that figs ripen ſooner there than in other countries [f]; and, laſtly, that, on all the coaſts of Laconia, as well as on thoſe of Cythera, a conſiderable fiſhery is carried on, of that kind of ſhell-fiſh from which is obtained a much eſteemed purple dye [g] approaching to a roſe colour [h].

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[u] Eurip. ap. Strab. lib. 8. p. 366.
[x] Xenoph. ib. Polyb. lib. 2. p. 150. Liv. lib. 34. cap 28. lib. 35. cap. 27.
[y] Le Roi Ruines de la Grèce, t. ii. p. 31.
[z] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 66. Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 122. Polyb. lib. 5. p. 367.
[a] Eurip. ap. Strab. lib. 8. p. 366.
[b] Athen. lib. 14. cap. 5 p. 625.
* Similar hills are found in many countries inhabited by the ancient Germans.
[c] Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 4. cap. 6. p. 367.
[d] Id. ibid. lib. 8. cap. 4. p. 932.
[e] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 8. p. 92.
[f] Id. de Cauſ. Plant. ap. Athen. l. 3. p. 77. Plin. lib. 16. cap. 26. t. ii. p. 20.
[g] Ariſtot. ap. Steph. in Κύθηρα. Pauſan. lib. 3 cap. 21. p. 264. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 12. t. i. p. 208.
[h] Plin. lib. 21. cap. 8.

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Laconia is ſubject to earthquakes [i]. It is aſſerted that it formerly contained a hundred cities [k]; but this was at a time when the moſt inconſiderable town aſſumed that title; all we can ſay at preſent is, that it is extremely populous [l]. The Eurotas traverſes it through its whole extent, and receives the ſtreams, or rather the torrents, which deſcend from the neighbouring mountains. During a great part of the year this river cannot be forded [m]; but it every where flows in a narrow channel, and, when at the higheſt, its merit is, that it has more depth than breadth.

At certain ſeaſons it is covered with ſwans of a dazzling whiteneſs [n], and it almoſt every where abounds with reeds in great requeſt, becauſe they are ſtraight, tall, and of different colours [o]. Among other purpoſes for which they are employed, the Lacedæmonians make mats of them, and crown themſelves with them at certain feſtivals [p]. I remember, on this occaſion, that an Athenian, one day declaiming againſt the folly of men, ſaid to me, A feeble reed is all that is neceſſary to ſubject, to inſtruct, and to ſoothe them. I requeſted him to explain himſelf, and he added, Of this frail material are made arrows, pens to write with, and inſtruments of muſic [q] *.

To the right of the Eurotas, at a ſmall diſtance from the river [r], is the city of Lacedæmon, otherwiſe named Sparta. It is not ſurrounded with walls [s]; its only defence is the valour of its inhabitants [t], and ſome eminences, on which ſoldiers may be poſted in caſe of an attack [u]. The higheſt of

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[i] Strab. lib. 8. p. 367. Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 2. p. 294.

[k] Strab. ibid. p. 362. Euſtath. in Dionyſ. v. 419.

[l] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 66. Polyb. lib. 2. p. 125.

[m] Polyb. lib. 5. p. 369.

[n] Stat. Sylv. lib. 1. v. 143. Guill. Laced. Anc. t. i. p. 97.

[o] Euripid. in Hel. v. 355. et 500. Theogn. Sent. v. 783 Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 4. cap. 12. p. 470.

[p] Soſib. ap. Athen. lib. 15. p. 674.

[q] Plin. lib. 16. cap 36. t. ii. p 27.

* Flutes were commonly made of reeds.

[r] Polyb. lib. 5. p. 369.

[s] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6. p. 608. Id. in Ageſ. p. 662. Nep. in Ageſ. cap. 6. Liv. lib. 39. cap. 37.

[t] Juſtin. lib. 14 cap. 5.

[u] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 613. Liv. lib. 34. cap. 38.

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theſe eminences ſerves as a citadel: its ſummit is a ſpacious flat ground, on which are erected ſeveral ſacred edifices [x].

Around this hill are ranged five towns, ſeparated from each other by intervals of different extent, and each occupied by one of the five tribes of Spartans *. Such is the city of Lacedæmon, the quarters of which are not joined like thoſe of Athens [y]. Formerly the cities of Peloponneſus were only compoſed of villages, which were afterwards united by including them within one common encloſure [z] †.

The great ſquare, or forum, in which ſeveral ſtreets terminate, is embelliſhed with temples and ſtatues. It likewiſe contains the edifices in which the ſenate, the ephori, and other bodies of magiſtrates, aſſemble [a]; as alſo a portico which the Lacedæmonians erected after the battle of Platæa, at the expence of the vanquiſhed, whoſe ſpoils they had ſhared. The roof is not ſupported by columns, but by gigantic ſtatues, repreſenting Perſians habited in flowing robes [b]. The other parts of the city likewiſe preſent us with a great number of monuments in honour of the gods and ancient heroes.

On the higheſt of the eminences ſtands a temple of Minerva, which has the privilege of aſylum, as likewiſe has the grove which ſurrounds it, and a ſmall houſe appertaining to it, in which the king Pauſanias [c] was left to expire with hunger. This was reſented by the goddeſs as a profanation, and the oracle commanded the Lacedæmonians to erect to that prince two ſtatues which are ſtill ſeen near the altar [d]. The temple was built with braſs [e], as formerly was that of Delphi [f]. Within are engraven, in baſs-relief, the labours of Hercules, the achievements of the Tyndarides, and various groups of

[x] Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 17. p. 250.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[y] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 10.
[z] Id. ibid. Strab. lib. 8. p. 337. Diod. Sic. lib 11. p. 40.
† See the plan of Lacedæmon, and the note at the end of the volume.
[a] Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 231.
[b] Vitruv lib. 1. cap. 1.
[c] Thucyd lib. 1. cap. 134.
[d] Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 17. p. 253.
[e] Thucyd ibid. Liv. lib. 35. cap. 36. Suid. in Χαλχ.
[f] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 5. p. 810.

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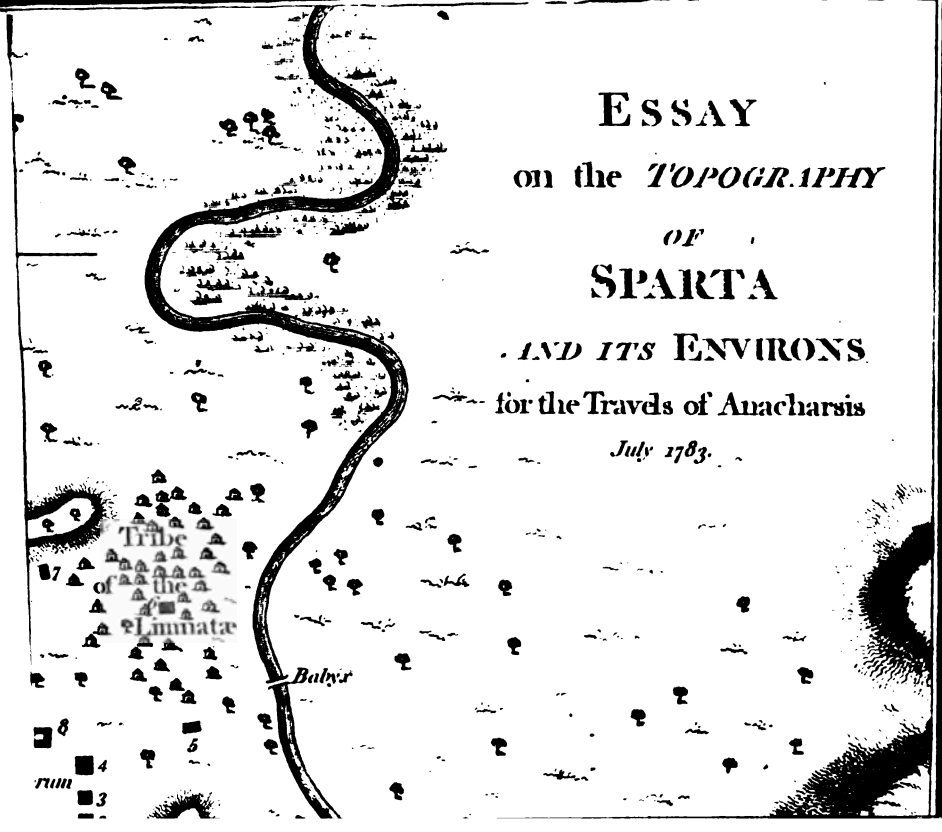

ESSAY
on the *TOPOGRAPHY OF* SPARTA
AND ITS ENVIRONS
for the Travels of Anacharsis

July 1783.

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AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

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figures [g]. To the right of this edifice is a ſtatue of Jupiter, perhaps the moſt ancient ſtatue of braſs exiſting. It is of the ſame date with the re-eſtabliſhment of the Olympic games, and is only an aſſemblage of pieces fitted to each other, and faſtened together with pins [h].

The tombs of the two reigning families at Lacedæmon are in two different quarters [i]. We every where meet with heroic monuments, which is the name given to edifices and groves conſecrated to ancient heroes [k]. There ſacred rites perpetuate and honour the memory of Hercules, Tyndarus, Caſtor, Pollux, Menelaus, with a number of others more or leſs known to hiſtory, and more or leſs deſerving to be known. The gratitude of nations, and more frequently the anſwers of oracles, formerly obtained them theſe diſtinctions; but the moſt noble motives have united to raiſe a temple to Lycurgus [l].

Similar honours were afterwards more rarely beſtowed. I have ſeen columns and ſtatues erected for Spartans crowned at the Olympic games [m], but never for the conquerors of the enemies of their country. Statues may be decreed to wreſtlers, but the public eſteem ſhould be the reward of ſoldiers. Among all thoſe who, during the laſt century ſignalized their valour againſt the Perſians or againſt the Athenians, four or five only received funeral honours in the city, and it is probable that this diſtinction was not granted them without difficulty. In fact, it was not till forty years after the death of Leonidas, that his bones were conveyed to Lacedæmon, and depoſited in a tomb near the theatre; then alſo was it that the names of the three hundred Spartans who had fallen with that immortal man, were, for the firſt time, inſcribed on a column [n].

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g Id lib. 3. cap 17. p. 250.
h Id. ibid. p. 251.
i Id. ibid. cap. 12. p. 237; cap. 14. p. 240.
k Id. ibid. p. 230, &c.
l Herodot. lib. 1. ca. 66. Pauſan. ibid. cap. 16. p. 248. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 59.
m Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 13. p. 240; cap. 14. p. 241; cap. 18. p. 254.
n Id. ibid. cap. 14. p. 240.

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The greater part of the monuments I have mentioned, inſpire the more reverence, as they diſplay no oſtentation, and are almoſt all of a rude workmanſhip. In other cities I have frequently detected my admiration wholly directed to the artiſt, but at Lacedæmon it was entirely engroſſed by the hero. An unſhapen ſtone ſufficed to recal him to my memory; but that remembrance was ever accompanied with a ſplendid image of his virtues or his victories.

The houſes at Lacedæmon are ſmall, and without ornament. Halls and porticos have been erected, to which the citizens reſort to converſe together or tranſact buſineſs [o]. On the ſouth ſide of the city is the hippodromus, or courſe for foot and horſe races [p]; and, at a little diſtance from that, the plataniſtas, or place of exerciſe for youth, ſhaded by beautiful plane trees, and encloſed by the Eurotas on one ſide, a ſmall river which falls into it on the other, and a canal by which they communicate on the third. It is entered by two bridges, on one of which is the ſtatue of Hercules, or all ſubduing force; and on the other that of Lycurgus, or all regulating law [q].

From this ſlight ſketch we may judge of the ſurpriſe which muſt be felt by an admirer of the arts, who, invited to Lacedæmon by the fame its inhabitants have acquired, ſhould only find, inſtead of a magnificient city, ſome poor villages; inſtead of ſumptuous houſes, obſcure cottages; and inſtead of impetuous and turbulent warriors, men of a peaceable diſpoſition, and commonly wrapt in a coarſe cloak. But how would his ſupriſe increaſe, when Sparta, better known, ſhould offer to his admiration one of the greateſt of men, and one of the moſt noble of the works of man; Lycurgus and his inſtitutions!

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[o] Id. ibid. cap. 14 et 15.
[p] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6. p. 608. Liv. lib. 34. cap. 27.
[q] Pauſan. cap. 14. p. 242. Lucian. de Gymnaſ. t. ii. p. 919.

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CHAP. XLII.

Of the Inhabitants of Laconia.

THE deſcendants of Hercules, ſupported by a body of Dorians, having poſſeſſed themſelves of Laconia, reſided there undiſtinguiſhed from the ancient inhabitants of the country. A ſhort time after, they impoſed on them a tribute, and deprived them of a part of their rights. The cities which ſubmitted to their will preſerved their liberty: that of Helos reſiſted, but, being ſoon overcome, its inhabitants were reduced to a condition little differing from ſlavery [r].

Diſſenſions afterwards took place among the Spartans, and the moſt powerful drove out the weaker party into the country or the neighbouring towns [s]. A diſtinction is ſtill made between the Lacedæmonians of the capital and thoſe of the province, and between both theſe and that prodigious number of ſlaves who are diſperſed through the country.

The former, who are often called Spartans, form that body of warriors on whom depend the fate of Laconia. Their number, it is ſaid, anciently amounted to ten thouſand [t]. In the time of Xerxes it was eight thouſand [u]. The late wars have ſo reduced them, that we now find very few ancient families at Sparta [x]. I have ſometimes ſeen not leſs than four thouſand perſons in the forum, among whom I could ſcarcely diſcover forty Spartans, even including the two kings, the ephori, and the ſenators [y].

The greater part of the new families are deſcended from Helots, who have been firſt rewarded with their liberty, and afterwards with the title of citizens. They are not called Spartans, but have various names according to the difference

[r] Strab. lib. 8. p. 365. Plut. in Lyc. t. i. p. 40

[s] Iſocr. Panathen. t. ii. p. 274.

[t] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 329.

[u] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 234.

[x] Ariſtot. ibid. Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 797.

[y] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 3. p. 494.

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of the priveleges they have obtained, all of which intimate their former condition [z].

Three great men, Callicratidas, Gylippus, and Lyſander, born in this claſs [a], were educated with the children of Spartans, as are all the ſons of the freed Helots [b]; but it was not till they had ſignalized themſelves by great ſervices that they were admitted to all the rights of citizens.

The title and privileges of a citizen were formerly rarely granted except to thoſe who were born of parents both Spartans [c]. They are an indiſpenſable qualification for the offices of magiſtracy, and the command of the army [d]. But a part of theſe privileges may be loſt by a flagitious action. The government is in general watchful over the preſervation of thoſe who are inveſted with them, and particularly careful of the lives of the Spartans by birth. Lacedæmon has been known, in order to recover ſome of them who were blocked up in an iſland by the Athenian fleet, to ſue to Athens for a diſgraceful peace, and ſacrifice her navy to her rival [e]. But a ſmall number of them are ever expoſed to the dangers of war. In theſe latter times the kings Ageſilaus and Ageſipolis frequently had not more than thirty of that claſs of citizens with them in their expeditions [f].

Notwithſtanding the loſs of their ancient privileges, the cities of Laconia form a confederation, the object of which is to unite their forces in war, and to maintain their rights in time of peace. When the intereſts of the whole ſtate are to be diſcuſſed, they ſend their deputies to the general aſſembly, which is always held at Sparta [g]. There are ſettled the contributions which each city ſhall pay, and the number of troops it ſhall furniſh.

[z] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 34. Id. lib 7. cap. 58. Heſych. in Νεοδαμ. Poll. lib. 3. cap. 8. § 83.

[a] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 12 cap. 43

[b] Athen lib. 6. cap. 20. p. 271. Meurſ. Miſcell. Lacon. lib. 2 cap. 6 Crag. de Rep. Laced lib 1. cap. 5.

[c] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 33. Dionyſ. Halicarn. Antiq. Roman. lib. 2. cap. 17. t. i. p. 270.

[d] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 230.

[e] Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 15 et 19.

[f] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 3. p. 496; lib. 5. p. 562.

[g] Id. lib. 6. p. 579.

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The inhabitants of these cities do not receive the same education as those of the capital. Their manners are more rude [h], and their courage less brilliant. Hence is it that the city of Sparta has obtained the same ascendance over the other cities of Laconia, as the city of Elis over those of the district of Elis [i], and that of Thebes over those of Bœotia. This superiority excites their jealousy and hatred [k]. In one of the expeditions of Epaminondas several of them joined their forces to those of the Thebans [l].

There are more domestic slaves at Lacedæmon than in any other city of Greece [m]. They serve their masters at table [n], dress them and undress them [o], execute their orders, and preserve cleanliness in the house. In the army a great number are employed to carry the baggage [p]. As the Lacedæmonian women must not labour, they employ female servants to spin wool [q].

The Helots have received their name from the city of Helos [r]. They must not be confounded, as they have been by some authors [s], with the slaves properly so called [t]. They rather occupy a middle state between slaves and free citizens [u].

A particular kind of dress, a cap made of skin, severe treatment, and sentences of death frequently pronounced against them on the slightest suspicions, incessantly remind them of their condition [x]; but their servile situation is recompensed by real advantages. Like the vassals of Thessaly [y], they farm the lands of the Spartans; and, that they may be attached to the service of their masters by the allurement of gain, they

[h] Liv. lib. 34. cap. 27.
[i] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 148. Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 31.
[k] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 494.
[l] Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 607 et 609.
[m] Thucyd. lib. 8. cap. 40.
[n] Crit. ap. Athen. lib. 11. cap. 3. p. 463.
[o] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 633.
[p] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. 6. p. 586.
[q] Id. de Rep. Laced. p. 675.
[r] Hellan. ap. Harpocr. in Εἵλωτ. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 20. p. 261.
[s] Isocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 23.
[t] Plat. in Alcib. t. ii. p. 122.
[u] Poll. lib. 3. cap. 8. § 83.
[x] Myron. ap. Athen. lib. 14. p. 657.
[y] Suid. et Harpocr. in Πενέ.

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are only required to pay a rent which has long been fixed, and is by no means equal to the produce; and this rent it would be considered as disgraceful in any proprietor of land to attempt to increase [z].

Some of them employ themselves in the mechanical arts with so much success, that the keys [a], beds, tables, and chairs, that are made at Lacedæmon, are every where in the greatest request [b]. The Helots likewise serve as sailors on board the fleet [c]; and in the army every oplites, or heavy armed soldier, is accompanied by one or more of them [d]. At the battle of Platæa every Spartan had seven of them to attend him [e].

In times of imminent danger they have been encouraged to exert themselves by the hope of liberty [f], which numerous bodies of them have sometimes obtained for their services [g]. This benefit they can only receive from the state, because they belong more to that than the citizens whose lands they cultivate; and hence is it that the latter can neither give them their freedom, nor sell them into foreign countries [h]. Their enfranchisement is performed by a public ceremony, in which they are led from one temple to another, crowned with flowers, and exposed to the sight of the people [i]. They are afterwards permitted to dress in what manner they please [k], and by new services may be raised to the rank of citizens.

From the time they were first subjected, these vassals, impatient of their servitude, had often endeavoured to break their yoke; but when the Messenians, after having been conquered by the Lacedæmonians, were reduced to the same

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[z] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 54. Id. Apophth. t. ii. p. 216. Id. Instit. Lacon. p. 289. Myron. ibid.

[a] Aristoph. in Thesmoph. v. 430. Bisset. ibid.

[b] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 45.

[c] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 615.

[d] Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 8.

[e] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 10 et 28. Plut. in Arist. t. i. p. 325. Id. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 871.

[f] Thucyd. lib. 4 cap. 26. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 608.

[g] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 34. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 124.

[h] Strab. lib 8. p. 363. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 20.

[i] Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 80. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 57.

[k] Id. lib. 5. cap. 34.

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disgraceful condition [l], revolts became more frequent [m]. Excepting a small number who remained faithful [n], the rest, placed as it were in ambuscade, in the midst of the state, took advantage of its misfortunes to seize on an important post [o], or to go over to the enemy. The government endeavoured to retain them in their duty by rewards, but more often by the most cruel severities. It is even said, that on a certain occasion, two thousand of them, who had given proofs of too much courage, suddenly disappeared, and that it was never known in what manner they perished [p]. Other instances of barbarity [q], no less execrable [*], are recorded, and have given occasion to the proverb, that, "at Sparta, the free man is the freest of all men, and the slave the greatest of slaves [r]." I have never been a witness to these severities; I have only seen that the Spartans and the Helots, full of mutual distrust observe each other with fear; and that the former, to make themselves obeyed, have recourse to severities which circumstances seem to render necessary. For the Helots are extremely difficult to govern; their number, their courage, and especially their riches, render them daring and insolent [s]; and hence it is that intelligent authors are divided with respect to this species of slavery, which some condemn and others approve [t].

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[l] Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 297; c. 23. p. 335. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 1.

[m] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 333. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 1. p. 435.

[n] Hesych. in Ἀργεῖοι.

[o] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 101. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 328. Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 489. Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 14. p. 339.

[p] Id. lib. 4. cap. 80. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 117. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 57.

[q] Myron. ap. Athen. lib. 14. p. 657.

[*] See note at the end of the volume.

[r] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 57.

[s] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 318.

[t] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 776.

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CHAP. XLIII.

General Ideas on the Legiſlation of Lycurgus.

I HAD been ſome days at Sparta, where my appearance excited no ſurpriſe, the law which formerly rendered it difficult for ſtrangers to enter the country being no longer enforced with the ſame rigour. I was introduced to the two princes then on the throne; theſe were Cleomenes, grandſon of the king Cleombrotus who was killed at the battle of Leuctra, and Archidamus, the ſon of Ageſilaus. Both were men of wit: the former loved peace; the latter breathed only war, and enjoyed great credit and influence. I likewiſe knew that Antaloidas, who, about thirty years before, had negotiated a treaty between Greece and Perſia. But, of all the Spartans, Damonax, at whoſe houſe I lodged, appeared to me the moſt communicative and intelligent. He had travelled in foreign countries, but was not the leſs acquainted with his own.

One day, when I overwhelmed him with queſtions, he ſaid to me, To judge of our laws by our preſent manners, would be to judge of the beauty of an edifice by a heap of ruins. Let us then, replied I, place ourſelves at that point of time when they flouriſhed in their full vigour: do you think we ſhall thus be able to diſcover their true connection and ſpirit? Do you imagine it can be eaſy to juſtify the extraordinary and whimſical regulations they contain? Reverence, replied he, the work of a genius, whoſe views, ever new and profound, only appear extravagant becauſe thoſe of other legiſlators are too timid and bounded. They were contented to adapt their laws to the character of their people; Lycurgus, by his, gave a new character to the nation for which he framed them. They have departed from Nature while they believed themſelves to approach her, but he became more

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cloſely united to her the more he appeared to wander from her.

A ſound body and a free mind are all that Nature requires to render happy man in ſolitude. Theſe therefore are the advantages which, according to Lycurgus, ought to be made the foundation of our happineſs. You already conceive why he has forbidden us to marry our daughters at a premature age; why they are not brought up beneath the ſhade of their ruſtic roofs, but expoſed to the burning rays of the ſun, in the duſt of the gymnaſium, and habituated to the exerciſes of wreſtling, running, and throwing the javelin and diſcus [u]. As they were to give healthy and vigorous citizens to the ſtate, it was neceſſary that they ſhould acquire a ſound and ſtrong conſtitution, that they might tranſmit the ſame to their children.

You alſo conceive why our children, at their birth, undergo a ſolemn examination, and are condemned to periſh if they are found of a bad conformation of body [x]. Of what uſe, indeed, would they be to the ſtate, or what comfort could they derive from life, if they only dragged on a painful and weariſome exiſtence.

From our moſt early infancy, an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of labours and combats beſtows on our bodies agility, ſuppleneſs, and ſtrength; and a ſtrict regimen prevents or diſpels the maladies to which we are liable. All artificial wants are here unknown, and the laws have been careful to provide for all real ones. Thoſe objects of terror, hunger, thirſt, pain, and death, are viewed by us with an indifference which philoſophy ſeeks to imitate in vain. The moſt rigid ſects have never been able to manifeſt that contempt for pain with which it is treated even by children at Sparta.

But theſe men to whom Lycurgus has wiſhed to reſtore the bleſſings of nature, cannot, perhaps, be expected long to

[u] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 675 et 676. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 47.

[x] Id. in Num. p. 77. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 49.

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enjoy them; they will approach and aſſociate with each other; paſſions will take birth, and the edifice of their happineſs be overthrown in an inſtant. Here is it that we behold the triumph of genius. Lycurgus knew that a violent paſſion ſubjugates all the others. He therefore will give us the love of our country [y], in all its energy, its plenitude, its tranſports, nay even its delirium. This love ſhall be ſo ardent and ſo imperious, that in it ſhall concentre all the intereſts and all the emotions of our hearts. Then ſhall there remain in the ſtate but one will, and by conſequence one ſpirit; for, in fact, wherever there is but one ſentiment there is but one idea.

Throughout the reſt of Greece [z], the children of the free man are confided to the care of the man who is not, or deſerves not, to be free. But ſlaves and mercenaries may not aſpire to educate Spartans. Our country herſelf takes upon her this important charge. She leaves us, during the firſt years of our infancy, in the hands of our parents; but no ſooner does reaſon dawn than ſhe loudly aſſerts the rights ſhe has over us. Until that moment her ſacred name had never been pronounced in our preſence without the ſtrongeſt demonſtrations of love and reſpect; and now her eye ſeek us and follow us every where. From her hand we receive our nouriſhment and clothing; and by her injunction is it that the magiſtrates, the aged men, and all the citizens, are preſent at our ſports, diſcover inquietude at our faults, endeavour to develop ſome germ of virtue in our words or actions, and in fine teach us, by their tender ſolicitude, that the ſtate poſſeſſes nothing it holds ſo precious as ourſelves; and that, now the children of our country, we are one day to become her conſolation and her glory.

How is it poſſible that attentions which deſcend on us from ſuch an elevation ſhould not make on our ſouls profound and durable impreſſions? How is it poſſible not to adore a conſti-

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[y] Id. ibid. t. i. p. 55.

[z] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 50.

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tution which, promoting our intereſts both by ſovereign goodneſs and ſupreme power, ſo early gives us ſuch an exalted idea of ourſelves?

From this lively intereſt which our country takes in us, and from this tender affection which we begin to conceive for her, naturally reſults, on her ſide, an extreme ſeverity, and on ours an implicit ſubmiſſion. Lycurgus, nevertheleſs, not contented to confine himſelf to the natural order of things, has made an obligation of our ſentiments. No where are the laws ſo imperious or ſo well obſerved, or the magiſtrates leſs indulgent or more reſpected. This happy harmony, abſolutely neceſſary to retain in ſubjection men educated in the contempt of death, is the fruit of that education which is no other than the apprenticeſhip of obedience, and, if I may venture the expreſſion, the tactics of all the virtues. During that we learn, that without order there can be neither courage, honour, or liberty; and that order cannot be maintained unleſs we are maſters of our will. Hence ſo many leſſons, examples, painful ſacrifices, and minute obſervances, that all concur to procure us this empire over ourſelves, which is no leſs difficult to preſerve than to obtain.

One of the principal magiſtrates keeps us continually aſſembled under his eye. Should he be obliged to abſent himſelf for a moment, any citizen may ſupply his place, and put himſelf at our head [a]. So eſſential is it forcibly to impreſs our imagination with a reverence for authority.

Our duties increaſe with our years, and the nature of the inſtructions we receive is proportioned to the progreſs of our reaſon; while the riſing paſſions are either repreſſed by the multiplicity of exerciſes, or ably directed towards objects uſeful to the ſtate.

At the time when theſe paſſions begin to diſplay their violence, we never appear in public but in ſilence, with modeſty

[a] Id. ibid. p. 678.

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in our countenances, our eyes caſt down, and our hands concealed in our mantles [b]; in the attitude, in fine, and with the gravity of Egyptian prieſts, and as if newly initiated in, and ſet apart for, the miniſtry of virtue.

The love of country muſt introduce a ſpirit of union among the citizens, and the deſire of pleaſing and benefiting that country the ſpirit of emulation. Here this union will not be diſturbed by thoſe ſtorms which are elſewhere its deſtruction. Lycurgus has ſecured us from almoſt all the ſources of jealouſy, becauſe he has rendered almoſt every thing common and equal among the Spartans.

We are every day aſſembled at public repaſts, at which decency and frugality preſide. By this regulation both want and exceſs, and the vices which are the conſequences of theſe, are baniſhed from the houſes of individuals [c].

I am permitted, when circumſtances require, to make uſe of the ſlaves, carriages, horſes, or whatever elſe appertains to another citizen [d], and this ſpecies of community of goods is ſo general, that it, in ſome meaſure, extends to our wives and children [e]. Hence, if unfruitful bonds unite an old man to a young woman, the obligation preſcribed to the former to chooſe a young man diſtinguiſhed for the beauties of his perſon and the qualities of his mind, to introduce him to his bed, and adopt the fruits of this new union [f]. Hence alſo, if an unmarried man wiſhes to have an offspring in whom he may ſurvive, the permiſſion granted him to borrow the wife of his friend, and to have by her children, which the huſband brings up with his own, though they never ſhare in the inheritance [g]. On the other ſide, if my ſon ſhould dare to complain of having been inſulted by any perſon, I ſhould conclude him culpable, and ſhould chaſtiſe him a ſecond time, for having rebelled

[b] Id. ibid. p 679.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 680. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46.
[d] Xenoph. ibid. 681. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 317.
[e] Plut. ibid. p. 50. Id. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 237.
[f] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 678. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49.
[g] Xenoph. ibid.

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againſt that paternal authority which is divided among all the citizens [h].

In depriving us of that property which produces ſo many diviſions among men, Lycurgus was but the more attentive to favour emulation, which was become neceſſary to prevent the diſguſt which muſt enſue from too perfect a union, to fill up that void which the exemption from domeſtic cares [i] had left in the mind, to animate us during war and during peace, at every moment, and in every period of life.

This deſire of preference and ſuperiority, which ſo early manifeſts itſelf in youth, is conſidered as the germ of a uſeful rivalry. Three officers, named by the magiſtrates, ſelect three hundred young men diſtinguiſhed by their merit, form of them a ſeparate claſs, and declare the motive of their choice to the public [k]. From that inſtant, thoſe who have been excluded league againſt a promotion which ſeems to redound to their diſhonour. Two bodies are then formed in the ſtate, all the members of which, continually employed in watching each other, give information to the magiſtrate of every fault of their adverſaries, publicly engage in competitions of generous and virtuous actions, and ſurpaſs themſelves, the one to attain to the diſtinguiſhed rank to which their rivals have been raiſed, and the other to preſerve the honours that have been conferred upon them. It is from a ſimilar motive that they are permitted to attack each other, and try their ſtrength, almoſt whenever they meet. But theſe conteſts never have fatal conſequences; for, as ſoon as any ſigns of rage appear in them, the meaneſt citizen may ſuſpend them with a word; and if, by chance, his voice is not liſtened to, he may carry the parties before a tribunal which, in this inſtance, will puniſh anger as a diſobedience to the laws [l].

The inſtitutes of Lycurgus prepare us for a kind of indifference for thoſe goods, the acquiſition of which coſts us more

[h] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 237.
[i] Id. ibid. p. 239.
[k] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 679.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 680.

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anxiety than the poſſeſſion can procure us pleaſure. Our money is only of copper, the ſize and weight of which would betray the avaricious man who ſhould endeavour to conceal it from his ſlaves [m]. We conſider gold and ſilver as the poiſons moſt to be dreaded in a ſtate. If an individual ſhould ſecrete them in his houſe, he could neither eſcape the continual reſearches of the public officers, nor the ſeverity of the laws. We are neither acquainted with arts, commerce, nor any of the other means employed to multiply the wants and unhappineſs of a people. What uſe, in fact, could we make of riches? Other legiſlators have endeavoured to increaſe their circulation, and philoſophers to prevent their abuſe. Lycurgus has rendered them uſeleſs to us. We have cottages, clothing, and bread; we have iron and hands for the ſervice of our country and our friends, and we have free and vigorous minds, incapable alike of ſupporting the tyranny of men or that of our paſſions. Theſe are our treaſures.

We conſider the exceſſive lov. of glory as a weakneſs, and the inordinate deſire of fame as a crime. We have no hiſtorian, no orator, no panegyriſt, nor any of thoſe monuments which only atteſt the vanity of a people. The nations we have conquered will tranſmit our victories to poſterity. We teach our children to be as brave and virtuous as their fathers. The example of Leonidas, inceſſantly preſent to their memory, will incite them to emulation by day and night. You have only to aſk them, and they will repeat to you, by rote, the names of the three hundred Spartans who died with that hero at Thermopylæ [n].

We never can call by the name of grandeur that independence of the laws, which in other countries the principal citizens affect. Licentiouſneſs, certain of impunity, appears to us a meanneſs, which at once renders contemptible both the individual who is guilty of it, and the ſtate by which it is to-

[m] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 682. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 44.

[n] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 224.

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lerated. We believe that we are the equals of all other men, of whatever country or rank they may be, not excepting the great king of Perſia himſelf. Yet the moment that our laws ſpeak, all our haughtineſs bows itſelf down, and the moſt powerful of our citizens haſtens to obey the voice of the magiſtrate with as much ſubmiſſion as the meaneſt [o]. We fear our laws alone, becauſe Lycurgus having procured them to be approved by the oracle of Delphi, we have received them as the commands of the gods themſelves [p]; and becauſe that wiſe lawgiver having adapted them to our real wants, they are the true foundation of our happineſs.

From this firſt ſketch you will eaſily perceive that Lycurgus ought not to be conſidered as a ſimple legiſlator, but as a profound philoſopher and an enlightened reformer; that his legiſlation is at once a ſyſtem of morals and politics; that his laws have a never-ceaſing influence on our manners and ſentiments; and that while other legiſlators have confined themſelves to the prevention of evil, he has conſtrained us to effect poſitive good, and to be virtuous [q].

He was the firſt who had a juſt knowledge of the ſtrength and weakneſs of man, which he has ſo employed and adapted to the duties and wants of the citizen, that, among us, the intereſts of individuals are always inſeparable from thoſe of the republic. Be not then ſurpriſed that one of the moſt inconſiderable ſtates of Greece is become the moſt powerful [r]. Here every thing is employed ſo as to produce its effect. There is not the ſmalleſt degree of power which is not directed towards the general good, nor a ſingle act of virtue which is loſt to our country.

The ſyſtem of Lycurgus could not but produce juſt and pacific men; it is nevertheleſs a melancholy reflection that, unleſs they could be tranſported to ſome diſtant and inacceſ-

[o] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 683.
[p] Id. ibid.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 685.
[r] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 18. Xenoph. ibid p. 675. Iſocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 53.

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ſible iſland, they muſt at length be enſlaved by the vices or the arms of the neighbouring nations. The legiſlator endeavoured to prevent this double danger. He did not permit foreigners to enter Laconia, except on certain days [s], nor the inhabitants to go out of it [t] but for very important reaſons. The ſituation of the country was favourable to the enforcing of this law. Surrounded by ſeas and mountains, we have only ſome defiles to guard, to ſtop corruption on our frontiers. The prohibition of commerce and navigation was the conſequence of this regulation [u], and from this prohibition reſulted the ineſtimable advantage of having but a very few laws, ſince it has been remarked, that only one half the number is neceſſary to a city not engaged in commerce [x].

It was ſtill more difficult to conquer than to corrupt us. From the riſing of the ſun to his going down, from our earlieſt years to the cloſe of life, we are continually under arms, continually prepared for the enemy, even obſerving a more exact diſcipline than if we were within ſight of an invading army. On whichever ſide you turn your eyes, you will leſs imagine yourſelf in a city than in a camp [y]; you will ſee nothing but marches, evolutions, attacks, and battles; you will only hear the ſhouts of victory or the recital of great actions. Theſe formidable preparations are not only the recreations of our leiſure, but our ſecurity, by ſpreading far and wide the terror and reſpect which conſtantly accompany the name of Lacedæmonian.

Many of our laws are ſuited to inſpire and encourage this military ſpirit. While young, we every morning take the exerciſe of the chaſe [z]; and afterwards, as often as the duties we have to fulfil leave us intervals of leiſure [a]. Lycurgus

[s] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 1014. Schol. ejuſd. in Pac. v. 622. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 144; lib. 2. cap. 39. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 56; in Agid. p. 799. Id. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238. Meurſ. Miſcell. Lacon. lib. 2. cap. 9.

[t] Plut. in Protag. t. i. p. 342.

[u] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.

[x] Plat. de Rep. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 842.

[y] Id. de Leg. lib. 2. p. 666. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 54. Iſocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 53.

[z] Iſocr. Paneth. t. ii. p. 291.

[a] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 680.

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has recommended to us this exercise as the image of danger and of victory.

While our youth are engaged with ardour in this sport, it is permitted them to range the country, and carry off whatever they may find which suits their convenience [b]. They are permitted the same in the city, and are esteemed to have committed no crime, but to be deserving of praise, if they are not detected; but are blamed and punished, if discovered. This law, which appears to be borrowed from the Egyptians [c], has brought much censure on Lycurgus [d]. It seems, in fact, as if its natural consequence must be to inspire our youth with an inclination to disorder and robbery; but it in reality only produces in them more address and activity, in the other citizens more vigilance, and in all a greater aptitude to foresee the designs of an enemy, to prepare snares for him, or to avoid those which he may prepare [e].

Before we conclude, let us recur to the principles from which we set out. A healthy and vigorous body, and a mind free from anxiety and wants, constitute the natural happiness of man in solitude; and the union and emulation of citizens that which ought to be his object in society. If the laws of Lycurgus have fulfilled the views of nature and society, we enjoy the best of constitutions. But you will examine it in detail, and be able to judge whether in fact it ought to inspire us with pride.

I then asked Damonax how such a constitution could subsist; for, said I, since it is equally founded on the laws and on manners, the same punishments ought to be inflicted for offences against the one as for crimes against the other; and would you condemn to death, like criminals, those citizens who have forfeited their honour?

[b] Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 291.
[c] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 72. Aul. Gell. lib. 11. cap. 18.
[d] Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 291.
[e] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 677. Heracl. Pont. de Polit. in Antiquit. Græc. v. vi. p. 2823. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 51. Id. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 237.

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We condemn them, replied he, to a ſeverer puniſhment; we ſuffer them to live, and render them miſerable. In corrupted ſtates, the man who diſhonours himſelf is every where blamed, and every where received [f]: with us ignominy follows and torments him wherever he goes. We puniſh him both in himſelf, and what is moſt dear to him. His wife, condemned to waſte her days in tears, is not allowed to appear in public; and if he himſelf ventures abroad, he muſt, by the negligence of his dreſs, confeſs his ſhame, and keep at a reſpectful diſtance from every citizen he meets. At our games, he is baniſhed to a place where he is expoſed to the view and contempt of the public. A thouſand deaths are not to be compared to this puniſhment.

Another difficulty, ſaid I, likewiſe preſents itſelf. I cannot but fear leſt Lycurgus, by thus weakening your paſſions, and depriving you of all thoſe objects of intereſt and ambition which ſet in motion other nations, ſhould have left in your minds a vaſt vacuity. What in fact can remain in them? The enthuſiaſm of valour, replied he; the love of our country, carried even to fanaticiſm; the ſenſe of our liberty; the delicious pride which our virtues inſpire; and the eſteem of a people of citizens ſovereignly eſtimable. Can you imagine that, under the influence of emotions ſo lively, our minds can ſink into inactivity and torpor?

I know not, replied I, whether a whole people are capable of ſentiments ſo ſublime, or whether they can be ſuſtained at ſuch an elevation. He anſwered, When it is wiſhed to form the character of a nation, the beginning ſhould be made by the principal citizens. When theſe are once put in motion, and their efforts directed toward great objects, they draw after them the great body of the people, who are rather led by examples than principles. A ſoldier who behaves cowardly when he follows a timid general, will perform prodigies when commanded by a hero.

[f] Id. ibid. p. 684.

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But, added I, by banishing luxury and the arts, have you not deprived yourselves of the enjoyments they procure? We shall always find it difficult to persuade ourselves that the best means to arrive at happiness, is to proscribe pleasures. In fine, to judge of the merit of your laws, we ought to know whether, with all your virtues, you are equally happy with the other Greeks. We believe ourselves to be much more so, replied he, and that persuasion is sufficient to render us so in reality.

Demonax, as he concluded, requested me not to forget, that, according to our agreement, our conversation had only turned on the spirit of the laws of Lycurgus, and on the manners of the ancient Spartans.

CHAP. XLIV.

The Life of Lycurgus.

I HAVE said, in the introduction to this work, that the descendants of Hercules, formerly expelled from Peloponnesus, returned thither eighty years after the taking of Troy. Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, the three sons of Aristomachus, brought with them an army of Dorians, and made themselves masters of this part of Greece. In the division of the country, Argolis fell to Temenus, and Messenia to Cresphontes [8]. The third brother dying in the mean time, Eurysthenes and Procles, his sons, possessed themselves of Laconia. From these two princes sprang the two families which, since about nine centuries, have reigned in conjunction at Lacedæmon.

This rising state was often shaken by intestine factions or daring enterprises. It was threatened with speedy destruction,

[8] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 683.

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when one of its kings, named Polydectes, died without iſſue. Lycurgus, his brother, ſucceeded him. It was not then known that the queen was pregnant. As ſoon as Lycurgus was informed that ſhe was ſo, he declared, that if ſhe gave an heir to the throne, he would be the firſt to acknowledge his right, and, as a proof of his ſincerity, only adminiſtered the government of the kingdom in quality of guardian to the young prince.

The queen, however, cauſed it to be ſignified to him, that if he would conſent to marry her, ſhe would not heſitate to deſtroy her child. To prevent the execution of ſo horrid a project, Lycurgus amuſed her with vain hopes [h]. She brought forth a ſon; Lycurgus took him in his arms, and ſhowing him to the magiſtrates of Sparta, "See," ſaid he, "the king who is born to you."

The joy which he teſtified at an event that deprived him of the crown, added to the wiſdom with which he had adminiſtered the affairs of the ſtate, procured him the reſpect and love of the greater part of the citizens; but theſe virtues were a ſubject of alarm to ſome leading men. They were ſeconded by the queen, who, to revenge the ſuppoſed injury ſhe had ſuffered, excited againſt him his relations and friends. They alleged that it was dangerous to confide the life of the young prince to the care of a man whoſe principal intereſt it was to ſhorten his days. Theſe murmurs, though feeble at firſt, at length gathered ſo much ſtrength, that, to ſilence them, he was obliged to leave his country.

In Crete, the laws of the ſage Minos long engaged his attention. He admired the harmony which they maintained in the ſtate, and among individuals. Among the intelligent perſons who aſſiſted him with their knowledge and abilities, he had formed an intimate connection with a poet of the name of Thales, whom he judged worthy to promote the great deſigns he revolved in his mind [i]. Thales, by his advice, went

[h] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 40.

[i] Strab. lib. 10. p. 482.

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and reſided at Lacedæmon, where he recited poems which invited and prepared the minds of men to obedience and concord.

The better to judge of the effects which are produced by different governments and manners, Lycurgus viſited the coaſts of Aſia. He there only ſaw laws and minds without vigour. The Cretans, under a ſimple and ſtrict government, were happy[k]: the Ionians, who pretended to be ſo, were the ſlaves of pleaſure and licentiouſneſs. An ineſtimable diſcovery recompenſed him for the diſguſting ſcene he had before his eyes. The poems of Homer fell into his hands, and in them he ſaw, with ſurpriſe, the nobleſt maxims of morals and politics embelliſhed by the charms of fiction. With this work he therefore reſolved to enrich Greece [k].

While he continued to travel through diſtant lands, every where ſtudying the genius and the work of legiſlators, and gathering the ſeeds of happineſs which were ſcattered through different countries, Lacedæmon, wearied of her diviſions, ſent to him, more than once, deputies who preſſed him to return to the ſuccour of the ſtate. He alone was able to guide the reins of government, which had been, by turns, in the hands of the kings, and in thoſe of the multitude [l]. He long refuſed, but at length yielded to the united and ardent ſolicitations of all the citizens of Lacedæmon.

On his return to Sparta, he ſoon perceived that the reformation neceſſary was not to repair the edifice of the laws, but to pull it down and erect another entirely new. He foreſaw all the obſtacles to this deſign, but was not intimidated. He had in his favour the reſpect paid to his birth and virtues, his genius, his knowledge, that majeſtic courage which impels the minds of men, and that conciliatory ſpirit which attracts them [m]: he had, in fine, the approbation of heaven, which,

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[k] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 41
[l] Id. ibid. p. 42.
[m] Id. ibid.

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after the example of other legiſlators, he had always been careful to ſecure. On conſulting the oracle at Delphi, he had received for anſwer, "The gods accept thy worſhip, and under their auſpices thou ſhalt frame the moſt excellent of political conſtitutions." Lycurgus afterwards never neglected to maintain a correſpondence with the pythia, who ſucceſſively impreſſed on his laws the ſeal of divine authority [n].

Before he began his operations, he ſubmitted his plan to the examination of his friends and the moſt diſtinguiſhed citizens. From theſe he choſe thirty, who were to attend him completely armed in the general aſſembly. This guard was not however always ſufficient to prevent tumults. In a commotion which happened in conſequence of a new law, the rich citizens roſe upon him with ſo much fury, that he determined to take refuge in a neighbouring temple; but as he retired, he received a violent blow, which, it is ſaid, deprived him of an eye. He contented himſelf with ſhowing to thoſe who purſued him his face covered with blood. At this ſight, the greater part of them, aſhamed of what they had done, accompanied him home, with every mark of reſpect and grief, expreſſing the utmoſt deteſtation of the action, and delivering the perſon who had committed it into his hands, to diſpoſe of him as he ſhould pleaſe. This was a violent and impetuous youth. Lycurgus, without loading him with reproaches, or uttering the leaſt complaint, took him to his houſe; and having cauſed his friends and domeſtics to retire, directed him to ſerve him, and dreſs his wound. The young man ſilently obeyed, and witneſſing every moment new proofs of the goodneſs, patience, and great qualities of Lycurgus, changed his hatred into love, and corrected the violence of his own character after ſo noble a model [o].

The new conſtitution was at length approved by all orders of the ſtate. All the parts of it were ſo well combined, that,

[n] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. i. cap. 16.

[o] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 45.

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on the firſt trials, it was judged that nothing was wanting [p]. Yet, notwithſtanding its excellence, it was not aſſured of duration. Lycurgus, therefore, when the people were aſſembled, thus addreſſed them: "It ſtill remains for me to lay before you the moſt important article of my legiſlation; but I wiſh firſt to conſult the oracle of Delphi. Promiſe me that, until my return, you will make no alteration in the laws already eſtabliſhed." They promiſed him. "Swear it," ſaid he. The kings, ſenators, and all the citizens, called the gods to be witneſſes to their words [q]. This ſolemn engagement could not but be irrevocable; for it was his reſolution never more to return to his country.

He immediately repaired to Delphi, and inquired whether the new laws were ſufficient to enſure the happineſs of the Spartans. The pythia having anſwered, that Sparta would be the moſt flouriſhing of cities ſo long as ſhe ſhould continue to obſerve them, Lycurgus ſent that oracle to Lacedæmon, and condemned himſelf to voluntary baniſhment [r]. He died far from the country of whoſe happineſs he had been the cauſe.

It has been ſaid that Lacedæmon has not rendered ſufficient honours to his memory [s], no doubt becauſe it is impoſſible ſhe ſhould ever render too many. She has dedicated to him a temple, in which a ſacrifice is offered every year [t]. His relations and friends formed a ſociety [u] which has been perpetuated to our days, and which meets from time to time, to renew the memory of his virtues. One day, when this aſſembly was held in the temple, Euclidas addreſſed the following diſcourſe to the tutelary genius of the place.

We celebrate thee without knowing by what name to call thee. The pythia doubted if thou wert not rather a god than

[p] Id. ibid. p. 57.
[q] Id. ibid. Nicol. Damaſc. in excerpt. Valeſ. p. 446.
[r] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 57.
[s] Ariſtot. apud Plut. ibid. p 59.
[t] Herodot. lib. 1. cap 66. Pauſ. lib. 3. cap. 16. p. 248.
[u] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 59.

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a mortal [x]; in this uncertainty ſhe named thee the friend of the gods, becauſe thou wert the friend of men.

Thy great ſoul would feel a juſt indignation, ſhould we attribute to thee as a merit, that thou didſt not procure to thyſelf the crown by a crime; and little would it be flattered ſhould we add, that thou hadſt expoſed thy life and renounced repoſe, to do good. Thoſe ſacrifices that coſt an effort are alone to be praiſed.

The greater part of legiſlators have gone aſtray, by following the beaten track. Thou ſaweſt, that to procure happineſs to a nation, it muſt be conducted through a new and unuſual path [y]. We praiſe thee for having better known the human heart in the time of ignorance, than it has been underſtood by philoſophers in this enlightened age.

We thank thee for having provided a check to the authority of the kings, to the inſolence of the people, to the pretenſions of the rich, to our paſſions, and even to our virtues.

We thank thee for having placed above us a ſovereign power, which ſees every thing, can effect every thing, and which nothing can corrupt. Thou haſt placed the laws upon the throne, and our magiſtrates at their feet; while in other ſtates a mortal is on the throne, and the laws under his feet. The laws are like a palm tree, which nouriſhes equally with its fruit all who repoſe beneath its ſhade; while the deſpot is like a tree planted on a mountain, and ſurrounded only by vultures and ſerpents.

We thank thee that thou haſt left us only a ſmall number of rational and juſt ideas, and that thou haſt prevented us from having more deſires than wants.

We thank thee for having preſumed ſo well of us as to believe that we ſhould need to requeſt no other courage of the

[x] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 65. Plut. ibid. p. 42.

[y] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 675.

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gods but that which may enable us to endure injuſtice, when it is neceſſary [z].

When thou ſaweſt thy laws, reſplendent in grandeur and beauty, act, if I may ſo ſpeak, of themſelves, without claſhing or disjoining, it has been ſaid that thou waſt tranſported with a pure joy, reſembling that of the Supreme Being, when he beheld the univerſe, immediately after its creation, execute all its motions in perfect harmony and regularity [a].

Thy courſe on earth has only been marked by benefits: happy ſhall we be, if, recalling them inceſſantly to memory, we may be able to tranſmit to our ſons the depoſit committed to our care, ſuch as it was received by our fathers.

CHAP. XLV.

Of the Government of Lacedæmon.

Since the firſt eſtabliſhment of ſocieties, it has every where been the conſtant endeavour of ſovereigns to extend their prerogative, and that of their ſubjects to circumſcribe and contract it. The troubles which are the conſequence of this ſtruggle have been more felt at Sparta than in any other ſtate. On the one ſide are two kings, whoſe intereſts are frequently diſtinct, and who are always ſupported by a great number of partiſans; and on the other, a warlike and untractable people, who, neither knowing to command or obey, have by turns precipitated the government into the extremes of tyranny and democracy [b].

Lycurgus had too much underſtanding to abandon the adminiſtration of public affairs to the caprices of the multitude [c], or to leave it entirely to the will of the two princes on

[z] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.
[a] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 57.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 42.
[c] Id. Apophth. Lacon. p. 228.

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the throne. He ſought a mean by which he might temper power by wiſdom, and believed that he had found it in Crete, where a ſupreme council moderates the authority of the ſovereign [d]. He eſtabliſhed one nearly ſimilar at Sparta. Twenty-eight aged men, of conſummate experience, were appointed to ſhare with the kings the plenitude of power [e]. It was regulated that the great intereſts of the ſtate ſhould be diſcuſſed in this auguſt ſenate; that the two kings ſhould preſide in it, and that every queſtion ſhould be decided by the plurality of voices [f]; that the determinations of this council ſhould afterwards be laid before the general aſſembly of the ſtate, which ſhould have the right to approve or reject them, but not be permitted to make in them the ſmalleſt alteration [g].

Whether this latter clauſe was not expreſſed with ſufficient clearneſs, or whether the diſcuſſion of the decrees naturally inſpired the deſire of making alterations in them, the people inſenſibly aſſumed to themſelves the right of altering them, by additions or retrenchments. This abuſe was finally aboliſhed by Polydorus and Theopompus, who reigned about a hundred and thirty years after Lycurgus [h]. Theſe princes cauſed a new article, to be added by the pythia of Delphi to the oracle which had regulated the diſtribution of power [i].

The ſenate had till then maintained an equilibrium between the kings and the people [k]; but the places of the ſenators, as well as the authority of the kings being held for life, it was to be feared that, in time, theſe might too cloſely unite, and no longer find any oppoſition to their will. A part of their functions therefore were transferred to five magiſtrates, named ephori, or inſpectors, appointed to defend the people in caſe of oppreſſion. This new intermediary body was inſtitut-

d Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 332.
e Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. p. 692. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 42.
f Dionyſ. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. lib. 2. cap. 14. t. i. p. 264.
g Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 43.
h Id. ibid.
i Id. ibid.
k Id. ibid. Polyb. lib. 6. p. 459.

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ed, with the consent of the state, by the king Theopompus [l] *.

If we may believe philosophers, this prince, by limiting his authority, rendered it more solid and durable [m]. If we judge by the event, we shall see that by preventing one danger he prepared the way for another, which sooner or later could not but arise. The constitution of Lycurgus contained a happy mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. Theopompus added to these an oligarchy [n], which in our time has become tyrannical [o]. Let us now cast a rapid glance over the different parts of this government, such as they are found at present, and not as they formerly were; for they have almost all undergone several changes [p].

The two kings must be of the house of Hercules, and cannot marry a foreign woman [q]. The ephori watch over the conduct of the queens, that they may not give children to the state that are not the offspring of that august house [r]. If they are convicted, or strongly suspected of infidelity to their husbands, their children are degraded to the class of private persons [s].

In each of the two reigning branches, the crown descends to the eldest of the sons, or, if there are no sons, to the brother of the king [t]. If the eldest dies before his father, it passes to the next son; but if he leaves a son, that son is preferred to his uncles [u]. In default of the nearer heirs in a family, distant relations are called to the throne, and never persons of another house [x].

[l] Aristot. lib. 5. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 407. Plut. ibid. Id. ad Princip. inerud. t. ii. p. 779. Val. Max. lib. 4. cap. 1. in extern. No. 8. Dion. Chrysost. orat. 36. p. 565. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 3. cap. 7. t. iii. p. 164.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[m] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. p. 692. Aristot. ibid.

[n] Archyt. ap. Stob. p. 269. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 6. p. 321.

[o] Plat. de Leg. lib. 4. p. 712.

[p] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 690.

[q] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 800.

[r] Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 121.

[s] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 63. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 212. Id. ibid. cap. 8. p. 224.

[t] Id. lib. 5. cap. 42. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 493. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 40. Id. in Agesil. p. 596.

[u] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 796.

[x] Nep. in Ages. cap. 1.

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All differences concerning the ſucceſſion are diſcuſſed and terminated in the general aſſembly [y]. When a king has no children by a firſt wife, he muſt divorce her [z]. Anaxandrides had married the daughter of his ſiſter, whom he tenderly loved. Some years after, the ephori cited him before their tribunal, and ſaid to him, It is our duty not to ſuffer the royal families to become extinct; repudiate your wife, and make choice of another who may give us an heir to the throne. On the refuſal of the king, after having deliberated on the matter with the ſenators, they thus addreſſed him: Follow our advice, and do not force the Spartans to have recourſe to violent meaſures. Without diſſolving bands which are too dear to your heart, enter into new ones which may be favourable to our wiſhes. Nothing could be more contrary to the laws of Sparta; nevertheleſs Anaxandrides obeyed. He married a ſecond wife, by whom he had a ſon; but his affections were always fixed on the firſt, who ſome time after brought forth the celebrated Leonidas [a].

The preſumptive heir is not brought up with the other children of the ſtate [b]. A fear is entertained leſt too much familiarity ſhould prejudice that reſpect they will one day owe to him. His education, however, is not the leſs carefully attended to. He is impreſſed with a juſt idea of his dignity, and one ſtill more juſt of his duties. A Spartan once ſaid to Cleomenes, "A king ought to be affable." "No doubt," replied that prince, "provided he does not expoſe himſelf to contempt [c]." Another king of Lacedæmon ſaid to his relations, who preſſed him to commit an act of injuſtice, "By teaching me that the laws are more binding on the ſovereign than the other citizens, you have taught me to diſobey you on this occaſion [d]."

[y] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 3. p. 493. Id. in Ageſ. p. 652. Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 8. p. 224.

[z] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 68.

[a] Id. lib. 5. cap. 39. Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 211.

[b] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 596.

[c] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 223.

[d] Iſocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 431. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 216.

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Lycurgus has limited the authority of the kings, but he has left them honours, and prerogatives which they enjoy as the heads of religion, the adminiſtration, and the army. Beſides certain prieſthoods, which they exerciſe themſelves [e], they regulate every thing which concerns the public worſhip, and appear at the head of the religious ceremonies [f]. To enable them to addreſs their vows to heaven, either as individuals, or in behalf of the republic [g], the ſtate aſſigns them, on the firſt and ſeventh day of every month, a victim, with a certain quantity of wine and barley-meal [h]. Both have a right to be attended by magiſtrates or augurs, who are never to leave them, and who are called pythians. The ſovereign, in caſes of neceſſity, ſends them to conſult the pythia, and carefully preſerves the oracles they bring back [i]. This privilege is perhaps one of the moſt important in the poſſeſſion of royalty, as it enables thoſe who are inveſted with it to maintain a ſecret correſpondence with the prieſts of Delphi, the authors of thoſe oracles which often decide the fate of an empire.

As head of the ſtate, he may, when he aſcends the throne, annul the debts which a citizen has contracted either with his predeceſſor or with the republic [k *]. The people aſſign to him for himſelf, certain portions of inheritance [l], which he may diſpoſe during his life in favour of his relations [m].

The two kings precide in the ſenate, and propoſe the ſubjects for deliberation [n]. Each gives his ſuffrage, or, in caſe of abſence, ſends it by a ſenator who is related to him [o]. This

[e] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 56.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 57. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 14. t. ii. p. 356. Dionyſ. Halicarn. Antiq. Roman. lib. 2. t. i. p. 264.
[g] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 3. p. 493.
[h] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 57. Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 690.
[i] Id. ibid. Xenoph. ibid.
[k] Id. ibid. cap. 59.
* This cuſtom ſubſiſts alſo in Perſia (Herodot. ibid.)
[l] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 690.
[m] Id. in Ageſil. p. 665.
[n] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 57. Dionyſ. Halic. Antiq. Roman. lib. 2. t. i. p. 264.
[o] Id. ibid.

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ſuffarage is equivalent to two [p]. All cauſes brought before the general aſſembly are decided by the majority of votes [q]. When the two kings propoſe in concert any project of manifeſt utility to the republic, no perſon is permitted to oppoſe it [r]. The liberty of the ſtate has nothing to fear from ſuch a unanimity, ſince, beſides the ſecret jealouſy which exiſts betwen the two royal families [s], it is rare that their heads poſſeſs the ſame degree of courage to defend them. All cauſes relative to the maintenance of the highways, the formalities of adoption, or the choice of the kinſman who ſhall be obliged to marry an orphan heireſs, are ſubmitted to the deciſion of the kings [t].

The kings muſt not be abſent during peace [u], nor both at once in time of war [x]; except there be two armies in the field. They have by right the command of the army [y], and Lycurgus has wiſhed them to appear there with that ſplendour and authority which may enſure them reſpect and obedience.

On the day of his departure for the army, the king offers a ſacrifice to Jupiter. A young man takes a flaming brand from the altar, and carries it, at the head of the troops, to the frontiers of the ſtate, where a new ſacrifice is offered [z].

The ſtate provides for the maintenance of the general and his houſehold, conſiſting, beſides his uſual guard, of the two pythians or augurs of whom I have ſpoken above, the polemarchs, with whom he may adviſe on every emergency, and three ſubaltern officers, who attend on his perſon [a]. Thus freed from every domeſtic care, he is at liberty to give his whole attention to the operations of the campaign. Theſe it

[p] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 20. Schol. ibid. Lucian. in Harmon. cap. 3. t. i. p. 855. Meurſ. de Regn. Lacon. cap. 2.

[q] Dionyſ. Halic. ibid.

[r] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 800.

[s] Id. Apophth. Lacon. p. 215.

[t] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 57.

[u] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 800.

[x] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 75. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. p. 562.

Xenoph de Rep. Laced. p. 690. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 14. t. ii. p. 356.

[y] Id ibid. p. 688.

[z] Id. ibid.

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appertains to him to direct, as alſo to ſign truces with the enemy [b], and to give audience to and anſwer the ambaſſadors of foreign powers [c]. The two ephori who accompany him, have no other function than to prevent any corruption of manners, and never interfere in any affairs, except ſuch as he thinks proper to communicate to them [d].

In theſe modern times the general has ſometimes been ſuſpected of having conſpired againſt the liberty of his country, either by ſuffering himſelf to be corrupted by bribes, or miſled by evil counſels [e]. Theſe crimes have been puniſhed, according to the circumſtances, by very heavy fines, by baniſhment, or even by the loſs of the crown and of life. Among the princes who have been thus accuſed, one was obliged to fly, and take refuge in a temple [f]; another aſked forgiveneſs of the aſſembly, who granted him a pardon, but on condition that for the future he ſhould conduct himſelf by the advice of ten Spartans, who ſhould follow him to the army, and who ſhould be appointed by the aſſembly [g]. As the confidence between the ſovereign and the other magiſtrates becomes leſs from day to day, he will ſoon be only ſurrounded in his expeditions by ſpies and informers choſen from among his enemies [h].

During peace, the kings are only the firſt citizens of a free city. As citizens they appear in public without a retinue, and without oſtentation; as firſt citizens they are honoured with the firſt place, and every perſon riſes in their preſence, except the ephori ſitting in their tribunal [i]. When they cannot be preſent at the public repaſts, a meaſure of wine and

[b] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 60.
[c] Xenoph. ibid. p. 689.
[d] Id. Hiſt Græc. lib, 2. p. 477 et 478. Id. de Rep. Laced. p. 688.
[e] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 82. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 132. Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 221
[f] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 21; lib. 5. cap. 16. Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 221.
[g] Id. lib. 5. cap. 63. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 126.
[h] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 331.
[i] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 600. Heracl. Pont. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p 2823.

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meal [k] is ſent them; but they do not receive theſe when they are abſent without neceſſity [l].

In theſe repaſts, as well as in thoſe which they are allowed to take at the houſes of private perſons, they receive a double portion, which they ſhare with their friends [m]. Theſe minute circumſtances are by no means indifferent. Diſtinctions are every where only ſigns of convention, ſuited to times and places. Thoſe that are granted to the kings of Lacedæmon procure them no leſs reſpect from the people than if they were attended by the numerous army which compoſes the guard of the king of Perſia.

Royalty has always ſubſiſted at Lacedæmon, 1ſt, becauſe being divided between two families, the ambition of the one is ſoon repreſſed by the jealouſy of the other, as well as by the watchful cares of the magiſtrates: 2dly, becauſe the kings having never attempted to extend their prerogative, have never given any umbrage to the people [n]. This moderation has ſecured to them the love of their ſubjects, during their lives [o], and their regret after their death. As ſoon as one of the kings has breathed his laſt, women run through the ſtreets, and make known the public misfortune by ſtriking on veſſels of braſs [p]. The forum is covered with ſtraw, and nothing is allowed to be ſold there during three days [q]. Men on horſeback are ſent out to carry the news into the country, and to give notice to thoſe freemen or ſlaves who are to attend the funeral, and who throng to it by thouſands. They cut and mangle their faces, and repeatedly exclaim, amid their long lamentations, that, "among all the princes that ever lived, a better never exiſted [r]." Yet do theſe wretches regard, as a tyrant, him whoſe death they are thus obliged

k Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 57.
l Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46.
m Herodot. ibid. Xenoph. in Ageſ. p. 665.
n Xenoph. in Ageſ. p. 651.
o Iſocr. Orat. ad Philip. t. i. p. 269. Id. de Pace, p. 431.
p Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 58. Schol. Theocr. in Idyl. 2. v. 36.
q Heracl. Pont. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823.
r Herodot. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 6. cap. 1. Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 14. p. 313.

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to lament. The Spartans are not ignorant of this, but compelled by a law of Lycurgus [s] to refrain on this occaſion from tears and lamentations, they have been deſirous that the feigned grief of their ſlaves and ſubjects might, in ſome meaſure, expreſs the real ſorrow which they themſelves feel.

When the king dies on a military expedition, his effigy is expoſed on a bed of ſtate, and, during ten days, it is not permitted either to convene the general aſſembly, or to open the tribunals of juſtice [t]. When the body, which care is taken to preſerve in honey or wax [u], arrives, it is buried in the quarter of the city in which are the tombs of the kings [x].

The ſenate, conſiſting of the two kings and the twenty-eight gerontes, or aged men [y], is the ſupreme council [z], in which are diſcuſſed, in the firſt inſtance, all queſtions relative to declaring war, concluding peace, entering into alliances, and other high and important affairs of ſtate.

To obtain a place in this auguſt aſſembly, is to aſcend the throne of honour. This dignity is never granted but to the citizen who, from his earlieſt youth, has been diſtinguiſhed for conſummate prudence and eminent virtues [a]. He cannot arrive at it until he is of the age of ſixty years [b], and he retains it to his death [c]. No fear is entertained of any decay of his rational faculties, ſince, from the regular kind of life led at Sparta, both the mind and body are there leſs enfeebled by age than in other countries.

When a ſenator dies, ſeveral candidates offer themſelves to ſucceed him, and they muſt openly declare their wiſh to obtain this honour. Lycurgus then intended to favour and promote ambition [d]? Yes, that ambition which, as a reward for

[s] Plut. Inſtit. Laco. t. ii. p. 238.
[t] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 58.
[u] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5. p. 564. Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 618.
[x] Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 12. p. 237. Id. ibid. cap. 14. p. 240.
[y] Crag. de Rep. Laced. lib. 2. c. 3.
[z] Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 231.
[a] Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 556. Ulpian. ibid. p. 589. Æſchin. in Tim. p. 288.
[b] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 55.
[c] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 330. Polyb. lib. 6. p. 489.
[d] Id. ibid. p. 331.

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ſervices rendered to the country, ardently ſolicits to be permitted to render it ſtill more.

The election takes place in the forum [e], in which the people are aſſembled, with the kings, ſenators, and the different claſſes of magiſtrates. Each candidate appears in the order aſſigned by lot [f]. He walks through the forum, with his eyes fixed on the ground, and in profound ſilence. As he paſſes, he is honoured with ſhouts of approbation, more or leſs numerous, and more or leſs frequent. Theſe ſhouts are heard by perſons concealed in a neighbouring houſe, from which they can ſee nothing, and whoſe buſineſs it is to obſerve the difference of the ſucceſſive plaudits, and afterwards to declare that, at ſuch a time, the wiſh of the public was manifeſted by the moſt lively and continued marks of approbation.

After this combat, in which virtue only yields to virtue, begins a kind of triumphal proceſſion. The victor is conducted through all the quarters of the city, with his head bound with a garland, and followed by a number of boys and maidens, who celebrate his virtues and his victory. He repairs to the temples, where he offers incenſe, and to the houſes of his relations, where cakes and flowers are ſpread on a table. "Take," ſay they, "theſe preſents, with which the ſtate honours you, by our hands." In the evening all the women who are related to him aſſemble at the door of the hall in which he takes his repaſt. He cauſes her whom he moſt eſteems to approach, and preſenting to her one of the two portions which have been ſerved up to him: "On you," ſays he, "I beſtow the honourable reward I have juſt received." All the other women applaud his choice, and conduct home her whom he has thus diſtinguiſhed with the moſt flattering marks of reſpect [g].

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[e] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 374.
[f] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 55.
[g] Id. ibid. p. 56.

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From that moment the new ſenator is obliged to dedicate the reſt of his days to the functions of his office. Of theſe ſome reſpect the ſtate, and have been pointed out above; others concern certain particular caſes, the judgment of which is reſerved to the ſenate. On this tribunal depend not only the lives of the citizens but alſo their fortune [h]; I mean their honour; for the true Spartan knows no other poſſeſſion.

Several days are employed in the inveſtigation of crimes which are puniſhed with death, becauſe an error on theſe occaſions cannot be repaired. The accuſed is never condemned on ſimple preſumptions; but though acquitted, he is again proſecuted with rigour, if new proofs are afterwards obtained againſt him [i].

The ſenate has the right of inflicting a kind of ſtigma which deprives the citizen of a part of his privileges, and hence, in the preſence of the ſenator, the reſpect claimed by the virtuous man is mingled with the ſalutary fear inſpired by the judge [k].

When a king is accuſed of having violated the laws, or betrayed the intereſts of the ſtate, the tribunal which muſt acquit or condemn him is compoſed of the twenty-eight ſenators, the five ephori, and the king of the other family [l]. He may, however, appeal from them to the general aſſembly of the people [m].

The ephori, or inſpectors, ſo named becauſe they extend their care over every part of the adminiſtration [n], are five in number [o], and changed every year, to prevent their abuſing their authority [p]. They enter on their office at the beginning of the year, which is fixed at the new moon that follows the

[h] Id. ibid. p. 55.
[i] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 132. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. p. 217.
[k] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 288.
[l] Paulan. lib. 3. cap. 5. p. 215.
[m] Plut. in Agid. t. ii. p. 804. Crag. de Rep. Laced. lib. 4. cap. 8.
[n] Suid. in Ἔφ. Schol. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 86.
[o] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 332. Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 231.
[p] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 36. Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 597.

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autumnal equinox [q]. The first of them gives his name to that year [r], and thus, to assign the date of any event, it suffices to say, that it happened under such an ephorus.

The people possess the right of electing these magistrates from among the citizens of every rank [s], whom, as soon as they are invested with their dignity, they consider as their defenders, and therefore have never failed, on every occasion, to enlarge their prerogatives.

I have already intimated that the office of the ephori did not enter into the plan of the constitution of Lycurgus; it only appears that, about a century and a half after his time, the kings of Lacedæmon divested themselves of several prerogatives in its favour, and that its power was afterwards increased by a chief of this tribunal named Asteropus [t]. Successively enriched by the spoils of the senate and of royalty, it now unites in itself the most eminent privileges; such, as the administration of justice, the maintenance of manners and the laws, the inspection of the other magistrates, and the execution of the decrees of the general assembly.

The tribunal of the ephori is held in the forum [u]. Those magistrates repair thither every day to pronounce judgment on certain accusations, and to terminate the differences of individuals [x]. This important function was formerly exercised only by the kings [y]; but during the first war of Messenia, when they were frequently obliged to be absent, they delegated it to the ephori [z]. They have, however, always preserved their right to be present, and to give their suffrages [a].

As the Lacedæmonians have only a small number of laws, and vices before unknown are every day making their ap-

[q] Dodwel. de Cycl. Dissert. 8. § 5. p. 320. Id. in Annal. Thucyd. p. 168.
[r] Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 232.
[s] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 330; lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 374.
[t] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 808.
[u] Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 231.
[x] Plut. ibid. t. i. p. 807. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 221.
[y] Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 209.
[z] Plut. ibid. p. 808.
[a] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 63.

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pearance among them, the judges are frequently obliged to determine according to the dictates of their own underſtanding; and as, in our times, ſeveral perſons of no great knowledge and abilities have been advanced to this dignity, there is frequently reaſon to doubt of the equity of their deciſions [b].

The ephori take an extreme care of the education of youth. They every day examine perſonally whether the children of the ſtate are not brought up with too much delicacy [c]. They chooſe for them leaders who may excite their emulation [d], and appear at their head in a military and religious feſtival which is celebrated in honour of Minerva [e].

Other magiſtrates watch over the conduct of the women [f]. The authority of the ephori extends to all the citizens. Whatever may, in the remoteſt manner, be prejudicial to public order or received uſages is ſubject to their cenſure. They have often been known to proſecute perſons who have neglected their duties [g], or tamely ſuffered themſelves to be inſulted [h]; they reproached the former with having forgotten the reſpect due to the laws, and the latter with having diſregarded that which they owed to themſelves.

More than once they have puniſhed the abuſe which foreigners, whom they have admitted to their games, have made of their talents. An orator once offered to diſcourſe a whole day on any ſubject that ſhould be aſſigned him. For this they baniſhed him from the city [i]. Archilochus underwent the ſame puniſhment for having admitted into his writings a maxim that encouraged cowardice; and almoſt in our own time, the muſician Timotheus, having delighted the Spartans with the harmony of his airs, one of the ephori came to him holding a knife in his hand, and thus addreſſed

[b] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. p. 330.
[c] Agatharch. ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 550.
[d] Xenoph. de Rep. Lac. p. 679.
[e] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 303.
[f] Heſych. in Ἀγησίς.
[g] Schol. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 84.
[h] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.
[i] Id. ibid.

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him: "We have condemned you to have four ſtrings cut from your lyre, tell me from which ſide you would chooſe to have them taken [k]."

We may judge by theſe examples of the ſeverity with which this tribunal formerly puniſhed thoſe faults which immediately attacked the laws and manners. Even at this day, when corruption is beginning to become general, it is no leſs formidable, though leſs reſpected; and thoſe individuals who have loſt their ancient principles, neglect nothing that may conceal them from the eye of theſe cenſors, who are the more ſevere to others as they are ſometimes more indulgent to themſelves [l].

To compel the greater part of the magiſtrates to give an account of their adminiſtration [m], to ſuſpend from their functions thoſe among them who have tranſgreſſed the laws, to throw them into priſon, to accuſe them before a ſuperior tribunal, and to proſecute them to capital conviction, are the excluſive privileges of the ephori [n]. They exerciſe them in part againſt the kings, whom they keep in dependence on themſelves, by an extraordinary and whimſical cuſtom. Every nine years, they chooſe a night in which the weather is calm and ſerene, and ſeating themſelves in an open plain, obſerve the motion of the ſtars. If any fiery exhalation ſhould ſhoot through the air, it is a ſtar that has changed its place, and indicates that the kings have offended the gods. A public proſecution is commenced againſt them, they are depoſed, and cannot be reſtored to their authority till they are abſolved from their ſuppoſed crimes by the oracle of Delphi [o].

The ſovereign when ſtrongly ſuſpected of a crime againſt the ſtate, may indeed refuſe to appear before the ephori at the two firſt ſummonſes, but he muſt obey the third [p]. They

[k] Id. ibid. p. 238.
[l] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 330.
[m] Id. ibid.
[n] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 688.
[o] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 800.
[p] Id. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 809.

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may beſides ſecure his perſon [q], and bring him to trial. When his offence is leſs ſerious, they may themſelves inflict the puniſhment. The laſt inſtance of this kind was, when they condemned king Ageſilaus to pay a fine becauſe he had ſent a preſent to every ſenator at his entrance into office [r].

The executive power is entirely in their hands. They convene the general aſſembly [s], and collect its ſuffrages [t]. We may judge of the power with which they are inveſted by comparing the decrees which originate in this aſſembly with the ſentences they pronounce in their own tribunal. In the latter the judgment is preceded by this form of expreſſion: "It has ſeemed good to the kings and to the ephori [u];" and in the former by this: "It has ſeemed good to the ephori and the aſſembly [x]."

To them the ambaſſadors of nations at war or in alliance with the ſtate addreſs themſelves [y]: they are charged with the care of levying troops and ſending them to the place of their deſtination [z]; they expedite orders to the general of the army, which he is to follow [a]; they appoint two of their number to accompany him and watch over his conduct [b], ſometimes interrupt his progreſs in the middle of his conqueſts, and recal him, according as their perſonal intereſt or that of the ſtate ſeems to require [c].

So many prerogatives obtain them a reſpect, which they juſtify by the honours they have decreed to illuſtrious actions [d], by their attachment to ancient maxims [e], and by the

[q] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 131. Nep. in Pauſan. cap. 3.
[r] Plut. de Frat. Amor. t. ii. p. 482.
[s] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2. p. 469.
[t] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 87.
[u] Boeth. de Muſ. lib. 1. cap. 1. Not. Bulliald. in Theon. Smyrn. p. 295.
[x] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 3. p. 491.
[y] Id. ibid. lib. 2. p. 459 et 460. Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 801.
[z] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 3. p. 503; lib. 5. p. 556, 566, 568, 574, &c. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. p. 215.
[a] Id. ibid. lib. 3. p. 479.
[b] Id. ibid. lib. 2. p. 478.
[c] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 131. Xenoph. in Ageſ. p. 657. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. p. 211.
[d] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 615.
[e] Xenoph. ibid. lib. 3. p. 496.

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firmneſs with which, in our times, they have defeated the plots that threatened the public tranquillity [f].

They have, during a long ſeries of years, combated againſt the authority of the ſenators and kings, and never ceaſed to be their enemies till they became their protectors. Theſe attempts and innovations would, in other countries, have occaſioned torrents of blood to be poured forth. By what chance is it that in Sparta they have only produced ſome ſlight fermentations? Becauſe the ephori promiſed the people liberty, while their rivals, no leſs poor than the people, were unable to promiſe them riches; becauſe the ſpirit of union, introduced by the laws of Lycurgus, has ſo prevailed over all private conſiderations, that the ancient magiſtrates, emulous of giving great examples of obedience, have always thought it their duty to ſacrifice their privileges to the claims of the ephori [g].

By a conſequence of this ſpirit, the people have not ceaſed to reſpect thoſe kings and ſenators whom they have deprived of their power. An auguſt ceremony, which is repeated monthly, continually reminds them of their duty. The kings, in their own name, and the ephori, in the name of the people, engage, by a ſolemn oath, the former to govern according to the laws, and the latter to defend the royal authority ſo long as it ſhall not violate the laws [h].

The Spartans have intereſts which are peculiar to themſelves; they have alſo others which are common to them with the deputies of the different cities of Laconia. Hence there are two kinds of aſſemblies, at which are always preſent the kings, the ſenate, and the different claſſes of the magiſtrates. When the ſucceſſion to the throne is to be regulated, when magiſtrates are to be choſen or depoſed, when ſentence is to be pronounced on public crimes, or the great objects of

[f] Id. ibid. p. 494.
[g] Id. de Rep. Laced. p. 683.
[h] Id ibid. p. 690.

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religion or legiſlature to be decided on, the aſſembly is only compoſed of Spartans, and is called the leſſer aſſembly [j].

The ordinary aſſembly of this kind is held every month, at the full of the moon [k]; the extraordinary when ever circumſtances require. Its deliberations muſt be preceded by a decree of the ſenate [l], except the equal diviſion of voices has prevented that body from coming to any concluſion, in which caſe the ephori lay the queſtion before the aſſembly [m].

Every one preſent has a right to give his opinion, provided he has paſſed his thirtieth year, for, before that age, no one is permitted to ſpeak in public [n]. His manners alſo muſt be irreproachable. The caſe of an orator who had captivated the people with his eloquence is ſtill remembered. His advice was excellent; but, as it proceeded from an impure mouth, a ſenator aroſe, and, after loudly expreſſing his indignation againſt the eaſy compliance of the aſſembly, cauſed the ſame meaſures to be propoſed by a virtuous man. Let it not be ſaid, added he, that the Lacedæmonians ſuffered themſelves to be guided by the counſel of an infamous orator [o].

The general aſſembly is convoked whenever the queſtion relates to making war or peace, or contracting alliances. The deputies of the cities of Laconia are then admitted to it [p]; as are alſo, frequently, thoſe of the allied ſtates [q], and of the nations who come to implore the ſuccour of Lacedæmon [r]. In it are diſcuſſed their claims and mutual complaints, the infractions of the treaties committed by the other ſtates, the modes of reconciliation, the projects of the future campaign, and the contributions to be furniſhed. The kings and ſena-

[j] Id. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 3. p. 494.
[k] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 67. Schol. ibid.
[l] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 40. Id. in Agid. p. 798 et 800.
[m] Plut. in Agid. t. ii. p. 799.
[n] Argum. in Declam. 24 Liban. t. i. p. 558.
[o] .. ſchin. in Timarch. p. 288. Plut. de Andit t. ii. p. 41.
[p] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. l. 6. p. 579.
[q] Id. ibid. lib. 5. p. 554, 556, 558, 590.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 554; lib. 6. p. 579.

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tors frequently ſpeak, and their authority is of great weight; but that of the ephori is of ſtill greater. When the queſtion has been ſufficiently debated, one of the ephori aſks the opinion of the aſſembly. Immediately a thouſand voices loudly exclaim either for the affirmative or the negative. When, after repeated trials, it is impoſſible to diſtinguiſh which has the majority, the ſame magiſtrate aſcertains it by numbering the two parties, which he cauſes to divide, one on the one ſide, and the other on the other [s].

CHAP. XLVI.

Of the Laws of Lacedæmon.

NATURE is almoſt always in oppoſition to the laws [t], becauſe ſhe labours only for the happineſs of the individual, without regard to the other individuals who ſurround him; while the laws only direct their attention to the relations by which he is united to them; and becauſe ſhe infinitely diverſifies our characters and inclinations, while it is the object of the laws to bring them back to unity. The legiſlator, therefore, whoſe aim it is to annihilate, or at leaſt to reconcile theſe contrarieties, muſt conſider morals as the moſt powerful ſpring, and moſt eſſential part, of his political inſtitutions. He muſt take the work of Nature almoſt at the firſt moment ſhe has produced it, retouch its form and proportions, and ſoften without entirely effacing its great outlines; till at length he has converted the independent man into the free citizen.

That men of enlightened minds may formerly have been able to unite ſavages ſcattered through woods and foreſts, and that, every day, ſage preceptors may, in ſome meaſure, faſhion at will the characters and diſpoſitions of children committed to their care, is not difficult to be conceived; but how powerful

[s] Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 87.

[t] Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 830.

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muſt have been that genius who could new-model a nation already formed! What courage muſt he not have diſplayed who could dare to ſay to a people, I will reſtrain your wants to the indiſpenſable demands of neceſſity, and exact from your paſſions the moſt ſevere mortifications; you ſhall no longer know the allurements of pleaſure, but exchange the ſofter enjoyments of life for laborious and painful exerciſes. I will deprive ſome of you of your poſſeſſions to diſtribute them to others, and the poor ſhall be raiſed to an equality with the rich. You ſhall renounce your ideas, your taſtes, your habits, your claims, and even thoſe tender and precious ſentiments which Nature has profoundly engraven on your hearts!

Yet this, nevertheleſs, is what Lycurgus effected, by regulations which differ ſo eſſentially from thoſe of other nations, that the traveller, on his arrival at Lacedæmon, is ready to imagine himſelf tranſported into a new world. Their ſingularity invites him to reflect, and he is ſoon loſt in admiration at that profundity of views, and elevation of ſentiment, that ſhines conſpicuous in the work of Lycurgus.

This legiſlator ordained, that the magiſtrates ſhould not be appointed by lot, but elected by ſuffrages [u]. He deprived riches of the influence and reſpect annexed to them [x], and diveſted even love of jealouſy [y]. Though he granted ſome diſtinctions, the government, which had deeply imbibed his ſpirit, never prodigally laviſhed them, and virtuous men dared not ſolicit them. Honour became the moſt valuable reward, and opprobrium the moſt cruel puniſhment. Death was ſometimes inflicted, but ſuch a ſentence muſt be preceded by a careful and vigorous examination, ſince nothing is ſo precious as the life of a citizen [z]. Execution was performed

[u] Iſocr. in Panathen. t. ii. p. 261. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 374.
[x] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.
[y] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49.
[z] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 132. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 217.

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in the prison, and during the night [a], that the firmness of the criminal might not move the commiseration of the people; and his life was taken away by the cord [b], for it appeared useless to multiply his sufferings.

I shall point out, as I proceed, the greater part of the regulations of Lycurgus; I here mean to speak of the division of the lands. The proposition which he made to this purpose met with great opposition: but, after the most violent contests, the district of Sparta was divided into nine thousand portions of land *, and the rest of Laconia into thirty thousand. Each portion assigned to a head of a family must produce, besides a certain quantity of wine and oil, seventy measures of barley for himself, and twelve for his wife [c].

After having effected this, Lycurgus thought it advisable to absent himself, and give time for the passions of the people to subside and cool. On his return, he found the fields of Laconia covered with clusters of sheaves, all of the same size, and placed at distances nearly equal. He seemed to himself to behold a large domain, the productions of which had been divided among brethren; while the Lacedæmonians believed they saw in him a father who had manifested no more fondness for one than for the rest of his children [d].

But how may this equality of property be preserved? Before Lycurgus, the legislator of Crete had not ventured to establish it: since he permitted acquisitions [e]. After Lycurgus, Phaleas at Chalcedon [f], Philolaus at Thebes [g], Plato [h], and other legislators and philosophers, have proposed different ineffectual methods of solving this problem. It was given to Lycurgus to attempt the most extraordinary and reconcile the most opposite things. In fact, by one of his laws, he has

[a] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 146. Val. Max. lib. 4. cap. 6.
[b] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 803 et 804.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[c] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 44.
[d] Id. ibid. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 226. Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 4. § 3 p. 300.
[e] Polyb. lib. 6. p. 489.
[f] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 322.
[g] Id. ibid. cap. 12. p. 337.
[h] Plat. de Leg. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 740.

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regulated the number of inheritances by the number of citizens [h] *; and by another, in which he has granted certain exemptions to thoſe who have three children, and ſtill greater to thoſe who have four [i], he has riſked deſtroying the proportion he wiſhed to eſtabliſh, and reſtoring the diſtinction between the rich and the poor that he propoſed to deſtroy.

When I was at Sparta, the regularity of the poſſeſſions of individuals had been deranged by a decree of the ephorus Epitades, who wiſhed to avenge himſelf of his ſon [k]; and as I neglected to inform myſelf of their ancient ſtate, I ſhall only be able to explain the views of the legiſlator on this ſubject, by recurring to his principles.

According to the laws of Lycurgus, the head of a family could neither buy nor ſell a portion of land [l]; he could neither give it during his life, nor bequeath it by will, to whom he pleaſed [m]. He was not even permitted to divide it [n]. The eldeſt of his children was entitled to the inheritance [o], in the ſame manner as in the royal family the eldeſt ſon ſucceeded by right to the crown [p]. What proviſion then was made for the other children? Did the laws which enſured their ſubſiſtence during the life of their father, entirely abandon them after his death?

1ſt, It appears that they might inherit ſlaves, the ſavings of their father, and moveables of every kind. The produce of the ſale of theſe effects was doubtleſs ſufficient to ſupply them with clothing, for the cloth which they wore was of ſo low a price that the pooreſt perſons were able to procure it [q]. 2d, Each citizen had a right to partake of the public repaſts, and furniſhed for his contingent a certain quantity of barley-

h * Polyb. lib. 6. p. 489.
i Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 330. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 6. cap. 6.
k Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 797.
l Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. p. 329.
m Plut. ibid.
n Heracl. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823.
o Emm. Deſcript. Reip. Lacon. in Antiq. Græc. t. iv. p. 483.
p Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 42, &c.
q Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 374. Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 682.

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meal, which may be eſtimated at about twelve medimni. But the Spartan who poſſeſſed one of the portions of land derived from it every year ſeventy medimni, and his wife twelve. The ſurplus of the huſband was then ſufficient for the maintenance of five children; but Lycurgus could not ſuppoſe that every father of a family would have ſo many. We may therefore preſume that the eldeſt ſon was to provide for the wants not only of his children but of his brothers. 3d, It is not improbable that the younger ſons only could eſpouſe the daughters, who, in default of male iſſue, inherited a portion of land; for without this precaution the inheritances would have accumulated in one perſon. 4th, After the examination which followed the birth of children, the magiſtrates aſſigned them portions of land [r], become vacant by the extinction of ſome families. 5th, In theſe modern times, frequent wars have deſtroyed a great number of the Spartans, and in former ages they planted colonies in diſtant countries. 6th, The ſettlement of daughters coſt nothing, as it was forbidden to give them any marriage portion [s]. 7th, The ſpirit of union and diſintereſtedneſs rendering, in ſome meaſure, all things common among the citizens [t], the one claſs had often no other advantage over the other, than that of preventing and gratifying their deſires.

While this ſpirit remained undiminiſhed, the conſtitution was proof againſt thoſe ſhocks which it now begins to feel. But what ſhall hereafter ſupport it, ſince, by the decree of which I have ſpoken, every citizen is permitted to give portions to his daughters, and to diſpoſe at pleaſure of his ſhare of the lands? The inheritances paſs every day into different hands, and the equilibrium of fortunes, as well as that of equality, is entirely deſtroyed.

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[r] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49.

[s] Juſtin. l. 3. c. 3. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 227.

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I return to the regulations of Lycurgus. The lands as well as the perſons of the Spartans were to be free from all impoſitions. The ſtate had no treaſure [u]. On certain occaſions the citizens contributed according to their abilities [x], and on others had recourſe to means which evince their exceſſive poverty. The deputies of Samos once came to Lacedæmon to ſolicit the loan of a ſum of money. The aſſembly of the people, having no other reſource, ordered a general faſt to be obſerved by the free citizens, ſlaves, and domeſtic animals, and gave the ſum they had thus ſaved to the Samians [y].

Every thing bowed before the genius of Lycurgus. The deſire of excluſive property began to diſappear, and violent paſſions no longer diſturbed the public order. But this calm would only be an additional evil if the legiſlator were unable to enſure its duration. The laws alone could not produce this great effect. If the citizens accuſtom themſelves to contemn thoſe regulations which are the leaſt important, they will ſoon proceed to neglect thoſe which are of the greateſt conſequence. If the laws are too numerous; if they are ſilent in many caſes, and in others ſpeak with the obſcurity of oracles; if every judge be permitted to interpret their ſenſe, and every citizen to complain of them; if, even on the moſt trivial points, they add to the conſtraint on our liberty the degrading tone of menace; in vain may they be engraven on marble, they can never be imprinted on the heart.

Lycurgus, attentive to the irreſiſtable power of the impreſſions which man receives in his infancy, and during his whole life, had been long confirmed in the choice of a ſyſtem which had been approved by experience in Crete. Let all the children be educated in common, in the ſame diſcipline, and in

t Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 679. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 5. p. 317. Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238.

u Archid. ap. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 80. Pericl. ap. eumd. lib. 1. cap. 141. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 217.

x Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 331.

y Id. de Cura Rei Fam. t. ii. p. 503.

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the ſame invariable principles, under the eyes of the magiſtrates and the whole people. They will learn their duties by practiſing them, and will afterwards love becauſe they have practiſed them, and will never ceaſe to revere them ſince they ſee them practiſed by all around them. Theſe cuſtoms, the longer they ſubſiſt, will receive an invincible ſtrength from their antiquity and univerſality. An uninterrupted ſucceſſion of examples given and received, will render each citizen the legiſlator of his neighbour, to whom he will be a living rule [a]. He will acquire the merit of obedience by yielding to the force of habit, and will imagine himſelf to act freely ſince he acts without an effort.

It will therefore be ſufficient for the inſtitutor of a nation to frame a ſmall number of laws [a] for each part of the adminiſtration, which will diſpenſe from the deſire of a greater number, and contribute to maintain the authority of rites and uſages, much more powerful than that of the laws themſelves. He will forbid them to be committed to writing [b], that they may not ſet bounds to virtues, and leſt the people, imagining they have done all their duty requires, ſhould deſiſt and not do all they are able to perform. But he will not conceal them: they ſhall be tranſmitted from mouth to mouth, cited on all occaſions, and known to all the citizens, the witneſſes and judges of each individual. It ſhall not be permitted to youth to cenſure them, nor even to ſubmit them to examination [c], ſince they have been received as the commands of Heaven, and ſince the authority of the law is only founded on the profound veneration they inſpire. Neither ſhall it be allowed to praiſe the laws and uſages of foreign nations [d], ſince, unleſs the people are perſuaded they live under the beſt of legiſlations, they will quickly deſire a new one.

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[a] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 47.
[a] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii p. 232.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 227. Id. in Lycurg. ib.
[c] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 634.
[d] Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 556.

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Let us not, therefore, be aſtoniſhed that obedience is with the Spartans the firſt of virtues [e]; or that thoſe haughty people never come, with the text of the law in their hands, to demand of their magiſtrates an account of the ſentences they have pronounced in their tribunals.

Neither ought it to excite our ſurpriſe that Lycurgus has conſidered education as the moſt important object of the care of the legiſlator [f]; and that to eſtabliſh an authority over the hearts and minds of the Spartans, he has early ſubjected them to the arduous exerciſes and diſcipline, of which I ſhall next proceed to treat.

CHAP. XLVII.

Of the Education of the Spartans.

THE laws of Sparta watch with an extreme care over the education of children [g]. They ordain that it ſhall be public, and common to the rich and to the poor [h]. They anticipate the moment of their birth. When any woman has declared her pregnancy, pictures of youth and beauty, ſuch as thoſe of Apollo, Narciſſus, Hyacinth, Caſtor, and Pollux, are hung in her apartment, in order that her imagination, inceſſantly impreſſed by theſe objects, may tranſmit ſome traces of them to the child ſhe bears in her womb [i].

Scarcely is the infant born, when he is preſented to the aſſembly of the moſt aged perſons of the tribe to which his family belongs. The nurſe is called, who, inſtead of water, waſhes him with wine, which, it is pretended, would have very ill effects on weak conſtitutions. After this trial, which is followed by a rigorous examination, his ſentence is pronounced; and if it is not judged expedient, either for him-

[e] Iſocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 53. Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 682.
[f] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 47.
[g] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 450.
[h] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 374.
[i] Oppian. de Venat. lib. 1. v. 357.

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ſelf or the republic, that he ſhould long enjoy life, he is caſt into a gulf near Mount Taygetus. If he appears healthy and well formed, he is choſen, in the name of his country, to be hereafter one of her defenders [k].

When brought back to the houſe, he is laid on a buckler, and near this military cradle is placed a ſpear, that this weapon may be one of the firſt objects that become familiar to his eyes [l].

His delicate limbs are not confined with bands that prevent their motions: no care is taken to ſtop his tears, when it is neceſſary they ſhould flow, but they are never excited by menaces and blows. He is accuſtomed by degrees to ſolitude, darkneſs, and the greateſt indifference in the choice of eatables [m]. He is alike a ſtranger to impreſſions of terror, uſeleſs reſtraints, and unjuſt reproaches. Continually occupied in innocent ſports, he enjoys all the ſweets of life, and his happineſs haſtens the expanſion of the powers of his body and the faculties of his mind.

At the age of ſeven years, at which he arrives without having known ſervile fear, domeſtic education commonly ends [n]. The father is aſked if he is willing his child ſhould be educated according to the laws. If he refuſes, he is himſelf deprived of the rights of a citizen [o]: if he conſents, the child will for the future have for his guardians not only his parents, but alſo the laws, the magiſtrates, and all the citizens, who are authorized to interrogate, to adviſe, and to chaſtiſe him, without fear of being accuſed of ſeverity, ſince they would themſelves be puniſhed, if, when they were witneſſes of his faults, they had the weakneſs to ſpare him [p]. At the head of the children is placed one of the moſt reſpectable men of the republic [q]. He diſtributes them into different claſſes,

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[k] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49.
[l] Non. Dionyſ. lib. 41. p. 1062. Schol. Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 39.
[m] Plut. in Lycurg. p. 49.
[n] Id. ibid. t. i. p. 50.
[o] Plut. Inſtit Lacon. t. ii. p. 238.
[p] Id ibid. p. 237.
[q] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676.

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over each of which preſides a young chief diſtinguiſhed by his ſenſe and courage. They muſt ſubmit without a murmur to the orders they receive from him, and the chaſtiſements he impoſes on them, which are inflicted with rods by young perſons arrived at the age of puberty [r].

The regulations to which they are ſubjected become from day to day more rigid. Their hair is cut off, and they walk without ſtockings or ſhoes, to accuſtom them to bear the rigour of the ſeaſons. They are ſometimes made to exerciſe quite naked.

At the age of twelve years they lay aſide the tunic, and wear only a cloak which muſt laſt them a whole year [t]. They are rarely permitted the uſe of baths and perfumes. Each company lies together on the tops of reeds that grow in the river, and which they break off with their hands, without employing any iron inſtrument [u].

Then it is that they begin to contract thoſe intimate connections which are little known in other nations, and more pure at Lacedæmon than in the other cities of Greece. It is permitted to each of them to receive the aſſiduous attentions of a virtuous young man, attracted by the charms of beauty, and the ſtill more powerful charms of virtue, of which beauty appears to be the emblem [x]. The youth of Sparta is thus, as it were, divided into two claſſes, the one conſiſting of thoſe who love, and the other of thoſe who are beloved [y]. The firſt, deſtined to ſerve as models to the ſecond, carry even to enthuſiaſm a ſentiment which produces the moſt noble emulation, and which, with the tranſports of love, is, in reality, only the paſſionate tenderneſs of a father for his ſon, or the ardent friendſhip of a brother for his brother [z]. When ſeve-

[r] Id. ibid. p. 677.
[s] Plut. in Lycurg. p. 50.
[t] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 50. Juſtin. lib. 3. cap. 3.
[u] Plut. ibid.
[x] Id. ibid.
[y] Theocr. Idyll. 12. v. 12. Schol. Ibid. Maxim. Tyr. Differt. 24. p. 284.
[z] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 678.

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ral feel the divine inſpiration, for ſuch is the name they give to their attachment [a] for one object, far from being tormented with jealouſy, they are only the more united to each other, the more ardent in promoting the improvement of him whom they love; for all their ambition is to render him as eſtimable in the eyes of others as he is in their own [b]. One of the moſt virtuous of the citizens was condemned to pay a fine for having never attached himſelf to any young man [c], and another becauſe his young friend had, in battle, cried out through fear [d].

Theſe aſſociations, which have often produced great effects [e], are common to both ſexes [f], and ſometimes only end with life. They had long been eſtabliſhed in Crete [g]. Lycurgus knew their value, and foreſaw the dangers to which they were expoſed. But, beſides that the leaſt blemiſh on a union which ought to be ſacred, and which almoſt always is ſo [h], would for ever cover the guilty perſon with infamy [i], and even, according to circumſtances, be puniſhed with death [k], the young pupils cannot withdraw themſelves for a moment from the ſight of the aged perſons, who conſider it as their duty to be preſent at and maintain decency in their exerciſes, nor from the obſervation of the preſident general of education, or that of the iren or particular leader of each diviſion.

This iren is a youth of twenty years of age, who, as a reward for his courage and prudence, receives the honour of being appointed to give leſſons to a number of other youths committed to his care [l]. He is at their head when they encounter each other, when they ſwim over the Eurotas, when they hunt, wreſtle, run, or engage in the different exerciſes

[a] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 678; et in Conviv. p. 873 et 883. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 9.
[b] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 51.
[c] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 10.
[d] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 51. Ælian. ibid.
[e] Plat. Sympoſ. t. iii. p. 178.
[f] Plut. ibid.
[g] Heracl. Pont. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2824. Strab. lib. 10. p. 483. Ælian. de Animal. lib. 4. cap. 1.
[h] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 678. Plat. ibid. Max. Tyr. Differt. 26. p. 317.
[i] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 237.
[k] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 12.
[l] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 50.

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of the gymnaſium. On their return home, they take a wholeſome and frugal meal [m], which they prepare themſelves. The ſtrongeſt bring the wood, and the weaker, herbs, and other proviſion, which they have conveyed away by ſtealth from the gardens, or the halls in which the public repaſts are held. If they are diſcovered they are ſometimes whipped, to which chaſtiſement is often added a prohibition from approaching the table [n]. Sometimes they are dragged to an altar, which they muſt go round, ſinging verſes in ridicule of themſelves [o].

When the ſupper is over, their young leader orders ſome of them to ſing, and propoſes queſtions to others, from their anſwers to which a judgment may be formed of their wit or their ſentiments; ſuch as: Who is the worthieſt man in the city? What do you think of ſuch an action? The reply muſt be preciſe, and accompanied with a reaſon. Thoſe who ſpeak without reflection receive ſlight chaſtiſements, in preſence of the magiſtrates and aged men, who attend at theſe converſations, and are ſometimes diſſatisfied with the ſentences of the young leader: but through fear of weakening his authority they wait till he is alone before they puniſh him for his indulgence or ſeverity [p].

The youth of Lacedæmon receive but a ſlight tincture of literature; but they are taught to expreſs themſelves with purity, to perform in the choruſes of dancing and muſic, to perpetuate in their verſes the memory of thoſe who have died for their country, and the ſhame of thoſe who have betrayed it. In theſe poems great ideas are expreſſed with ſimplicity, and elevated ſentiments with an animated warmth [q].

Every day the ephori attend on their youthful pupils, who, from time to time, go to the ephori, who examine whether their education has been carefully conducted, whether any improper delicacy has been ſuffered to inſinuate itſelf into

[m] Id. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 237.
[n] Id. in Lycurg. ibid
[o] Id. Inſtit. Lacon. ibid.
[p] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 51.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 53.

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their beds or apparel, and whether they are disposed to corpulency [r]. This last article is considered as of great importance: the magistrates of Sparta have been known to cite before the tribunal of the nation, and threaten with banishment, citizens whose excessive corpulence seemed to be a proof of luxurious indolence [s]. A Spartan would blush to have an effeminate countenance. The body, as it increases in size, must acquire suppleness and strength, still preserving its just proportions [t].

This is the object proposed in subjecting the Spartans to labours which occupy almost every moment of their time. They pass a great part of the day in the gymnasium, where we do not find, as in other cities, those masters who teach their disciples the art of adroitly supplanting an adversary [u]. Here stratagem would disgrace courage, and stain that honour which ought to accompany defeat as well as victory. Hence is it, that, in certain exercises, it is not permitted to the Spartan who is overcome to lift his hand as a sign of submission, since that would be to acknowledge a conqueror [x].

I have often been present at the combats in which the youth who have arrived at the age of eighteen years engage in the platanistas. They prepare themselves for this exercise in their college, situated in the town of Therapne. They are divided into two bodies, one of which is distinguished by the name of Hercules, and the other by that of Lycurgus [y]. They jointly sacrifice, during the night, a little dog on the altar of Mars. It has been imagined that the most courageous of domestic animals must be the victim most acceptable to the most courageous of the gods. After the sacrifice, each party brings a tamed wild boar, which they excite and irritate against that of their antagonists, and if he remains conqueror it is deemed a favourable omen.

[r] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 14. cap. 7.
[s] Agatharch. ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 550 Ælian. ibid.
[t] Ælian. ibid.
[u] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 233.
[x] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 52. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228. Senec. de Benef. lib. 5. cap 3
[y] Lucian, de Gymnas. t. ii. p. 919.

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The next day, about noon, the young warriors advance in order, and by different ways, which are determined by lot, towards the field of battle. At a ſignal given, they attack each other, and gain and give ground by turns. Preſently their ardour gradually increaſes; they aſſault each other with their hands and feet, and even make uſe of their teeth and nails. They continue a diſadvantageous conteſt notwithſtanding the moſt painful wounds, and riſk the loſs of life rather than ſubmit to a defeat [z]. Their ferocity ſometimes even appears to increaſe as their ſtrength diminiſhes. One of them, when on the point of throwing his antagoniſt to the ground, ſuddenly cried out: "You bite me like a woman." "No," replied the other, "I bite like a lion [z]." The action paſſes under the eyes of five magiſtrates [b], who with a word may moderate the fury of the combatants, and a multitude of ſpectators, who by turns laviſh praiſes on the conquerors, or load the vanquiſhed with ſarcaſms. It ends when one of the parties is obliged to ſwim over the the Eurotas, or a canal which, together with that river, encloſes the plataniſtas [c].

I have ſeen other combats in which the greateſt fortitude contends with the moſt extreme ſufferings. At a feſtival celebrated every year in honour of Diana, ſurnamed Orthia, youthful Spartans, ſcarcely out of their infancy, and choſen from among all the different claſſes of the people, are brought to the altar, and ſeverely whipped till the blood begins to ſtream. The prieſteſs of the goddeſs is preſent, and holds in her hand a very ſmall and light wooden image of Diana. If the executioners appear moved with compaſſion, the prieſteſs exclaims that ſhe is no longer able to bear the weight of the ſtatue. The ſtrokes then redouble, and the attention of all preſent becomes more eager. The parents of the innocent victims exhort them, with frantic cries, not to ſuffer the ſmall-

[z] Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 5. cap. 27. t. ii. p. 383. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 234.

[b] Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 231.

[c] Id. ibid. cap. 14. p. 243.

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eſt complaint to eſcape them [d], while they themſelves provoke and defy pain. The preſence of ſo many witneſſes, who watch their ſmalleſt motions, and the hope of victory to be decreed to him who ſhall ſuffer the greateſt conſtancy, ſo ſteel them againſt their pangs, that they endure theſe horrid tortures with a ſerene countenance and a joy at which humanity ſhudders [e].

Aſtoniſhed at their firmneſs, I ſaid to Damonax, who was with me, It muſt be acknowledged that your laws are faithfully obſerved. Say, rather, replied he, ſhamefully abuſed. The ceremony of which you have been a ſpectator was formerly inſtituted in honour of a barbarous divinity whoſe ſtatue and worſhip, it is pretended, Oreſtes brought from Taurica to Lacedæmon [f]. The oracle had commanded that human ſacrifices ſhould be offered to this new deity. Lycurgus aboliſhed the horrid cuſtom, but, as an indemnification to ſuperſtition, directed that the young Spartans who were condemned to be ſcourged for their faults, ſhould undergo their puniſhment at the altar of the goddeſs [g].

The expreſs terms and ſpirit of the law ſhould have been adhered to. A ſlight chaſtiſement was all that was intended [h]; but our ſenſeleſs applauſes excite, both here and in the plataniſtas, a deteſtable emulation among our youth. Their tortures are to us an object of curioſity, and to them a ſubject of triumph. Our fathers were only acquainted with the heroiſm which was uſeful to their country; and their virtues were neither raiſed above, nor ſunk below the level of their duties; but ours, ſince they have been infected with vanity, exhibit features ſo ſwelled and diſtorted, that they are no longer recognizable. This change, which has taken place ſince the Peloponneſian war, is a ſtriking ſymptom of the decline and corruption of our manners. The exaggeration of

[d] Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 2. cap. 14. t. ii. p. 288. Senec. de Provid. cap. 4. Stat. Theb. lib. 8. v. 437. Luctat. ibid. in Not.

[e] Plut. Inſtitut. Lacon. t. i. p. 239.

[f] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 23. p. 642. Hygin. Fab. 261. Meurſ. Græc. Fer. lib. 2. in Διαμαστίγ.

[g] Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 16. p. 249.

[h] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 677.

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evil excites only contempt; but that of good surprises esteem: it is then imagined that the lustre of an extraordinary action dispenses from the most sacred obligations. If this abuse continues, our youth will at length only possess the courage of ostentation. They will brave death at the altar of Diana, and fly at the sight of the enemy [i].

You recollect the child who, the other day, having concealed a young fox under his garments, suffered it to eat into his bowels rather than confess his theft [k]. His obstinacy appeared so unusual, that his companions loudly blamed him. But, replied I, it was only the natural consequence of your institutions; for he observed that it was better to perish in torments than to live in ignominy [l]. It was not, therefore, without reason that some philosophers have asserted that your exercises instil a species of ferocity into the minds of your young warriors [m].

They attack us, replied Damonax, when they perceive we have fallen. Lycurgus had guarded against the overflowing of our virtues by mounds which have subsisted during four centuries, and of which some traces still remain. Have we not lately seen a Spartan, though he had signalized himself by great exploits, punished for having fought without his buckler [n]? But, in proportion as our manners lose their purity, false honour refuses to submit to restraint, and communicates itself insensibly to all the orders of the state. Formerly, the women of Sparta, more prudent and decent than they are at present, when they were informed of the death of their sons, slain on the field of battle, were contented with showing themselves superior to the feelings of nature; at present they make a merit of insulting them, and, that they may not be charged with weakness, do not hesitate to assume an unnatural ferocity.

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i Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 51. Id. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.

k Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 51.

l Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 234.

m Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 452.

n Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 615.

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Such was the answer of Damonax: I now return to the education of the Spartans.

In several cities of Greece, youth, when they have attained their eighteenth year, are no longer under the vigilant eye of their preceptors [o]. Lycurgus was too well acquainted with the human heart to abandon it to itself at that critical moment, on which, almost always, depends the fate of the man, and often that of the state. He counteracted the expansion of the passions by a new course of exercises and labours. The leaders then require from their disciples more modesty, submission, temperance, and ardour; and it is a singular spectacle to see these illustrious youths, who might well be inspired with all the pride of courage and of beauty, not daring, if I may so speak, to open their lips, or lift their eyes, and walking with slow steps, and all the reserve of a timid maiden carrying the sacred offerings [p]. Yet, unless some powerful motive animates this regularity and decency of appearance, modesty may reign in the countenance, while vice triumphs in the heart. Lycurgus has therefore stationed around them a body of spies and rivals, by whom they are incessantly watched.

No method can be more proper than this to inspire and preserve the purity of virtue. Place by the side of a young man another of the same age with himself, as an example, and he will hate him if he cannot equal his merit, and despise him if he obtains a triumph without difficulty. On the contrary, place one body of youths in emulative opposition to another, and, as it will be easy to proportion the strength and vary the composition of each, the honour of victory and the shame of defeat will neither too much inflate or humiliate the individuals of which it consists, but a rivalry will take place among them, accompanied by esteem; their relations and their friends will hasten to participate in it, and some

[o] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 678. [p] Id. ibid. p. 679.

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ſimple exerciſes will become intereſting exhibitions to all the citizens.

The young Spartans frequently leave their ſports to engage in exerciſes which inure them to greater addreſs and expedition. They are commanded to diſperſe themſelves through the country, with arms in their hands, bare-footed, and expoſed to all the inclemencies of the ſeaſons, without ſlaves to ſerve them, or covering to defend them from the cold during the night[q]. Sometimes they make obſervations on the nature of the country, and the beſt manner of defending it from the incurſions of the enemy[r]: ſometimes they hunt wild boars, or other beaſts of the chaſe[s]; and ſometimes, to exerciſe themſelves in the various manœuvres of the military art, they lie in ambuſcade during the day, and in the following night attack and kill thoſe Helots, who, though informed of their danger, have yet been ſo imprudent as to be found in their way[t] *.

Girls at Sparta are not brought up like thoſe of Athens. They are not obliged to keep themſelves ſhut up in their apartments, to ſpin wool, and to abſtain from wine or too ſtrong meats; but they are taught to dance, to ſing, to run ſwiftly in the ſtadium, and to throw with force the quoit or javelin[u]. They perform all theſe exerciſes without a veil, and half naked[x], in the preſence of the kings, the magiſtrates, and all the citizens, without even excepting the unmarried young men, whom they excite to diſtinguiſh themſelves, ſometimes by flattering praiſes, and ſometimes by ſarcaſtic ironies[y].

Amid theſe ſports is it that two hearts deſtined one day to unite, firſt begin to cheriſh thoſe ſentiments which muſt enſure

[q] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 663.
[r] Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 763.
[s] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 680.
[t] Heracl. Pont. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 56.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[u] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p 806. Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 675. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 47. Id. in Num. p. 77. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 227.
[x] Eurip. in Androm. v. 598. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 232.
[y] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 48.

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their happiness [z] *. But the transports of an infant passion are never consummated by a premature marriage †. Wherever children are permitted to perpetuate families, the human species is seen sensibly to dwindle and degenerate [a]. At Lacedæmon men have preserved their original vigour, because they do not marry till the body has arrived at its full growth, and their judgment become mature to direct them in their choice [b].

To the good qualities of their minds, the pair who wish to unite must add a masculine beauty, an advantageous stature, and full health [c]. Lycurgus, and after him many discerning philosophers, have considered it as absurd, that so much care should be taken to improve the breed of certain domestic animals, while that of men is entirely neglected [d]. The event has corresponded with his views, and happy unions seem to have given an additional degree of strength and majesty to human nature [e]. In fact, the purity of the Spartan blood is equalled among no people.

I shall not enter into a minute detail of the marriage ceremonies [f], but I must not omit to mention a custom remarkable for its singularity. When the marriage is concluded, the bridegroom, after a slight repast, which he takes in the public hall, repairs, at the beginning of the night, to the house of his new relations; he secretly carries off his bride, takes her home, and soon after returns to the gymnasium, to rejoin his comrades, with whom he continues to live as before. On the following days he frequents, as usual, his father's house; but he can only indulge his passion in those moments in which he deceives the vigilance of those who surround him; it would

z Id. ibid.
* See note at the end of the volume.
† See ditto.
a Aristot. de Rep. lib. 7. cap. 16. t. ii. p. 446.
b Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676. Plut. in Num. t. i. p. 77. Id. Apoph. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228.
c Plut. de Lib. Educ. t. ii. p. 1.
d Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 459. Theogn. Sent. v. 183. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49.
e Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676.
f Athen. lib. 14. p. 646. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 13. p. 240.

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be a ſhame to him if he were ſeen coming out of the apartment of his wife [g]. He ſometimes lives whole years in this clandeſtine intercourſe, in which the myſtery adds ſo many charms to the ſurpriſes and furtive enjoyments of love. Lycurgus knew that deſires too ſoon and too often ſatisfied terminate in indifference or diſguſt; he was careful, therefore, to cheriſh and preſerve them, that the married pair might have time to accuſtom themſelves to the faults of each other; and that love, inſenſibly ſtripped of its illuſions, might arrive at perfection, by transforming into friendſhip [h]. Hence the happy harmony which reigns in theſe families, the heads of which, obedient to the will of each other, ſeem every day more cloſely to unite by a new choice, and neceſſantly preſent the pleaſing image of the moſt exalted courage, joined with the moſt perfect mildneſs.

Very weighty reaſons may authorize a Spartan not to marry [i]; but in his old age he muſt not hope to be treated with the ſame reſpect as the other citizens. As a proof of this, an anecdote is related of Dercyllidas, who had commanded armies with ſo much glory [k]. That general came one day into the aſſembly, when a young man ſaid to him, I ſhall not riſe to you, becauſe you will leave no children who may one day riſe to me [l]. Thoſe who live in celibacy are alſo expoſed to other humiliations. They may not be preſent at the exerciſes in which the girls engage half naked; the magiſtrate may alſo, in the midſt of winter, command them to ſtrip off their clothes and go round the forum, ſinging ſarcaſtic verſes on themſelves, in which they acknowledge that their diſobedience to the laws merits the chaſtiſement they ſuffer [m].

[g] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676.
[h] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 48. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228.
[i] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676.
[k] Id. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 3. p. 490, &c.
[l] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 48.
[m] Id. ibid.

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NOTES.

CHAP. XXII.—Page 7.

On the Weight and Value of ſome Offerings in Gold, ſent to the Temple of Delphi by the Kings of Lydia, and deſcribed in Herodotus (lib. 1. cap. 14, 50, &c.); and in Diodorus Siculus (lib. 16. p. 452).

In reducing the talents of gold into ſilver talents, I ſhall take the proportion of 1 to 13, as in the time of Herodotus[d]; and in eſtimating the ſilver talent, I ſhall follow the tables I have given in this work. They are adapted to the Attic talent, and ſuppoſe the drachma of ſilver to weigh 79 grains. It may be neceſſary however to appriſe the reader that it may poſſibly have been 2 or 3 grains heavier in the time of that hiſtorian. The following is the value of the offerings of gold, according to the weight aſſigned to them by Herodotus:

	French Livres.	Pounds Sterling.
6 large crateræ, weighing 30 talents, worth 390 talents of ſilver, and of our money, -	2,106,000.	87,750.
117 ſemi-plinths, weighing 232 talents, worth 3016 talents of ſilver, our money, -	16,286,400.	678,600.
A lion, weighing 10 talents, worth 130 talents of ſilver, - - - - -	702,000.	29,250.

[d] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 95.

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	French Livres.	Pounds Sterling.
A ſtatue, weighing 8 talents, worth 104 talents of ſilver,	561,600.	23,400.
A cratera, weighing 8 talents and 42 minæ, worth 113 talents 6 minæ of ſilver,	610,740.	25,447. 10s.
To theſe offerings Diodorus Siculus [e] adds 360 phials of gold, weighing each 2 minæ; which make 12 golden talents, worth 156 talents of ſilver, and of our money,	842,400.	35,100.
Total	21,109,140	879,547. 10s.

Some differences are indeed to be met with in the calculations of Herodotus and Diodorus; but an examination of theſe would lead me too far.

SAME CHAP.—Page 13.

On the Vapour of the Cavern of Delphi.

This vapour was of the nature of mephitic exhalations: it roſe only to a certain height. It appears that the earth had been thrown up round the aperture, for which reaſon it is ſaid that perſons deſcended to this opening. The tripod being thus ſunk, it is no difficult matter to conceive by what means the ſteam aſcended to the prieſteſs, without affecting the prieſts or other perſons who ſtood near.

CHAP. XXV.—Page 47.

On the Plan of a Grecian Houſe.

M. Perrault has given us the plan of a Grecian houſe, from the deſcription of Vitruvius [f]. M. Galiani has publiſhed a ſecond, which is unqueſtionably preferable to that of Perrault [g]. I now ſubmit a third to the reader, which the late M. Marriette was ſo

[e] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 452.
[f] Vitruv. de Archit. lib. 6. cap. 10. Perrault, ibid.
[g] Galiani Architet. di Vitruv. ibid.

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obliging as to draw at my requeſt, and to vindicate by a memoir now in my poſſeſſion.

I do not pretend to affirm, that at the period I have fixed for the travels of Anacharſis, many Athenians were poſſeſſed of houſes of ſuch extent and magnificence; but as Demoſthenes aſſerts that ſome were built in his time which ſurpaſſed in beauty [h] thoſe ſuperb edifices with which Pericles embelliſhed Athens, I am juſtified in ſuppoſing that thoſe houſes did not eſſentially differ from that delineated by Vitruvius.

CHAP. XXIV.—Page 83.

On the Games in which Children were exerciſed.

These games ſerved to impreſs on their memory the method of calculating certain permutations: they learned, for inſtance, that 3 numbers, or 3 letters, were capable of being combined in 6 different ways; 4 in 24 ways, 5 in 120 ways, 6 in 720, and ſo on, multiplying the ſum of the given combination by the ſucceeding number.

SAME CHAP.—Page 87.

On the Letter of Iſocrates to Dominicus.

Some learned critics have alleged that this letter is not by Iſocrates; but their opinion is founded only on ſlight conjectures. See Fabricius [a], and the Memoirs of the *Académie des Belles Lettres* [b].

[h] Demoſth. Olynth. 3. p. 38 et 39. Id. de Rep. Ord. p. 127. Id. in Ariſtocr. p. 758.

[a] Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 902.
[b] T. xii. Hiſt. p. 183.

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SAME CHAP.—Page 91.

On the Word Νοῦς, *Underſtanding, Intelligence.*

It appears that this word originally ſignified ſight. In Homer, the word Νοέω ſometimes means, *I ſee* [c]. The ſame ſignification is retained in the word πρόνοια, which the Romans have rendered by *Proviſio, Providentia.* Hence Ariſtotle ſays, that intelligence or Νοῦς is to the ſoul what ſight is to the eye [d].

SAME CHAP.—Page 91.

On the Words Wiſdom and Prudence.

Xenophon, after Socrates [e], gives the name of wiſdom to the virtue which Ariſtotle here calls prudence. Plato likewiſe gives it occaſionally in the ſame acceptation [f]; and, prior to both theſe philoſophers, Archytas had ſaid that prudence is the knowledge of what is uſeful to man [g].

SAME CHAP.—Page 92.

On the Conformity in ſeveral Points of Doctrine between the Athenian and Pythagorean Schools.

Aristotle ſays [h], that Plato borrowed from the Pythagoreans part of his doctrine concerning principles. From them alſo Ariſtotle took the idea of that ingenious ſcale, in which he placed each virtue between two vices, the one erring by defect, the other by exceſs. See what Theages has ſaid on the ſubject [i].

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[c] Iliad. lib. 3. v. 21, 30, &c.
[d] Topic. lib. 1. cap. 17. t. i. p. 192.
[e] Memor. lib. 3. p. 778.
[f] In Euthyd. t. i. p. 281.
[g] Stob. lib. 1. p. 15.
[h] Metaphyſ. lib. 1. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 847.
[i] Ap. Stob. Serm. 1. p. 9.

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SAME CHAP.—Page 99.

On an Expreſſion of the Pythagoreans.

These philoſophers, obſerving that every thing which is the object of the ſenſes ſuppoſes generation, increaſe, and deſtruction, ſaid that all things have a beginning, a middle, and an end[k]. Hence Archytas had aſſerted before Plato, that the ſage advancing by the right path arrives at God, who is the principle, the middle, and the end of whatever is juſt[l].

CHAP. XXVII.—Page 109.

On the Chord named Proſlambanomenos.

I have choſen *ſi* for the firſt degree of this ſcale, and not the proſlambanomenos *la*, as the writers poſterior to the time of theſe converſations have done. The ſilence of Plato, Ariſtotle, and Ariſtoxenus, convinces me that, in their time, the proſlambanomenos was not yet introduced into the muſical ſyſtem.

SAME CHAP.—Page 114.

On the Number of Tretrachords introduced into the Lyre.

Aristoxenus ſpeaks of five tetrachords, which formed in his time the grand ſyſtem of the Greeks. It appears to me that this ſyſtem was not ſo extenſive in the days of Plato and Ariſtotle; but as Ariſtoxenus was a ſcholar of Ariſtotle, I thought I might venture to advance that this multiplication of tetrachords began to be introduced in the time of the latter.

k Ariſt. de Cœl. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. i. p. 431. Serv. in Virg. eclog. 8. v. 75.

l Lib. de Sapient. in Opuſc. Myth. p. 734.

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SAME CHAP.—Page 118.

On the Number of Notes or Characters employed in ancient Muſic.

M. Burette[i], pretends that the ancients had 1620 notes or ſigns to expreſs muſical ſounds, as well for the ſcale of voices as for that of inſtruments. He adds, that, after ſeveral years applications, the performer could ſing or ſolfa on all the tones, and in all the genera, accompanying the voice with the lyre. M. Rouſſeau[k] and M. Duclos[l] have aſſerted the ſame thing after M. Burette.

The latter has not given us his calculation, but we may ſee in what manner he has deduced it. He begins from the time when there were fifteen modes. In each mode, each of the eighteen ſtrings of the lyre had two appropriate ſpecies of character, one for the voice, the other for the inſtrument, which made thirty-ſix notes for each mode: now there were fifteen modes; multiplying 36, therefore, by 15, we ſhall have 540. Each mode, accordingly as it was executed in one of the three genera, had different notes: the number 540 then muſt be again multiplied by 3, which produces 1620.

M. Burette did not recollect, that, in a lyre of eighteen ſtrings, eight of them were fixed, and conſequently retained the ſame appropriate ſigns for whatever genus the lyre was mounted.

It appears to me, that the notes employed in the three genera of each mode amounted in all to 33 for the voice, and to the ſame number for inſtruments, making a total of 66. Let us now multiply the number of notes by that of the modes, that is to ſay, 66 by 15, and, inſtead of the 1620 notes which M. Burette ſuppoſes, we ſhall have only 990; 495 for vocal, and as many for inſtrumental muſic.

Notwithſtanding this reduction, we cannot but be aſtoniſhed, at firſt ſight, at this great number of characters formerly employed in muſic, forgetting how very numerous they are even with ourſelves, ſince our keys, our ſharps, and flats change the import

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i Mem. de l'Acad. t. v. p. 182.
k Dict. de Muſ. a l'Art. Notes.
l Mem. de l'Acad. t. xxi. p. 201.

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of a note placed on each line, and at each interval. The Greeks had more than we have, their ſcale required conſequently rather more ſtudy than ours. But I am far from thinking with M. Burette, that whole years were neceſſary to render it familiar.

SAME CHAP.—PAGE 125.

On the Doric and Phrygian Harmonies.

AUTHORS are not perfectly agreed reſpecting the character of the Phrygian harmony. According to Plato, it was more tranquil than the Doric, inſpired moderation, and was ſuitable to devotion [m]. According to Ariſtotle, it was turbulent, and fitted for enthuſiaſm [n]. He quotes the airs of Olympus [o], which filled the ſoul with a divine fury. Yet Olympus had compoſed on this mode a *Nomos* for the ſage Minerva [p]. Hyagnis, ſtill more ancient than Olympus, and author of ſeveral ſacred hymns, always employed in them the Phrygian harmony [q].

SAME CHAP.—PAGE 126.

Of the Character of Muſic in its Origin.

PLUTARCH ſays that the muſicians of his time made vain attempts to imitate the manner of Orpheus. The celebrated Tartini expreſſes himſelf in the ſame terms, when ſpeaking of the ancient chants and hymns of the church: *Biſogna*, ſays he, *confeſſar certamente eſſervene qualcheduna* (*Cantilena*) *talmente piena di gavità, maeſtà, e dolcezza congiunta a ſomma ſimplicità muſicale, che noi moderni duraremmo fatica molta per produrne di eguali* [r] *.

[m] De Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 399.
[n] Id. ibid. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 459.
[o] P. 455.
[p] Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1143.
[q] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. x. p. 257.
[r] Tartin. Trattat. di Muſ. p. 144.

* It muſt be confeſſed, that there are ſome ſo full of gravity, majeſty, and ſweetneſs, conjoined with the moſt perfect muſical ſimplicity, that to equal them would certainly coſt our modern compoſers prodigious labour.

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SAME CHAP.—Page 132.

On a singular Expreſſion of Plato.

To juſtify this expreſſion, we muſt recollect the extreme licentiouſneſs which prevailed in moſt of the Grecian republics in the days of Plato. After attacking inſtitutions, to the objects of which it was a ſtranger, it ſucceſſively deſtroyed the moſt ſacred ties which collect the body politic. The firſt encroachment was to introduce alterations in the hymns conſecrated to the worſhip of the gods, and the next ſtep to ſport with oaths rendered in their preſence [s]. Some philoſophers obſerving this general corruption, had the courage to advance, that, in a ſtate governed ſtill more by manners than by laws, the ſmalleſt innovations are attended with danger, as they are ſoon likely to be followed by ſtill greater. It was not muſic alone, therefore, which they wiſhed to ſecure from innovation; the prohibition extended to the games, to public exhibitions, to gymnaſtic exerciſes [t]. Theſe ideas too were borrowed from the Egyptians. That people, or rather thoſe who governed them, jealous of maintaining their authority, could conceive no better method to repreſs the reſtleſſneſs of the minds of men, than to arreſt them in their firſt attempts at novelty: hence thoſe laws which prohibited artiſts from in the leaſt indulging their genius and fancy, and obliged them ſervilely to copy their predeceſſors [u].

SAME CHAP.—Page 135.

On the Effect of Muſic.

The following is an obſervation of Tartini [x]: "Muſic is but the art of combining ſounds; nothing now remains of it but its materieal part, diveſted of all that ſpirit with which it formerly was animated. By neglecting the rules which directed its operation

[s] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 701.
[t] Plat. de Rep. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 424; de Leg. t. ii. lib. 7. p. 797.
[u] Id. de Leg. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 656.
[x] Tartini, Tratt. di Muſ. p. 142 et 145.

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to a single point, its object is now vague and general. If I experience from it impressions of joy or grief, they are wild and indefinite; for the effect of the art is perfect only when it is specific and individual."

CHAP. XXXI.—Page 190.

On the Commencement of the Cycle of Meton.

The day on which Meton placed the summer solstice corresponded with the 27th of June of our Julian year; and that on which he commenced his new cycle with the 16th of July [y].

The 19 solar years of Meton contained 6940 days [z]. The 19 lunar years, together with their 7 intercalary months, form 235 lunations, which, at 30 days each, give 7050 days: they were, therefore, longer than the former by 110 days. To render them equal, Meton reduced 110 lunations to 29 days each, which left 6940 days for the 19 lunar years [a].

SAME CHAP.—Page 192.

On the Length of the Solar and Lunar years, as determined by Meton.

Five nineteenths of a day make 6 hours, 18 minutes, 56 seconds, 50 thirds, &c. The solar year of Meton, therefore, contained 365 days, 6 hours, 18′, 56″, 50‴ [b]. Our modern astronomers compute it to contain 365 days, 5 hours, 48′, 43 or 45″ [c]. The difference between our year and that of Meton is therefore 30 minutes and about 12 seconds.

[y] See Scaliger, de Emend. Temp. lib. 2. p. 77. Petav. de Doct. Temp. t. i. p. 63, et Var. Differt. lib. 6. cap. 10. t. iii. p. 131. Ricciol. Almag. t. i. p. 242. Freret, Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. Hist. t. xviii. p. 144. Dodwell, &c.

[z] Censor. cap. 18.

[a] Gemin. ap. Petav. t. iii. p. 23.

[b] Petav. de Doct. Temp. t. i. p. 62. Ricciol. Almag. lib. 4. p. 242.

[c] De Lalande, Astronom. t. i. p. 55. Bailli. Hist de l'Astron. Anc. p. 448.

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The synodical revolution of the moon was performed, according to Meton, in 29 days, 12 hours, 45′, 57″, 26‴, &c [d]. By modern observations, it is performed in 29 days, 12 hours, 44′, 3″, 10‴, &c [e]. The lunar year of Meton contained 354 days, 9 hours 11′, 29″, 21‴, and was shorter than the solar year by 10 days, 21 hours, 7′, 27″, 29‴ [f].

SAME CHAP.—Page 194.

On the Dials of the Ancients.

We may form some idea of these dials from the following example. Palladius Rutilius, who lived about the fifth century after Christ, and has left us a treatise on agriculture, has placed at the end of each month a table, in which is given the correspondence of the divisions of the day, with the different lengths of the shadow of the gnomon [g]. It must be observed, first, that this correspondence is the same in the months equidistant from the solstice, in January and December, February and November, &c.; 2dly, that the length of the shadow is the same for the hours equidistant from noon. The following is the table for January.

Hours	I.	and	XI.	Feet	29.
H.	II.	and	X.	F.	19.
H.	III.	and	IX.	F.	15.
H.	IV.	and	VIII.	F.	12.
H.	V.	and	VII.	F.	10.
H.	VI.	and		F.	9.

This dial seems to have been adapted to the climate of Rome. The passages I have cited in the text prove that similar ones were constructed for that of Athens. For further particulars, the reader may consult the learned authors who have written on the dials of the ancients [h].

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[d] Petav. ibid. t. i. p. 62.
[e] De Lalande. ibid. t. ii. p. 291.
[f] Petav. ibid.
[g] Pallad. ad. Script. Rei Rust. t. ii. p. 905.
[h] Salmas. Exercit. in Solin. t. i. p. 632. Casaub. in Athen. lib. 6. cap. 10. et lib. 9. cap. 17. Petav. Var. Discr. t. iii. lib. 7. cap. 8.

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CHAP. XXXIII.—Page 210.

On the Voyages of Plato to Sicily.

Plato made three voyages to Sicily, the firſt in the reign of Dionyſius the elder, and the two others in that of the younger Dionyſius, who aſcended the throne in the year 367 before Chriſt.

The firſt muſt be placed in the year 389 before that æra, ſince Plato, on the one hand, ſays that he was then forty years of age [i]; and there is other evidence to prove that he was born in the year 429 before Chriſt [k].

The date of the two laſt voyages has been determined ſolely from an erroneous calculation of father Corſini, the only learned modern perhaps who has beſtowed any attention on the ſubject. The following facts will ſerve to clear up this point of chronology.

Plato journeyed into Sicily with a deſign of effecting a reconciliation between Dion and the king of Syracuſe. He remained from twelve to fifteen months in that country; and, on his return, finding Dion at the Olympic games, informed him of the bad ſucceſs of his negotiation. Let us, therefore, determine the year in which theſe games were celebrated, and we ſhall have the date of the laſt voyage of Plato. We might perhaps heſitate between the games of the 304th, 305th, and 306th Olympiads, that is, between the years 364, 360, and 356 before Chriſt; but the following remark removes all difficulty.

In the firſt months of Plato's reſidence at Syracuſe, there was a viſible eclipſe of the ſun [l]. After his interview with Dion, the latter determined to attempt an expedition into Sicily, and, whilſt he was embarking his troops at Zacynthus, there happened, in the midſt of ſummer, a lunar eclipſe, which terrified the ſoldiers [m]. The Olympic year in queſtion, therefore, muſt have

i Plat. Epiſt. t. iii. p. 324.
k Corſini, Diſſert. de Natal. Die. Plat. in Symbol. Litter. vol. vi. p. 97.
l Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 966.
m Id. ibid. p. 968.

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been, 1ſt, preceded by a ſolar eclipſe, about a year before, and viſible at Syracuſe; 2dly, it muſt have been followed one, two, or even three years after, by an eclipſe of the moon happening in the hotteſt part of the ſummer, and viſible at Zacynthus. Now, on the 12th of May, 361 before Chriſt, at four in the afternoon there was an eclipſe of the ſun, viſible at Syracuſe; and on the 9th of Auguſt 357 before Chriſt, an eclipſe of the moon, viſible at Zacynthus: hence it follows, that the third voyage of Plato was in the ſpring of 361, and the expedition of Dion in the month of Auguſt 357; and as it appears by the letters of Plato [n], that only two or three years had elapſed between the end of his ſecond voyage, and the beginning of the third, the ſecond may be placed in the year 364 before the Chriſtian æra.

I have been led to this concluſion by a table of eclipſes, for which I am indebted to M. de Lelande, and which contains all the ſolar and lunar eclipſes, the former as viſible at Syracuſe, the latter at Zacynthus, from the acceſſion of the younger Dionyſius to the throne, in the year 367, to the year 350 before Chriſt. The reader will perceive, that any other Olympic year but that of 360 would be inadequate to the ſolution of the problem. He will hence diſcover likewiſe a chronological error of father Corſini, which would readily be perpetuated under the ſanction of his name, were not care taken to correct it.

This learned author ſuppoſes, as I alſo do, that Plato gave an account of his laſt voyage to Dion at the Olympic games of the year 360; but he proceeds on a falſe ſuppoſition; for, by referring to the 9th of Auguſt of that year, the lunar eclipſe which happened in 357 he fixes for the year 360, and at an interval only of a few days, the expedition of Dion and his interview with Plato at the Olympic games [o]. This is not the place here to refute the inferences he draws from the erroneous calculation which he has made, or which was made for him, of this eclipſe. Let us adhere to certain facts. The lunar eclipſe of the 9th of Auguſt was unqueſtionably of the year 357; the departure, therefore, of

[n] Plat. t. iii. epiſt. 3. p. 317. epiſt. 7. p. 338.

[o] Corſin. Differt. de Nat. Die. Plat. in Symbol. Litter. vol. vi. p. 114.

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Dion for Sicily was in the month of Auguſt 357. His meeting with Plato was at the laſt feſtival of Olympia: Plato then, on his return from his third voyage, attended at the Olympic games of the year 360. I could demonſtrate that the eclipſe juſtifies, on this occaſion, the chronology of Diodorus Siculus[p]; but it is time to conclude this note.

CHAP. XXXIV.—Page 236.

On the Names of the Muſes.

Erato ſignifies *the amiable*; Urania, *the celeſtial*; Calliope may ſignify *elegance of language*; Euterpe, *ſhe who pleaſeth*; Thalia, *lively joy, and eſpecially the feſtivity of banquets*; Melpomene, *ſhe who delighteth in ſinging*; Polymnia, *multiplicity of ſongs*; Terpſichore, *ſhe who delighteth in the dance*; Clio, *glory*.

SAME CHAP.—Page 237.

On the ſecret Outlets of the Cavern of Trophonius.

A short time after the journey of Anacharſis to Lebadea, one of the attendants of king Demetrius came to conſult that oracle. The prieſts ſuſpected his intentions. He was ſeen to enter the cavern, but never to come out of it. Some days after, his body was thrown out of the cave, by an outlet different from that by which it was commonly entered[q].

SAME CHAP.—Page 242.

On the Circumference of the City of Thebes.

In the poetical deſcription of the ſtate of Greece, by Dicæarchus[r], the circumference of Thebes is ſaid to be 43 ſtadia, or

[p] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 413.
[q] Pauſan. lib. 9. cap. 39. p. 792.
[r] Ap. Geograph. Min. t. ii. p. 7. v 94 et 95.

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one league and something more than a half. In the prose description of the same author (page 14), we are told that it was 70 stadia, or two leagues and more than a half. This is supposed to be an error of the copyist in the latter text. It may be as reasonably supposed, that the author, in the first passage, speaks of the circumference of the lower town, and that in the second he includes the citadel.

Dicæarchus is not speaking of the Thebes destroyed by Alexander, the Thebes mentioned in this work. But as Pausanias assures us[s], that Cassander, when he rebuilt it, restored its ancient walls, it appears that the ancient and modern city were of the same circumference.

SAME CHAP.—Page 243.

On the Number of Inhabitants at Thebes.

We can only approach the number of inhabitants at Thebes by conjectural computation. When that city was taken by Alexander, upwards of six thousand persons perished, and more than thirty thousand were sold for slaves. The priests, and those who were connected, by the ties of hospitality or other means, with Alexander or his father Philip, were spared. Many citizens, no doubt, fled[t]. From these data, therefore, we may presume, that the number of inhabitants in Thebes, and its district, might amount to fifty thousand of all ages and sexes, without including slaves. The Baron de Sainte-Croix considers this estimate as exaggerated[u]. I venture not to be of his opinion.

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[s] Lib. 9. cap. 7. p. 725.

[t] Diod. Sic. lib. 17. p. 497. Plut. in Alex. t. i. p. 670. Ælian. lib. 13. c. 7.

[u] Exam. Crit. de l'Hist. d'Alex. p. 46.

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CHAP. XXXV.—Page 259.

On the States which ſent Deputies to the Amphictyonic Council.

Ancient authors differ reſpecting the ſtates which ſent deputies to this council. Æſchines, whom I have cited at the bottom of the page, and whoſe teſtimony is, at leaſt for his time, preferable to any other, as he was himſelf a deputy, names the Theſſalians, the Bœotians, the Dorians, the Ionians, the Perrhæbians, the Magneſians, the Locrians, the Oeteans, the Phthians, the Malians, and the Phocians. Copyiſts have omitted the twelfth, which critics ſuppoſe to have been the Dolopians.

SAME CHAP.—Page 281.

On the Height of Mount Olympus.

Plutarch [x] gives us an ancient inſcription, by which it appears that Xenagoras had found the height of Olympus to be 10 ſtadia and 1 plethrum, wanting ſix feet. The plethrum, according to Suidas, was the ſixth part of a ſtadium, and conſequently contained 15 toiſes, 4 feet, 6 inches. Deduct theſe 4 feet 6 inches, and there remain 15 toiſes, which added to the 945 given us by the 10 ſtadia, we have 960 toiſes (2045 yards Engliſh) for the height of Olympus. M. Bernouilli, by his meaſurement, finds it to be 1017 toiſes [y] (or 2167 yards).

CHAP. XXXVI.—Page 292.

On the Burning Fountain of Dodona.

Nearly the ſame account was given of the burning fountain ſituated at three leagues from Grenoble, long conſidered as one of

[x] Paul. Æmil. t. i. p. 263.

[y] Buffon. Epoq. de la Nature, p. 305.

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the ſeven wonders of Dauphiné. But the prodigy has vaniſhed ſince the cauſes which produced it have been inveſtigated [z].

CHAP. XXXVII.—Page 324.

On Dædalus of Sicyon.

The ancient writers often ſpeak of Dædalus of Athens, to whom they attribute the moſt important diſcoveries in arts and trades; the ſaw, the axe, the wimble, iſinglaſs, ſhip ſails, maſts, &c. In Crete was ſhown a labyrinth of his conſtruction; in Sicily, a citadel and baths; large edifices in Sardinia, and every where a great number of ſtatues [a]. Prior to Dædalus, it is added, ſtatues had their eyes ſhut, their arms cloſely adhering to the body, and their feet joined; he opened their eye-lids, and detached their feet and hands [b]. It was this Dædalus, in fine, who contrived to give motion to wooden figures by means of quickſilver, or by ſecret internal ſprings [c]. It muſt be obſerved, that he is ſtyled a contemporary of Minos, and that moſt of the diſcoveries, the honour of which is given to him, are attributed by other writers to artiſts who lived long after his time.

By comparing the hints furniſhed by authors and monuments, it appears to me that painting and ſculpture did not make any progreſs among the Greeks before the two centuries, one of which preceded, and the other ſucceeded, the firſt Olympiad, fixed at the year 776 before the Chriſtian æra. M. de la Nauze has drawn the ſame concluſion from his reſearches relative to painting [d].

I therefore thought that I might, with the greateſt probability, attribute the changes in the form of the ancient ſtatues to this Dædalus of Sicyon, who is frequently mentioned by Pauſanias [e],

[z] Mem. de l'Acad. des Sciences, année 1699, p. 23. Hiſt. Crit. des Prat. j. Superſt. t. i. p. 44.

[a] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 235 et 276. Plin. lib. 7. cap. 56. p. 414. Pauſan. lib. 9 cap. 40. p. 793.

[b] Id. ibid. p. 276. Themiſt. Orat. 26. p. 316. Suid. in Δαίδαλ.

[c] Plat. in. Men. t. ii. p. 97. Ariſt. de Anim lib. 1. cap. 3. t. i. p. 622. Id. de Rep. lib. 1. cap. 4. t. i. p. 299. Scalig. Animad. in Euſeb. p. 45.

[d] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxv. p. 267.

[e] Lib. 6. cap. 3. p. 457. Id. lib. 10. cap. 9. p. 819.

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and who lived in the interval between the year 700 and the year 600 before Chriſt. The following teſtimonies ſeem favourable to this ſuppoſition.

Some, ſays Pauſanias[f], gave Dædalus for pupils Dipœnus and Scyllis, whom Pliny[g] places before the reign of Cyrus, and towards the 50th Olympiad, beginning in the year 580 before Chriſt, which would carry back the age of Dædalus to about the year 610 before that æra.

Ariſtotle, quoted by Pliny[h], aſſerts that Euchir, a relation of Dædalus, was the firſt inventor of painting among the Greeks. If this Euchir be the ſame who applied himſelf to plaſtice, and accompanied Demaratus of Corinth into Italy[i], this new ſynchroniſm will confirm the preceding date; for Demaratus was father of Tarquin the elder, who aſcended the throne about the year 614 before Chriſt.

Laſtly, Athenagoras[k], after ſpeaking of different artiſts of Corinth and Sicyon, who lived poſterior to Heſiod and Homer, adds, "After them appeared Dædalus and Theodorus, who were of Miletus, the inventors of ſtatuary and plaſtice."

I do not deny the exiſtince of a very ancient Dædalus; I only ſay that the firſt improvement of ſculpture ſhould be aſcribed to the Dædalus of Sicyon.

CHAP. XXXVIII.—Page 340.

On the Ornaments of the Throne of Jupiter.

It may be preſumed that theſe thirty-ſeven figures were in relievo, and placed on the traverſes of the throne. The ſubjects repreſented on each of the feet might likewiſe be differently diſpoſed from the idea I have adopted. The deſcription of Pauſanias is extremely conciſe and vague. By endeavouring to clear it up, we run the riſk of confuſing ourſelves; by adhering to a literal tranſlation, there is a danger of not being underſtood.

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[f] Lib. 2. cap. 15. p. 143.
[g] Lib. 36. cap. 4. p. 724.
[h] Lib. 7 p. 417.
[i] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 12. p. 710.
[k] Apolog. p. 128.

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SAME CHAP.—Page 349.

On the Order of the Combats at the Olympic Games.

This order varied from the frequent greater or leſs number of the combats, and the changes induced by motives of convenience. The order I have aſſigned them is not conformable to the teſtimonies of Xenophon[l] and Pauſanias[m]. But theſe authors, who do not perfectly agree between themſelves, ſpeak only of three or four combats; and we have no light to direct us with reſpect to the diſpoſition of others. In this ſtate of uncertainty, I thought it better to aim at perſpicuity. I have firſt ſpoken of the different courſes of men, horſes, and chariots, and then of the combats which took place in a circumſcribed ſpace ſuch as wreſtling, boxing, &c. This is nearly the arrangment propoſed by Plato in his treatiſe on laws[n].

SAME CHAP.—Page 360.

On Polydamas.

Pausanias and Suidas[o] make this athleta live in the time of Darius Nothus king of Perſia, about ſixty years before the Olympic games, in which I ſuppoſe that he preſented himſelf to combat. But, on the other hand, the inhabitants of Pellene affirmed that Polydamas was vanquiſhed at the Olympic games by one of their fellow citizens, named Promachus, who lived in the time of Alexander[p]. This difficulty in chronology is of very little importance; but I thought it proper to mention it, that it may not be urged againſt me.

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[l] Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7. p. 638.
[m] Lib. 5. p. 396.
[n] Lib. 8. t. ii. p. 833.
[o] Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 5. p. 464. Suid. in Πολ.
[p] Id. lib. 7. cap. 27. p. 595.

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CHAP. XXXIX.—Page 371.

On the Residence of Xenophon at Scillus.

A short time before the battle of Mantinea, in the year 362 before Christ, the Eleans destroyed Scillus, and Xenophon retired to Corinth [a], where I place him in the ninth chapter of this work. An ancient author affirms that he there ended his days [b]. But, according to Pausanias, his tomb was preserved in the district of Scillus [c]; and Plutarch assures us, that, in this retreat, Xenophon composed his history [d], which comes down to the year 357 before Christ [e]. We may therefore suppose, that, after having resided some time at Corinth, he returned to Scillus, where he passed the latter years of his life.

CHAP. XL.—Page 404.

On the Foundation of Messina.

Pausanias tells us, that after the taking of Ira, that is, about the year 668 before Christ, the Messenians, under the conduct of Gorgus, son of Aristomenes, went into Italy, and joined their arms with those of Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, drove out the inhabitants, and gave to that city the name of Messena (at present Messina [f]).

This account is directly contrary both to that of Herodotus and that of Thucydides. According to the former, Darius, son of Hystaspes, having subdued Ionia, which had revolted against him, the people of Samos, and some of the inhabitants of Miletus, retired to Sicily, where, by the advice of Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, they seized on the city of Zancle [g]. The date of this event is toward the year 495 before Christ, and posterior by about 173 years to the time at which Pausanias places the reign of

[a] Diogen. Laert. lib. 2. § 53.
[b] Demetr. Magn. ap. Diog. Laert. ibid. § 56.
[c] Pausan. lib. 5. p. 389.
[d] Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 605.
[e] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 601. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 418.
[f] Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 23. p. 335.
[g] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 22 et 23.

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Anaxilas, and the change of the name of Zancle into that of Meſſena.

Thucydides relates, that a body of Samians and other Ionians, driven from their country by the Medes, ſeized on Zancle in Sicily. He adds, that, not long after, Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, made himſelf maſter of this city, and gave it the name of Meſſena, becauſe he was himſelf originally from Meſſena [h].

Father Corſini, who had at firſt ſuſpected that there might have been two princes of the name of Anaxilas [i], has acknowledged, on farther examination, that Pauſanias has miſtaken the time [k]. It is manifeſt indeed, from various circumſtances, that Anaxilas reigned at the time of the battle of Marathon, or about the year 490 before Chriſt. I ſhall only add two obſervations to thoſe of Father Corſini.

1ſt, Before this battle, there had been a revolt in Meſſenia, which, in part, prevented the Lacedæmonians from being preſent at the battle [l]. It ſucceeded no better than the former had done, and it was then, no doubt, that the Meſſenians, after their defeat, took refuge with Anaxilas of Rhegium, whom they induced to ſeize on the city Zancle, which afterward bore the name of Meſſena.

2dly, If it were true, as Pauſanias affirms, that this city had changed its name immediately after the ſecond war of Meſſenia, it would follow that the ancient coins on which we read *Dancle*, muſt be anterior to the year 668 before Chriſt, which their fabric will not permit us to ſuppoſe.

CHAP. XLI.—Page 426.

On the Number of the Tribes of Sparta.

In almoſt all the great cities of Greece, the citizens were divided into tribes. At Athens, there were ten tribes. Cragius [m] ſuppoſes Lacedæmon to have contained ſix, viz. thoſe of the Hera-

[h] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 4 et 5.
[i] Corſin. Faſt. Attic. t. iii. p. 140.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 155.
[l] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii p. 698.
[m] De Rep. Laced. lib. 1. cap. 6.

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clidæ, the Ægidæ, the Limnatæ, the Cynosuræans, the Messoatæ, and the Pitanatæ. The existence of the first of these is not proved by any express testimony; Cragius has only founded it on very feeble conjectures, and I have therefore rejected it.

The five other tribes are expressly mentioned in authors, or on ancient monuments; that of the Ægidæ, in Herodotus[n]; those of the Cynosuræans and Pitanatæ, in Hesychius[o]; that of the Messoatæ, in Stephen of Byzantium[p]; and lastly, that of the Limnatæ, in an inscription which the Abbé Fourmont discovered in the ruins of Sparta[q]. Pausanias mentions four of these tribes, when he tells us that at the celebration of a sacrifice which had been offered to Diana from the earliest times, a dispute arose between the Limnatæ, the Cynosuræans, the Messoatæ, and the Pitanatæ[r].

It may be here asked, whether, because we find no mention of more than these five tribes, it follows that they should therefore be confined to that number. I answer, that we have very strong presumptive reasons why they should not be increased. We have seen above, that there were at Athens several bodies, consisting each of ten magistrates chosen from the ten tribes. In the same manner, we find at Sparta several magistracies, exercised each by five public officers; as that of the Ephori, that of the Bidiæi[s], and that of the Agathoergi[t], and we have reason to believe that each tribe furnished one of these officers.

SAME CHAP.—Page 426.

On the Plan of Lacedæmon.

I have ventured, after the feeble lights which have been transmitted to us by ancient authors, to present the reader with some general ideas on the topography of Lacedæmon.

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[n] Lib. 4. cap. 149.
[o] In Κυνος et in Πιτανάτ.
[p] In Μίσσ.
[q] Inscript. Fourmont, in Biblioth. Reg. Fran.
[r] Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 16. p. 249.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 11. p. 231.
[t] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 67.

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According to Thucydides this city did not form one continued whole, like that of Athens, but was divided into towns or hamlets, as were the ancient cities of Greece [u].

Rightly to understand this passage we must recollect that the earliest inhabitants of Greece first settled in towns without walls, and that, in the sequel, they united a number of these towns by one common enclosure. Of this we have numerous examples. Tegea was composed of nine such hamlets [x], Mantinea of four or five [y], Patræ of seven, Dyme of eight [z], &c.

The inhabitants of these towns, when thus united, did not intermingle with each other: they dwelt in different quarters, and formed different tribes; in consequence of which the same name signified the tribe and the quarter in which it was situated. My proofs for Lacedæmon in particular are as follow:

Cynosura, says Hesychius, is a tribe of Laconia [a]; it is a place in Laconia, says the scholiast on Callimachus [b]. According to Suidas, Messoa was a place [c]; according to Stephen of Byzantium, it was a place and a tribe of Laconia [d]. According to Strabo [e], whose text has been happily restored by Salmasius [f], Messoa made a part of Lacedæmon; and lastly, Pitane is sometimes called a tribe [g] and sometimes a town [h].

We now easily understand why some writers say that the poet Alcman was of Messoa, and others that he was of Lacedæmon [i]; we also conceive why a Spartan named Thrasybulus, having been killed in a battle, Plutarch does not say that he was brought home on his buckler to Lacedæmon, but to Pitane [k], because he was of that borough, and was there to be buried.

We have seen, in a preceding note, that the Spartans were divided into five tribes; their capital must then have been composed of five hamlets; it therefore only remains for me to justify the position I have assigned to each in my plan.

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[u] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 10.
[x] Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 45. p. 692.
[y] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 5. p. 553. Ephor. ap. Harpocr. in Μαντ. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 331.
[z] Strab. lib. 8. p. 337.
[a] Hesych. in Κυνος.
[b] Hymn. in Dian. v. 94.
[c] Suid. in Μεσσ.
[d] Steph. in Μεσσ.
[e] Strab. lib. 8. p. 364. Casaub. ibid.
[f] In Plinian. Exercit. p. 825.
[g] Hesych. in Πιτανη.
[h] Schol. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 20.
[i] Salmas. ibid. Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 4. cap. 17.
[k] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 225.

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1st, Hamlet and Tribe of the Limnatæ. Their name was derived from the Greek word Λίμνη, which signifies a lake or marsh. According to Strabo, the suburb of Sparta was called the marshes, because that place had formerly been a morass [l]. But the suburb of Sparta must have been to the northward of the city, because travellers most frequently entered it on that side.

2dly, Hamlet and Tribe of the Cynosuræans. The word Cynosura signifies the *tail of a dog*. It was a name usually given to promontories or mountains which had that form. A branch of Mount Taygetus, of this figure, extended to Sparta, and we have shown that there was in Laconia a place called Cynosura. We are therefore authorised to conjecture that the hamlet which bore this name was near that branch of Mount Taygetus.

3dly, Hamlet and Tribe of the Pitanatæ. Pausanias, leaving the forum, takes his way toward the west, passes before the theatre, and afterward comes to the hall in which the Crotani, who made a part of the Pitanatæ, assembled [m]. This hamlet must then be placed in front of the theatre, the position of which is known, since vestiges of it still remain. This is confirmed by a passage in Hesychius, and another in Herodotus, which show that the theatre was in the hamlet of the Pitanatæ [n].

4thly, Hamlet and Tribe of the Messoatæ. From the hamlet of the Pitanatæ, Pausanias proceeds to the Plataniſtas [o], which was in the neighbourhood of the town of Therapne. Near the Plataniſtas he finds the tomb of the poet Alcman [p], who being of Messoa, must have been there buried.

5thly, Hamlet and Tribe of the Ægidæ. Pausanias next conducts us to the town or hamlet of the Limnatæ [q], which we have placed in the northern part of the city. On his way he finds the tomb of Ægeus [r], who gave his name to the tribe of the Ægidæ [s].

I have not surrounded all these hamlets with an enclosure, because, in the times of which I treat, Sparta had no walls.

The temples and other public edifices have been placed nearly in the positions assigned to them by Pausanias. In this particular

[l] Strab. lib. 8. p. 363.
[m] Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 14. p. 240.
[n] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 67. Hesych. in Πιτανατ.
[o] Pausan. ibid. p. 242.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 15. p. 244.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 16. p. 248.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 15. p. 245.
[s] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 149.

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a rigorous precision cannot be expected; the principal object was to give a general idea of this celebrated city.

CHAP. XLII.—Page 433.

On the Manner in which the Spartans treated the Helots.

The Lacedæmonians, alarmed at the loss of Pylos, which had been taken from them by the Athenians, resolved to send fresh troops to Brasidas, who was then in Thrace. For this they had two motives; the first to continue to make a diversion which might draw the arms of Athens into distant countries, and the other to enlist, and send away for Thrace, a body of those Helots whose youth and valour incessantly inspired them with well-founded fears. Liberty was therefore promised to those among them who should be found most to have distinguished themselves in the preceding wars. A great number claimed the proffered reward, and two thousand were chosen from among them, with whom the state kept its word. They were crowned with flowers, and conducted in solemn procession to the temples, which was the principal ceremony of enfranchisement. A short time after, says Thucydides, they all disappeared, and no person ever knew in what manner they were thus, to a man, destroyed [l]. Plutarch, who has copied Thucydides, remarks also that it was not known at the time, nor has ever yet been discovered, by what kind of death these two thousand men perished [m].

Lastly, Diodorus Siculus asserts that their masters received orders to put them to death within their houses [n]. But how could he be informed of a circumstance with which such an historian as Thucydides, who lived at the time when this barbarous massacre was perpetrated, was unacquainted?

Whatever the truth may be, we have here two facts which ought carefully to be distinguished, because they originate from two different causes; the one on the enfranchisement of two thou-

l Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 80.
m Plut. in Lyc. t. i. p. 56.
n Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 117.

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ſand Helots, and the other the death of theſe Helots. Liberty was certainly granted them by order of the ſenate and the people; but it is alſo certain that they were not put to death by a decree enacted by the ſupreme power. No nation would have ſanctioned ſo black an act of perfidy; and, in this particular caſe, it is manifeſt that the aſſembly of the Spartans only emancipated theſe Helots to arm and ſend them into Thrace. The ephori, about the ſame time, ſent away a thouſand other Helots to the army of Braſidas [o]. As theſe detachments ſometimes left Sparta in the night [p], the people might ſuppoſe that the two thouſand men, who had been freed from ſervitude, had been ſent to their place of deſtination, and when they diſcovered their miſtake, it might be eaſy to perſuade them that the magiſtrates, being in poſſeſſion of proofs that they had conſpired againſt the ſtate, had privately put them to death, or had contented themſelves with baniſhing them from the territories of the republic. It is impoſſible that we ſhould now be able ſatisfactorily to elucidate a fact, which, in the time of Thucydides, was enveloped with obſcurity; it is ſufficient that I have ſhown, that this crime ought not to be imputed to the nation, but rather to the falſe policy of the ephori then in office, who, poſſeſſing more power and leſs virtue than their predeceſſors, no doubt pretended that every thing is lawful when the ſafety of the ſtate is in queſtion; for it muſt be obſerved, that the principles of juſtice and morality were then beginning to be corrupted.

Other cruelties exerciſed by the Lacedæmonians on the Helots are alſo related. An author, named Myron, affirms that, inceſſantly to remind them they were ſlaves, they annually received a number of ſtripes with a whip [q]. Now there were perhaps a hundred thouſand Helots in Laconia and Meſſenia; let any one, therefore, reflect for a moment on the abſurdity of this project, and the difficulty of executing it, and then ſay what credit is to be given to this tale. The ſame author adds, that a puniſhment was inflicted on thoſe maſters who did not mutilate ſuch of their Helots as

[o] Id. ibid.
[p] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 10.
[q] Myr. ap. Athen. lib. 14. p. 657.

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were born with a ſtrong conſtitution of body [r]. But can we believe that all thoſe Helots who were enrolled as ſoldiers, and ſerved with ſo much diſtinction in the army, were maimed and cripples?

It happens but too often that we judge of the manners of a people from particular examples which have made impreſſion on a traveller, or been related to an hiſtorian. When Plutarch tells us that the Spartans, to inſpire their children with an averſion for drunkenneſs, brought before them a Helot who had been deprived of his reaſon by wine [s]; I cannot but doubt that he has taken a particular caſe for a general rule; or at leaſt that he has, on this occaſion, confounded the Helots with the domeſtic ſlaves, the condition of whom was very inferior to that of the former. But I give entire credit to Plutarch, when he aſſures us that the Helots were forbidden to ſing the poetry of Alcman and Terpander [t], becauſe this poetry inſpiring the love of glory and liberty, it was the part of ſound policy to forbid its recital to men whoſe courage there was ſo much reaſon to fear.

CHAP. XLV.—Page 453.

On the Inſtitution of the Ephori.

The greater part of authors aſcribe the inſtitution of theſe magiſtrates to Theopompus, who reigned about a century after Lycurgus. Such is the opinion of Ariſtotle [u], Plutarch [x], Cicero [y], Valerius Maximus [z], and Dion Chryſoſtom [a]. To this liſt may be added Xenophon, who ſeems to attribute the origin of the ephori to the principal citizens of Lacedæmon [b]; and Euſebius, who, in his Chronicle, places it at the time when Theopompus reigned [c].

[r] Id. ibid. Spanh. in Ariſtoph. Plut. v. 4.
[s] Plut in Lycurg. t. i. p. 57. Id. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.
[t] Id in Lycurg. ibid.
[u] De Rep. lib. 5. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 407.
[x] In Lycurg. t. i. p. 43. Id. ad Princ. Inerud. t. ii. p. 779.
[y] De Leg. lib. 3. cap. 7. t. iii. p. 164.
[z] Lib. 4. cap. 1. extern No. 8.
[a] Orat. 56. p. 565.
[b] De Rep. Laced. p. 683.
[c] Euſeb. Chron. lib. 2. p. 151. Freret. Defenſ. de la Chronol. p. 174.

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Two other teſtimonies deſerve the more attention, as they contain tolerably preciſe dates. According to Plutarch, king Cleomenes III. thus addreſſed the general aſſembly of Lacedæmon: "Lycurgus contented himſelf with joining in authority with the "two kings a body of ſenators. During a long time, the republic knew no other magiſtracy. But the war of Meſſenia (in the "time of Theopompus) continuing to be protracted, the kings "thought it their duty to confide the care of adminiſtering juſtice "to the ephori, who at firſt were only their officers. But, in the "ſequel, the ſucceſſors of theſe magiſtrates uſurped the authority, and one of them, named Aſteropus, rendered them independent [d]."

Plato [e] enumerates three cauſes which at Lacedæmon have prevented the royal authority from becoming deſpotic. The two laſt are theſe: "A man animated with a divine ſpirit (Lycurgus) limited the power of the kings by that of the ſenate; afterward another ſaviour happily counterbalanced the authority of the kings "and ſenate by that of the ephori." The ſaviour of whom Plato here ſpeaks can only be Theopompus.

On the other ſide, Herodotus [f], Plato [g], and an ancient author, named Satyrus [h], conſider Lycurgus as the inſtitutor of the ephori.

I anſwer, that, according to Heraclides of Pontus, who lived ſoon after Plato, ſome writers attributed to Lycurgus all the regulations relative to the government of Lacedæmon [i]. The two paſſages of Plato which I have cited are a ſufficient example of this. In his eighth letter [k], he advances in general that Lycurgus inſtituted the ſenators and the ephori, while, in his treatiſe on laws [l], where he has more circumſtantially related the fact, he aſcribes to theſe two bodies of magiſtrates two different origins.

The authority of Satyrus would have no weight with me, if it were not corroborated by that of Herodotus. I ſhall not ſay with

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d Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 808.
e De Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 691.
f Lib. 1. cap. 65.
g Epiſt. 8. t. iii. p. 354.
h Diogen. Laert. lib. 1. § 68.
i Heraclid. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823.
k Plat. epiſt. 8. t. iii. p. 354.
l Plat. t. ii. p. 691.

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Marſham [m], that the word *ephori* has crept into the text of the latter author; but I ſhall ſay that his teſtimony may be reconciled with the accounts given by other writers [n].

It appears that the office of the ephori was a magiſtracy that had long been known to ſeveral of the ſtates of Peloponneſus, and, among others, to the Meſſenians [o]. It muſt have been ſo likewiſe to the ancient inhabitants of Laconia, ſince the ephori raiſed the people againſt Lycurgus on account of his new laws [p]. Beſides, Lycurgus had in ſome meaſure modelled the conſtitution of Sparta after that of Crete; and the Cretans had certain principal magiſtrates who were named *Coſmi*, and whom Ariſtotle compares to the ephori of Lacedæmon [q]. In fine, the greater part of the authors I have cited do not ſpeak of the office of the ephori as a magiſtracy newly inſtituted by Theopompus; but as a curb by which that prince checked the power of the kings. It is therefore extremely probable that Lycurgus left the ephori, who were inſtituted before his time, in poſſeſſion of ſeveral of their functions; and that Theopompus granted them prerogatives which afterwards cauſed the government to incline toward an oligarchy.

CHAP. XLVI.—Page 470.

On the Diviſion of Lands made by Lycurgus.

Plutarch mentions three opinions concerning this diviſion. According to the firſt, Lycurgus divided all the eſtates of Laconia into thirty thouſand portions, of which nine thouſand were given to the inhabitants of Sparta. According to the ſecond, he only beſtowed on the Spartans ſix thouſand portions, to which king Polydorus, who ſome time after terminated the firſt war of Meſſenia, added three thouſand others. According to the third opinion, the Spartans received the one half of theſe nine thouſand portions from Lycurgus, and the other half from Polydorus [r].

[m] Chron. Egypt. p. 509.
[n] Frer. Defenſ. de la Chronol. p. 170.
[o] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 273.
[p] Plut. Apoph. Lacon. t. ii. p. 227.
[q] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 332.
[r] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. i. p. 44.

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I have followed the first of these opinions, because Plutarch, who had it in his power to consult many works which are now lost, seems to have given it the preference. I do not, however, absolutely reject the others. It appears in fact, that, in the time of Polydorus, an increase took place in the portions allotted to the Spartans. A fragment of the poems of Tyrtæus informs us that the people of Sparta then demanded a new division of the lands [s]. It is also related, that Polydorus said, when he set out for Messenia, that he was going to a country which had not yet been divided [t]. In fine, the conquest of Messenia must have introduced an augmentation of fortune among the Spartans.

The examination of this question would lead me into discussions equally prolix and useless; I shall therefore proceed to make some observations on two inadvertencies which appear to have escaped two men, who have each done honour to their age and nation.

Aristotle says that the legislator of Lacedæmon acted wisely when he forbade the Spartans to sell their portions; but that he ought not to have permitted them to make a donation of them during their lifetime, or to bequeath them by will to whom they pleased [u]. I do not believe that Lycurgus ever granted them this permission. It was the ephorus Epitades, who, to deprive his son of his inheritance, caused the decree to be passed which has given occasion to the censure of Aristotle [x]; a censure the more extraordinary, as that philosopher wrote only a short time after the death of Epitades.

Solon had permitted a brother to marry his sister by the father's side, but not his uterine sister. M. de Montesquieu has satisfactorily proved that Solon intended by this law to prevent a husband and wife from uniting in themselves two inheritances [y], which might happen if a brother and sister by the same mother should intermarry; because the one might succeed to the inheritance of the husband of the mother, and the other to that of the second husband. M. de Montesquieu observes that this law was con-

[s] Aristot. de Rep. l. 5, c. 8, p. 396.
[t] Plut. Apopth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 231.
[u] Aristot. de Rep. l. 2. c. 9. p. 329.
[x] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 797
[y] Esprit. des Lois, liv. 5. chap. 5.

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formable to the ſpirit of the Grecian republics, and mentions a paſſage of Philo, who ſays that Lycurgus permitted the marriage of children by the ſame mother [z]. To reſolve this difficulty, M. de Monteſquieu anſwers, that, according to Strabo [a], when, at Lacedæmon, a ſiſter married her brother, ſhe brought him as a marriage portion the half of the inheritance to which the brother ſucceeded. But Strabo, in this place, ſpeaks, after the hiſtorian Ephorus, of the laws of Crete, and not of thoſe of Lacedæmon; and though he acknowledges, with that hiſtorian, that the latter are in part derived from thoſe of Minos, it does not follow that Lycurgus adopted that of which we now ſpeak. I will farther affirm, that he could not, in his ſyſtem, aſſign as a marriage portion to the ſiſter, the half of the inheritance of the brother, ſince he had forbidden all marriage portions.

Even ſuppoſing that the law mentioned by Strabo was adopted at Lacedæmon, I do not think it can be applied to the paſſage in Philo. The author ſays, that, at Lacedæmon, it was permitted to marry the ſiſter by the mother's ſide, but not the ſiſter by the father's ſide; which M. de Monteſquieu explains thus: "To pre-"vent the property of the family of the ſiſter from paſſing into "that of the brother, one half of the property of the brother was "given as a marriage portion to the ſiſter."

This explanation ſuppoſes two things: 1ſt, That a marriage portion muſt neceſſarily be given to the daughter, which is contrary to the laws of Lacedæmon; 2dly, That this ſiſter renounced the inheritance of her father to ſhare that her brother had received from his. To which I anſwer, that if the ſiſter was an only daughter, ſhe muſt ſucceed to the poſſeſſions of her father, and could not renounce them; if ſhe had a brother by the ſame bed, he muſt inherit; and that, by marrying a brother by another bed, there was no danger of accumulating two inheritances.

If the law mentioned by Philo was founded on the diviſion of poſſeſſions, to explain it in part will not be difficult; as, for inſtance, a mother who had by a former huſband an only daughter, and by a ſecond huſband ſeveral ſons, might, no doubt, marry that

[z] Phil. de Spec. Jud. p. 779.

[a] Strab. lib. 10. p. 482.

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daughter to one of the younger ſons by the ſecond marriage, becauſe that ſon had no portion. In this ſenſe, a Spartan might marry his uterine ſiſter. If this was what Philo intended to ſay, I can eaſily underſtand him; but when he adds, that it was not permitted to marry a ſiſter by the father's ſide, I can no longer underſtand him, becauſe I can ſee no reaſon, derived from the diviſion of poſſeſſions, why theſe kind of marriages ſhould have been forbidden.

CHAP. XLVII.—Page 485.

On the Cryptia.

I here ſpeak of the cryptia, which is commonly rendered by the word ambuſcade, and almoſt always confounded with the chaſe of the Helots.

According to Heraclidas of Pontus, who lived a ſhort time before, I ſuppoſe Anacharſis to have travelled in Greece, and to Plutarch, who did not live till long after, the youth of Lacedæmon were ordered from time to time to range over the country, armed with poniards, and, concealing themſelves during the day in ſecret places, to ſally forth at night, and murder ſuch of the Helots as they might find in their way [b].

Let us add to theſe two teſtimonies that of Ariſtotle, who, in a paſſage preſerved by Plutarch, tells us that the ephori, when they entered on office, declared war againſt the Helots, that they might be murdered with impunity [c]. There is no proof that this decree was authoriſed by the laws of Lycurgus, but every thing tends to convince us that it was accompanied by correctives; for the republic could never declare an effective and conſtant war againſt men who alone cultivated and farmed the lands, who ſerved in the armies, and on board the fleets, and who were often admitted into the number of citizens. The decree of the ephori could then have no other view than to exempt from puniſhment

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b Heracl. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 56.

c Plut. ibid. p. 57.

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the Spartan who ſhould have the misfortune to kill a Helot. But becauſe a man has the power of life and death over another, it does not follow that he always makes uſe of that power.

Let us now examine, 1ſt, What was the object of the cryptia; 2dly, Whether the laws of Lycurgus inſtituted the chaſe of the Helots.

1ſt, Plato recommends [d], that, in a well governed ſtate, the youth, as ſoon as they were of ſufficient age, ſhould, during two years, range the country with arms in their hands, braving the rigours of ſummer and winter, leading a hardy life, and ſubjected to a ſtrict diſcipline. Whatever name, adds he, we give to theſe youth, whether *crypti* or agronomi, that is, inſpectors of the fields, they will gain a knowledge of the country, and learn to defend it. As the cryptia was only practiſed among the Spartans, it is evident that Plato has here deſcribed the nature of it; and of this the following paſſage will no longer permit us to doubt: it is from the ſame treatiſe as the preceding [e]. A Lacedæmonian, whom Plato introduces into his dialogue, expreſſes himſelf in theſe words: "We have an exerciſe, named cryptia, which is of "wonderful uſe to familiariſe us to hardſhip. We are obliged "to march, in winter, bare-footed, to ſleep without covering, to "ſerve ourſelves without the aſſiſtance of ſlaves, and rapidly to "traverſe the whole country both by night and day."

The correſpondence between theſe two paſſages is manifeſt. They deſcribe very explicitly the object of the cryptia; and it ought to be obſerved that in them not a word is ſaid of the chaſe of the Helots, which alſo is not mentioned in any of the works that ſtill remain of Ariſtotle, nor in thoſe of Thucydides, Xenophon, Iſocrates, and many other writers of the ſame age, though they frequently ſpeak of the revolts and deſertions of the Helots, and cenſure, in more than one paſſage, the laws of Lycurgus, and the cuſtoms of the Lacedæmonians. I the more inſiſt on this negative proof, as ſome of theſe authors were Athenians, and lived in a republic which treated ſlaves with the greateſt humanity. I think I may conclude from theſe remarks, that, until about the

[d] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 763. [e] Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 633.

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time when Plato wrote his treatiſe on laws, the cryptia was not employed to ſhed the blood of the Helots.

This was an expedition in which the youth of Lacedæmon accuſtomed themſelves to military operations, ranged through the country, concealed themſelves in ambuſcade, with arms in their hands, as if an enemy were near, and leaving the place of their retreat during the night, repulſed thoſe Helots whom they found in their way. I think it probable that, a ſhort time after the death of Plato, the laws having loſt their force, the Spartan youth killed thoſe Helots who made too much reſiſtance, and perhaps gave occaſion to the decree of the ephori which I have mentioned above. The abuſe increaſing from day to day, the cryptia was at length confounded with the chaſe of the Helots.

2dly, Let us now examine whether this chaſe was inſtituted by Lycurgus.

Heraclides of Pontus contents himſelf with ſaying that it was attributed to that legiſlator; but this is only a conjecture, tranſmitted to us by that author, who was poſterior to Plato. Nor does the following paſſage merit more attention. According to Plutarch [f], Ariſtotle attributed the inſtitution of the cryptia to Lycurgus; and as the hiſtorian, following the error of his time, confounds, in this place, the cryptia with the chaſe of the Helots, we have reaſon to ſuſpect that Ariſtotle confounded them alſo; but this would be only a preſumption. We are ignorant whether Ariſtotle, in the paſſage in queſtion, explained the functions of the crypti, and it appears that Plutarch has only cited to refute him; for he ſays, ſome lines after [g], that the orign of the cryptia, ſuch as he himſelf conceived it, muſt have been poſterior to the laws of Lycurgus. Plutarch is not always accurate in his details of facts, and I could prove that, on this occaſion, his memory has more than once miſled him. Theſe are all the authorities to which I had to anſwer.

By carefully diſtinguiſhing the times, every thing may be eaſily reconciled. According to Ariſtotle the cryptia was inſtituted by Lycurgus. Plato explains its object, and believes it to be extremely uſeful. When the manners of Sparta became corrupted,

[f] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 56.

[g] Id. ibid. p. 57.

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the youth of Lacedæmon, we are told, abuſed this exerciſe to perpetrate horrid cruelties. I am ſo far from juſtifying theſe, that I ſuſpect the accounts we have received of them to be exaggerated. Who has told us that the Helots had no means of defending themſelves from theſe attacks? 1ſt, The time of the cryptia was perhaps fixed. 2dly, It muſt have been difficult for the youth of Lacedæmon to diſperſe themſelves, without being perceived, over a country full of Helots, to whom it was of ſo much importance to watch their motions. 3dly, It is alſo not improbable that the individuals of Sparta, who derived their ſubſiſtance from the produce of their lands, would inform the Helots, their farmers, of the danger by which they were threatened. In all theſe caſes the Helots had only to ſuffer the youth to make their excurſion, and remain ſhut up in their houſes during the night.

I have thought it proper to juſtify, in this note, the account I have given of the cryptia in the body of the work. I have alſo thought that it was by no means neceſſary to repreſent men as more wicked than they are, or to aſſert, without proof, that a wiſe legiſlator had commanded the perpetration of cruelties.

SAME CHAP.—Page 486.

On the Choice of a Wife among the Spartans.

Authors differ concerning the cuſtoms of the ſtates of Greece, becauſe theſe cuſtoms have varied at different times. It appears that at Sparta marriages were contracted at the choice of the young couples, or that of their parents. I ſhall adduce as a proof the example of Lyſander, who, before his death, had affianced his two daughters to two citizens of Lacedæmon [h]. I ſhall alſo cite the law which authoriſed the proſecution of any perſon who had contracted an improper marriage [i]. On the other hand, an ancient author, named Hermippus [k], relates, that at Lacedæmon the girls who were to be married were ſhut up in a dark place, and that

[h] Plut in Lyſand. t. i. p. 451.
[i] Id. ibid.
[k] Hermip. ap. Athen. lib. 13. p. 555.

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each young man took by chance her he was to marry. To reconcile these different accounts, we may conjecture that Lycurgus had in fact instituted the law mentioned by Hermippus, but that it afterwards fell into disuse. Plato has, in some manner, adopted it in his republic[l].

SAME CHAP.—Page 486.

At what Age the Lacidæmonians married.

The Greeks early knew the danger of premature marriages. Hesiod[m] says that the age of the man should not be too much under thirty; as to that of the woman, though the text is not clear, he seems to fix it at fifteen. Plato, in his republic[n], requires that the men should not marry till the age of thirty, and fixes that of the women at twenty. According to Aristotle[o], the men should be about thirty-seven, and the women about eighteen. I am of opinion, that the usual age at Sparta was thirty years for the men, and twenty for the women. This conjecture is supported by two reasons: 1st, It is the age prescribed by Plato, who has frequently copied the laws of Lycurgus. 2dly, The Spartans had not a right to vote in the general assembly till the age of thirty[p], which seems to suppose that before that time they could not be considered as heads of families.

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l Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 460.
m Hesiod. Oper. et Dies, v. 695.
n Plat. de Rep. ibid.
o Aristot. de Rep. lib. 7. cap. 16. t. ii. p. 446.
p Lib. Argum. Declam. 24. p. 558

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